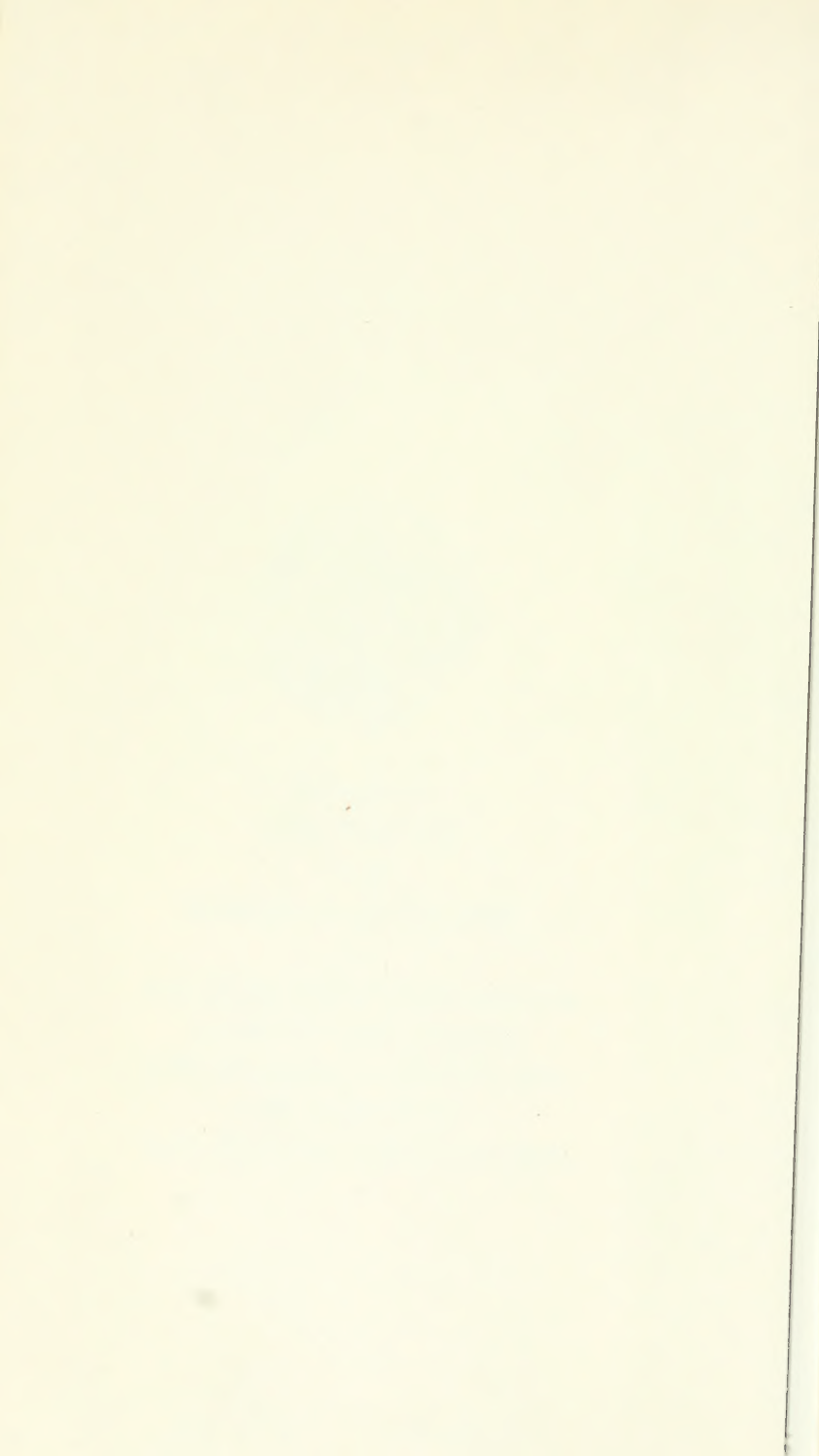


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PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY

BY
J. H. VAN NISSEN

PROFESSOR OF PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SECOND EDITION
REVISED BY
J. H. VAN NISSEN

1928

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BRITISH CRITIC,

NEW SERIES;

FOR

JANUARY,

FEBRUARY,

MARCH,

APRIL,

MAY,

JUNE,

M. DCCC. XXV.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR JANUARY, 1825.

ART. I. 1.—*Sermons and Charges, by the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. With Memoirs of his Life, by Henry Kaye Bonney, D.D. Archdeacon of Bedford.* 8vo. 325 pp. Longman & Co. 1824.

2.—*Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism. By the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, and some of the most eminent Writers of Persia, translated and explained: to which is appended an Additional Tract on the same Question; and, in a Preface, some Account given of a former Controversy on this Subject, with Extracts from it. Dedicated to the Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool, K.G. &c. By the Rev. S. Lee, A.M. D.D. of the University of Halle, Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, Honorary Associate of the Royal Society of Literature, M.R.A.S. &c. and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. With a Portrait of Mr. Martyn.* 8vo. 584 pp. 1l. 5s. Rivingtons, London; Deighton & Co. Cambridge. 1824.

3.—*Letters on the State of Christianity in India; in which the Conversion of the Hindoos is considered as impracticable. To which is added, A Vindication of the Hindoos, Male and Female, in Answer to a severe Attack made upon both, by the Reverend *****.* By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, Missionary in Mysore, Author of the Description of the People of India. 8vo. 222 pp. Longman & Co. London. 1823.

4.—*A Reply to the Letters of the Abbé Dubois, on the State of Christianity in India. By the Rev. James Hough, Chaplain to the Hon. East-India Company, on the Madras Establishment.* 8vo. 322 pp. 5s. Seeley. 1824.

5.—*An Answer to the Abbé Dubois; in which the various Wrong Principles, Misrepresentations, and Contradictions, contained in his Work, entitled "Letters on the State of*

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Christianity in India," are pointed out; and the Evangelization of India, is, both on Sound Principle and by Solid Fact, demonstrated to be practicable. By Henry Townley, Missionary to Bengal. 8vo. 214 pp. 4s. 6d. Westley. 1824.

THE death of Bishop MIDDLETON, and the time which elapsed before his successor could arrive at Calcutta, gave a serious but unavoidable check to the progress of Oriental Missions. Bishop's College, the great work of the Church of England, and of her first representative in Hindostan, has continued upwards of two years without any European officer but the Principal; because its founders were unwilling to appoint and dispatch the Professors, until Bishop Heber had communicated his sentiments upon the subject. It is now ascertained, that in July last his Lordship left Calcutta upon his visitation, without having written to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The earliest season, therefore, at which his letters can be expected, is the end of 1825; and if the answer should reach him by Midsummer 1826, the correspondence between the Society and the Visitor of the College will have suffered an interruption of four years.

Upon a hasty view, this prospect is discouraging. What institution, it will be asked, can struggle against such lamentable delays? How can the Church propagate Christianity in India, if every bishop has a system of his own, and makes room for it by upsetting what has been already done? Such were not the means by which Europe was converted from Paganism. The Popes, with all their faults, acted a wiser part. It was the steady prosecution of one plan which enabled Rome to achieve her conquests. The "infirm of purpose" can accomplish no great work; and although some may be dazzled with the glitter of their success, and others alarmed at the apprehension of their triumphs, experience teaches us to fear little from their enmity, and hope nothing from their co-operation.

These are the natural expressions of disappointment, which will be called forth by recent proceedings in the East. The loss of four years, two of which to all appearance might have been saved, is a subject of deep regret, if not of just complaint; it produces doubt and alarm; and no one can pronounce such feelings unreasonable nor unfair. Even if the result should prove favourable, if the circumstances which are so unpromising should turn out advantageous, it will not be less true that the present prospect is gloomy, or less prudent to prepare ourselves for the worst.

That these have been our own feelings we do not deny. But further reflection causes them in great measure to subside. A careful examination of the works enumerated in a preceding page, has convinced us, that the counsels of Bishop Middleton *cannot* be disregarded. Their solid and practical qualities will force themselves upon the notice of every one. The inherent worth of the system is a pledge for its ultimate adoption. The condition of Hindostan will not suffer us to stand still: some movements, if not some progress, must be continually made; and no movements will be safe, and no progress permanent, unless the advice of Bishop Middleton is treated as it deserves. Other schemes may be preferred by the partiality of parents and guardians, other systems may be carried on with more zeal and activity, other speculations may be entertained by speculative men; and each may do some good in its way. But the imperfections of each and all can only be counteracted by submission to the guidance of one master spirit. The confusion resulting from separate and sectarian undertakings will prove the importance of uniformity; the desultory efforts of individuals will seek a connection with some authorised leader; that leader will be discovered in the Church and the Missionary Establishment which she has founded; and then the propagation of the Gospel will cease to be fabulous or transitory. We do not say that all this will take place speedily, but we are confident that it will take place eventually. It may be delayed by the infatuation of the Indian authorities, or accelerated by their prudence and talents; but unless it comes to pass, Christianity will be swept from the face of Hindostan; and believing that such a calamity will not be inflicted, we believe also that events which must conduce to it will be averted. The completion and efficient working of such an institution as Bishop's College, is, humanly speaking, indispensable to the Missionary cause; and therefore, in spite of present appearances to the contrary, we infer, that the College will be eventually supported by its Visitor, and enabled to answer the expectations of its Founders.

The facts upon which this reasoning rests are gathered in great abundance from the various works before us. The letters of the Abbé Dubois have given rise to a controversy from which much may be learned by all parties. The Abbé is a gentleman of great respectability, and his information upon Indian affairs is extensive. The errors of his church have blinded him to many important truths, and a large portion of his argument is sophistical and inconclusive. But there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statements; they

are the result of long personal experience; and they have been encountered by his opponents with more vehemence than discretion.

The first of these opponents, Mr. Hough, has applied himself to one part of the question with success: he has answered the jesuitical portion of the Abbé's Letters, and pointed out the absurdity of saying that the Hindoos are *unconvertible*. But as Mr. Hough undertakes to defend the Church Missionary Society and all its kindred institutions, he exposes himself to the Abbé's best thrusts, and is unable to parry them. The character of the work is in general fair and candid; but the consistent Church Missionary is indifferent to the principles of the Church.

Mr. Townley takes a lower line:—Both in Asia and in Europe he enacts the part of an itinerant preacher; and if his harangues in Hindostan are similar to his harangues in England, he may be expected to produce the same effect among Indians that Captain Gordon is producing among Irishmen. His answer to the Abbé is principally remarkable for undertaking to prove a great deal, and proving in reality very little.

The Persian Controversies, by Professor Lee, are of a very different character from that of any of the foregoing; yet they harmonize remarkably with the other publications, by shewing how strongly Mahometanism is entrenched behind false philosophy and false criticism, and how incompetent our ordinary missionaries must be to cope with those learned doctors of the Koran, over whom the genius and piety of Martyn obtained no victory, and who threaten to stand their ground against the more laboured arguments of Professor Lee.

The Sermons and Charges of Bishop Middleton, with a Memoir of his Life, by Archdeacon Bonney, complete the series of publications to which we are calling the attention of our readers; and if the latter is less minute and satisfactory than we could wish, the former comprise much information in a small compass, and furnish a clue to the labyrinths of Oriental controversy. The scheme so beautifully and distinctly sketched by the first Bishop of Calcutta for evangelising his immense diocese, is not calculated to counteract, but to support similar undertakings. It accords in a remarkable manner with other schemes which are now in progress, and offers to supply their deficiencies, and correct their errors. It neither disbelieves, and desponds with the Abbé Dubois, nor falls into that cant of fanatical assurance by which missionary proclamations are so often disfigured. It grapples both with the Maho-

metan and the Hindoo. It offers to instruct and send forth European missionaries, duly qualified and duly authorized, to preach the Gospel. It provides for the education of native teachers, and the institution of native schools. It proposes to furnish the inhabitants of Asia with genuine translations of the Bible. And it will do all this, not by the instrumentality of a mere voluntary Association, which may cease, or may misconduct itself to-morrow, but through the agency of a corporation, regularly chartered by the King, and governed by the prelates of the Church. These are strong circumstances in favour of the system, and perhaps still stronger may be discovered by attending to the books before us.

To begin with the Abbé Dubois. It is thus that he describes the endeavours of his brethren, the Jesuits, to convey Christianity to the Hindoos :

“ The disappointment and want of success of Xavier ought to have been sufficient to damp the most fervent zeal of the persons disposed to enter the same career. When a man of his temper, talents, and virtues, had been baffled in all his endeavours to introduce Christianity into India, his successors could scarcely flatter themselves with the hope of being more fortunate. However, this was not the case. His Jesuit brethren in Europe were not to be deterred by difficulties or contradictions in undertaking, where the cause of religion was at stake. In consequence, Jesuits were sent from every Catholic country to India, to forward the interests of the Gospel.

“ By degrees those missionaries introduced themselves into the inland country. They saw that in order to fix the attention of these people, gain their confidence, and get a hearing, it was indispensably necessary to respect their prejudices, and even to conform to their dress, their manner of living, and forms of society ; in short, scrupulously to adopt the costumes and practices of the country.

“ With this persuasion, they at their first outset announced themselves as European Brahmins come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western parts of the *Djamboody*, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Brahmins in India. Almost all these first missionaries were more or less acquainted with Astronomy or Medicine ; the two sciences best calculated to ingratiate them with the natives of every description.

“ After announcing themselves as Brahmins, they made it their study to imitate that tribe : they put on a Hindoo dress of cavy, or yellow colour, the same as that used by the Indian religious teachers and penitents ; they made frequent ablutions ; whenever they showed themselves in public they applied to their forehead paste, made of sandal wood, as used by the Brahmins. They scrupulously abstained from every kind of animal food, as well as from intoxicating liquors,

entirely faring like Brahmins on vegetables and milk; in a word, after the example of St. Paul (1 Cor. ix. 20. 21.) "Unto the Jews, they became as Jews, that they might gain the Jews; to them that were without law, as without law. They were made all things to all men, that they might by all means save some." It was by such a life of almost incredible privations and restraints, that they insinuated themselves among these people.

"Fully aware of the unalterable attachment of the natives to their own usages and practices, they made it their principal study not to hurt their feelings, by attacking all at once the superstitions with which most of their customs are infested: they judged it more prudent at the beginning to overlook many of them, and wait for a more favourable time, to put the converts right on the subject. Their colour, their talents, their virtues, above all, their perfect disinterestedness, rendered them acceptable even to the Hindoo princes, who, astonished at the novelty and singularity of the circumstance, bestowed their protection on these extraordinary men, and gave them full freedom to preach their religion, and make proselytes to it.

"The Jesuits began their work under these favourable auspices, and made a great number of converts among all castes of Hindoos, in those countries where they were allowed the free exercise of their religious functions. It appears from authentic lists, made up about seventy years ago, which I have seen, that the number of native Christians in these countries was as follows, viz. in the Marawa about 30,000, in the Madura about 100,000, in the Carnatic 80,000, in Mysore 35,000. At the present time hardly a third of this number is to be found in these districts respectively. I have heard that the number of converts was still much more considerable on the other coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin; but of these I never saw authentic lists." P. 4.

At length Pope Benedict XIV. condemned all these superstitious practices, and from that moment *the Christian religion* declined:

"At that very time happened the European invasion, and the bloody contests for dominion between the English and French. The Europeans, till then almost entirely unknown to the natives in the interior, introduced themselves in several ways and under various denominations into every part of the country. The Hindoos soon found that those missionaries, whom their colour, their talents, and other qualities, had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings, as men coming from another world, were in fact nothing else but disguised *Fringy* (Europeans);* and that their country, their religion, and original education, were the same with those of the vile, the contemptible Fringy, who had of late invaded their country.

* *Fringy*, is the appellation under which the Europeans are designated by the natives of India; it is derived from the term Frank, and has been introduced by the Mahometans.

This event proved the last blow to the interests of the Christian religion. No more conversions were made; apostacy became almost general in several quarters; and Christianity became more and more an object of contempt and aversion, in proportion as the European manners became better known to the Hindoos.

“ Nearly at that period the suppression of the order of the jesuits took place in Europe; and there being no longer a sufficient number of missionaries, a national black clergy was formed, and the attendance on the remaining congregations entrusted to their care. Those native missionaries not having the advantage of a proper education, and many amongst them shewing themselves more attached to their own interest than to those of religion, enjoy but little consideration even among their flocks, and none among the natives of any other description.

“ Such is the abridged history of the rise, the progress, and the decline of the Christian religion in India. The low state to which it is now reduced, and the contempt in which it is held, cannot be surpassed. There is not at present in the country (as mentioned before) more than a third of the Christians who were to be found in it eighty years ago, and this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy. It will dwindle to nothing in a short period; and if things continue as they are now going on, within less than fifty years there will, I fear, remain no vestige of Christianity among the natives.

“ The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, is at present become, I will venture to say, almost an object of horror. It is certain that during the last sixty years no proselytes, or but a very few, have been made. Those Christians who are still to be met with in several parts of the country, and whose numbers (as I have just mentioned) diminishes every day, are the offspring of the converts made by the jesuits before that period. The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time, are found among the lowest tribes; so are individuals who, driven out from their castes, on account of their vices or scandalous transgressions of their usages, are shunned afterwards by every body as outlawed men, and have no other resource left than that of turning Christians, in order to form new connexions in society; and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoos against Christianity.” P. 11.

This is an outline of the Abbé's work. It is filled up with considerable spirit, and many of his details are lamentably accurate. But the theory by which he would explain what has happened is little less than ludicrous. Because the Jesuitical missionaries failed to convert the Hindoos, the Abbé believes them to be in a state of reprobation! Practices for which there is not the slightest sanction in Scripture; practices which have been condemned by the Catholic church, and forbidden by his own infallible Pope; practices which involved gross deception and fraud, and permitted

superstition and idolatry, have not succeeded in the propagation of the Gospel, and therefore the idolaters are blinded by an irreversible decree, and we must leave them in their ignorance and their sins! Truly the superstructure is worthy of the base! If there is any judicial blindness in the business, it must be imputed to the Abbé, and to those who think and act as he does, rather than to those who, by his own confession, have not yet heard the Gospel preached, and whose errors are for the most part inevitable. The Abbé dwells with evident complacency upon the number of converts added by his predecessors to the church, but not a word is said about their proficiency in Christian knowledge or practice. We are told that the morals of the native Christians in Southern India are now at a low ebb; but we are not told that they were in a different state before the downfall of the Catholic faith. In one word, it is evident that Jesuitical Christianity has been tried, and found wanting; and the inference is, that it never should be resorted to again. It is equally evident, that Protestant Christianity is yet upon its trial, and the result of the experiment remains to be ascertained.

The Abbé indeed contends, in anticipation of the answers, that the Danish and other Protestant missions in the South of India have been unsuccessful, and that consequently Protestantism, as well as Jesuitism, has failed. The argument is plausible, but admits of an easy answer; for, in the first place, until the erection of the see of Calcutta, the Protestant missions were the work of private individuals. The Church of England regarded them as an interesting experiment, but an experiment conducted upon too small a scale, and destitute of the proper superintendence and controul. The entire failure of such an undertaking would furnish no objection to a renewal of our efforts under the sanction of a Protestant bishop. In the second place, no such failure has occurred. Until the breaking out of the last war, both the Danish and the English missions had been blessed with a fair portion of success: that war interrupted the communication between the continents of Europe and Asia. The supply of new missionaries was cut off, and the Protestant congregations dwindled away, not from the invincible prejudices of Hindoos, but from the want of a Protestant clergy. The return of peace, and the presence and encouragement of Bishop Middleton, produced an immediate and an important change. And Mr. Hough, an unprejudiced eye-witness, bears testimony to this effect. If he has any bias upon the subject, it is against the old missions; for the less

they were able to effect, the more must the new missionaries be wanted and praised.

“ There is a body of Christians in South India to which I have not referred. They are the fruits of the labours of the Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, and the German missionaries of the Christian Knowledge Society, and have been converted at different periods during the last century. They occupy eight principal stations—Vepery, Tanjore, Tranquebar, Trichinopoly, Tinnevely, Cuddalore, Madura, and Ramnad. They are to be found also, in small numbers, scattered through many of the villages of South India. M. Dubois has some acquaintance with these people; and will, perhaps, know, that when I state them at twenty thousand, I estimate them far below their actual number.

“ But he entertains a low opinion of their character: (p. 17—20.) I have visited all these stations, except Cuddalore; and from what I have observed, and the accounts I have received from the missionaries, I know them to be much superior, in a moral point of view, to the description which the Abbé gives of his own people.

“ Of a considerable number of these native Christians I can speak more particularly, having lived amongst them for some time, and had the management of their spiritual affairs (under the direction of the Madras District Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society), and not unfrequently the adjustment of their temporal difficulties.

“ The Abbé describes these people in the following terms:— ‘ There are, besides, a few Protestant Christians dispersed chiefly in the Tinnevely district; but in such small numbers, that they do not deserve the name of congregations:’ (p. 19.)

“ I cannot reply to this better than by giving a brief description of these people. Their number is about four thousand, and they are scattered through sixty-three villages. Some of the congregations are too small ‘ to deserve the name:’ but there are several amounting to near and upwards of one hundred, one of three hundred, and another of four hundred souls! The last two congregations form *two distinct villages: in each is a church, a boys and a girls school, a native priest, catechist, and two schoolmasters. There is not an Idolater or Papist among them; nor is a Popish image, a Heathen idol, or an altar, to be seen in any corner of their streets.* I have addressed them several times, when the churches were always crowded. The transition from the noise and idolatrous symbols of Pagan towns, to these peaceful abodes, was more refreshing to my spirit than any thing I ever remembered to have enjoyed out of my native land.

“ Such are the fruits of the missionary Jænické’s labours, assisted and succeeded by the country-priest Sattianaden, and other servants of the Christian Knowledge Society!—The reader will now judge of the accuracy or candour of the Abbé’s description of these interesting people.

“ He will probably ask, ‘ Are they not of low castes?’ Some of them are persons of respectability, but the majority are Shanaars

(cultivators of the palmyra and cocoa-nut trees). But does their humble origin and occupation affect their Christian character? This objection has always been raised against the lowly disciples of Jesus, by those who glory more in secular distinctions, than in the name and service of God. 'The common people' have always heard the Gospel 'gladly:' in every age it has met with a more ready reception from them, than from the mighty, the noble, the learned, and the rich: and the soul of a Shanaar, or even a Pariah, is as precious, in the Redeemer's sight, as that of a Namboory or Poorohita Brahmin.

"But he advances a more serious objection against them: their moral character, he asserts, is worse than that of the Roman Catholic Christians: this, therefore, demands a more particular reply."

"I leave him to extricate himself from these dilemmas as he may, while I proceed to affirm, that his charge is not applicable to the native *Protestants*. I have proved the integrity of some: others I know, who have held places of trust under Europeans, and fulfilled their duties to the satisfaction of their employers: and nothing can be more satisfactory than the testimony borne by the Serampore Missionaries to the character of several in their service*.

"I can give an instance of a Heathen, also, who knew how to appreciate their character. When I was at Tanjore, in 1821, the Rajah† of that fort was gone on a pilgrimage to Benares, attended by a retinue of Brahmins and others.—Whom did he select for his *purse-bearer* on the journey?—I was informed, by a gentleman there, that a *Native Protestant* was appointed by him to this responsible office!

"But, supposing the Protestants, as a body, deserved one-half of the reproach which M. Dubois so unsparingly heaps upon them, they would at least prove this point, in opposition to his assertions, that the Hindoos *may* be weaned from their idolatrous practices. Though he will not allow that the 23,000 Protestants in India have attained to Christian perfection, yet, since not one of them is allowed to retain any Pagan superstitions, he can no longer maintain his position, that their prejudices, &c. are 'insurmountable.'

"If he object to this conclusion, that they are persons from the lowest castes, and that therefore they had less to relinquish than those in the higher ranks of society, I reply, that *many* of them are from the *most* respectable castes. I myself am acquainted with several *Moodalyars* and *Pillays*, and I know of some *Brahmins*. These, though they form the minority of native Christians, are more than enough to support my argument, in favour of the possibility of converting the Hindoos. But even were the assertion, that all the native Protestants are from the lowest castes, correct, it would not form an objection against my position; for the Abbé himself admits, that 'the low-born Pariah' is tenacious of 'the childish distinction

* *Vindiciæ Seramporianæ*, pp. 49, 50.—See also pp. 24, 25.

† This is the Heathen Prince who some years ago gave an endowment of land, producing an annual revenue of 500 pagodas, towards the support of the Protestant Mission in his dominions.

of the Right and Left Hand,' lays '*much stress*' upon it, and considers it 'the most honourable distinction of his tribe;' and says, that if you try to persuade him to lay aside that distinction, as 'wholly incompatible with the first duties imposed upon him by the Christian religion,' 'your lectures, your instructions, your expostulations, on such subjects, will be of no avail; and your Christians will continue the slaves of their Anti-Christian prejudices and customs:' (pp. 64, 65.) This, we are to conclude, is the experience of himself and other Jesuit missionaries: and any one who has read with candour the description, given in these pages, of the means which they have employed to convert the Hindoos, or to establish them in the faith, when converted, will not be surprised at their failure. But Protestant missionaries have met with better success. I could have shewn the Abbé, when in India, some devout Pariah Christians, who have entirely renounced 'the childish distinction of Right and Left Hand,' and are leading exemplary lives. Indeed, I know not the Pariah *Protestant* that has *not* renounced that distinction: and though all the 23,000 native Protestants in India were of that low caste—(they form, however, the minority of the 4,000 in Tinnevely!)—they would still furnish ample grounds for my conclusion, that the Protestants have found it *possible* to convert the Hindoos to the faith of Jesus Christ." P. 190.

This is a triumphant answer, and Mr. Hough is entitled to our warmest thanks for the able manner in which he has brought it forward. His reply to several other parts of the Abbé's letters is equally satisfactory and convincing. He shews that the prejudices of the Hindoos are not invincible, by adducing various instances in which they have been overcome. He very properly ridicules the idea that the Bible must be concealed or misrepresented, lest it should give offence by describing the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, or by the mention of the fatted calf in the parable of the prodigal son. Such objections, and there are many of them in the work before us, savour of that old prejudice which Papists are so unwilling to relinquish—the prejudice which cannot, or will not remember, that the Gospel was preached to the poor. Such arguments may have their effect at Rome, at Madrid, or at Dublin, but it is a waste of powder and shot to point them against the English public. Even Mr. Hough's exposition of their absurdity might have been spared. The very statement of the Abbé is its own refutation.

There is, however, a portion of the field on which he maintains himself with more effect, and on which his opponents are forced to manœuvre, in order to keep their ground and prevent an overthrow. It is the question, not of the Bible, but of the Bible Society; not whether the Hindoos will be hurt by reading the Scripture, but whether Scripture can

be advantageously or safely presented to them in a mutilated condition.

“ It is on all hands admitted, that before a translation from one language into another be undertaken, it is absolutely necessary to possess an entire and thoroughly grammatical acquaintance with both. Now, where are the Europeans who possess so perfect a knowledge of the idioms of India? and again, where are the natives who possess the same advantage with respect to the European dialects? if persons of this description are to be found any where in this country, they are in very small numbers indeed.

“ Some partial translations of the Scriptures are, it is true, to be found in the country; but in my humble opinion they have entirely missed their object. I have by me a copy of the New Testament, translated into Tamul, executed by the Lutheran missionaries; but the translators, by endeavouring to make it literal, have generally used such low, trivial, and, in many instances, ludicrous expressions, and the style is, besides, so different from that of the Hindoos, that persons unaccustomed to it, cannot (as I have witnessed in repeated instances) read over four verses without laughing at the manner in which the work is executed.

“ In my last journey to the coast, I saw a letter on the subject, from a missionary in Travancore, to a person of the same description at Pondicherry, in which were the following expressions:—

“ ‘ Many hundred sets of the New Testament, translated into the *Malayan* dialect, have been sent to us (without our asking for them), to be circulated among our Christians. I have perused this performance; the translation is truly piteous, and only worthy of contempt: one cannot peruse four verses without shrugging up the shoulders. This large collection of New Testaments now in our hands places us in a very awkward situation: if we leave them to rot in our apartments, we fear to expose ourselves to the displeasure of those who supplied us with them, who appear anxious to have them circulated, and if we follow their instructions on the subject, we cover ourselves with ridicule.’ ”

“ I remember an instance of the kind, which will not appear foreign to my subject. About twenty-five years ago, the French missionaries, in the province of Sutchuen in China, were earnestly requested by the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome to translate the Gospel into Chinese, and sent a copy to them. The missionaries answered, that as the Chinese language did not admit of a literal translation, they had, a long time before, compiled a work in Chinese containing the history and moral of the Gospel, for the use of their congregations, and that nothing more could be satisfactorily executed on the subject; yet, as the request was urgent, they prepared, with the assistance of their best informed proselytes, a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew, a copy of which they sent to Rome, informing, at the same time, the congregation *De Propaganda*, that the translation of this Gospel alone, obtained with the assistance of many well-educated natives,

had cost them considerable labour and trouble; adding; that this literal translation differed so widely from the Chinese style, that even their converts would hardly refrain from laughing in perusing it.

“ Now, it is not a little curious to observe, that what European missionaries, who had passed the greatest part of their lives in China, judged next to impossible to execute, even with the assistance of many well-educated natives, an unassisted Armenian, of the name of *Lassar*, at Serampore, should imagine himself able to perform; and it is not only the translation of a single Gospel he has undertaken,—the whole Bible literally translated by this individual has been emphatically promised by the missionaries to the curiosity of the public.

“ Many unprejudiced and unbiassed Europeans, acquainted with the idioms of the country, with whom I have had opportunities of conversing on the subject, and who happened to have perused some parts of the translations of the Scriptures now extant, I am happy to say, perfectly coincided in opinion with me, that such low and vulgar versions of our holy books ought carefully to be concealed from the sight of the Pagans, in order that their aversion to Christianity may not be increased, and the European character injured.” P. 38.

* * * * *

“ Nobody is better persuaded than myself of the quite disinterested intentions of the Bible Society. I feel that it would be extremely impertinent in me to make insinuations in the least offensive to that learned body; but I cannot help saying, that their endeavours to enlighten the Hindoos, or to make the least impression on them through the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, are, in my opinion, quite lost trouble, and will be of no avail. I cannot moreover help declaring, that the money spent for the purpose would be better and more meritoriously employed in feeding the hungry and clothing the naked.

“ It is of no utility to distribute Bibles if you have not well-founded hopes that they will be read, and their meaning be understood. Now, I have every reason to apprehend, that as long as they shall be translated into the almost unintelligible style in which we see the versions already executed, there is not the remotest hope of their being of the least utility even to the best disposed persons, and that (as I observed in a foregoing letter) those loose and spurious versions will only tend to increase the contempt of the prejudiced natives against Christianity, and prove on the whole detrimental to its interests.

“ In fact, if one of the many proofs of our holy books being of divine origin be derived from their intrinsic worth, from their noble, inimitable, and majestic simplicity, there is, alas! on the other hand, but too much room to fear that the Hindoos will form a directly opposite judgment on the subject, when they behold the quite ludicrous and vulgar style of the versions at present circulated among

them; and that even the most reasonable and best disposed, on perusing the Scriptures under such a contemptible shape, so far from looking upon them as the work of God, will, on the contrary, be strongly impelled to consider them as mere forgeries of some obscure, ignorant, and illiterate individual, and of course as a downright imposture.

“ Among many instances which are come within my personal notice of the effects produced on the minds of the natives by the versions of the Holy Scriptures into the idioms of India, I will content myself with relating the following only :—

“ Being in a neighbouring village, three or four months ago, I received there the visit of some Christians living in the *Bellary* district, in a place called *Talairu*, where between 30 and 40 *Tilinga* Christian families reside. After the ordinary marks of respect, and the usual compliments, one of my visitors took a book out of a small bag, and without uttering a single word, laid it at my feet. On opening it, I found it was a translation into *Tilinga* of the gospel of St. Matthew; and before saying any thing about it, I wished to be acquainted with the opinion of my visitors on the work. Having interrogated them for the purpose, the person who had delivered it to me began the following curious account, saying, That some months back two Christians of their village went to Bellary on some business, and hearing that a European *gooroo*, or priest, (whom from their account I understood to have been a Protestant missionary,) was living in that place, they went to pay him a visit; that they had been very kindly received by him, and that after a good deal of conversation, chiefly on religious subjects, the *gooroo*, on dismissing them, had made them a present of the book, strongly recommending them to have a chapter of its contents read every Sunday in their chapel to the assembled congregation; that there being only five or six individuals among the congregation who could write and read, on their return they called on them, and delivered the book to them; that these persons had assembled together for the purpose of reading it, and becoming acquainted with its contents; but that they were unable to understand the meaning of a single chapter; that in their perplexity they had applied to some Pagans living in the same village, to assist them in expounding the book; but no one among them had been able to understand any thing about it; that they were then disposed to believe that the foreign *gooroo*, who was not their own, had given them such a work to make a jest of them, and that in this persuasion, some were of opinion, that it should be thrown into the fire; but the majority wishing to become acquainted at least with the outlines of the work, called for the purpose on a brahmin *poorohita*, or astrologer, living in their neighbourhood (which circumstance of Christians having recourse to a Pagan astrologer, to expound the Gospel to them, is not the least curious); that the *poorohita* having perused one or two pages in their presence, told them that it appeared to him to be a curious book, but that it was written in so loose and incoherent a style, and in so obscure a manner, that it would require some days to become

acquainted with the whole. He therefore dismissed them, telling them to come back after a few days.

“ When the Christians returned, the *poorohita* gave them the following curious answer, assuring them, in a low tone of voice, that he had thoroughly perused the work with attention, and that it was nothing more or less than a treatise upon *magic*; adding, that it was worked up in obscure and incoherent sentences, quite unintelligible to *sudras*; ‘ as is always the case,’ said he, ‘ with works treating upon occult and pernicious sciences;’ and strongly recommending them to destroy, or otherwise get rid of it, as it was a great sin to keep so pernicious a book in their possession.”

“ Such is the account those poor simple fellows gave me of the gospel of St. Matthew. The fact is, that the *poorohita* himself had been unable to understand any thing about it; but as he was unwilling to confess his ignorance before *sudras*, he thought he had better give them this awkward explanation. This anecdote will give you some idea of the versions of the Holy Scriptures now extant in the country, and of their utility.” P. 125.

To these forcible objections no answer has been given either by Mr. Hough, or by Mr. Townley; or rather, there is an answer, and that a very unsatisfactory one. They remind us that all first versions must be incorrect. They assure us that great pains are taken in revising the different translations, and they adduce instances in which the attention of the natives has been arrested by a perusal of these works, even in their present imperfect state. There is no disputing such facts, but they bear very slightly upon the question at issue:

“ He reprobates, however, in the strongest terms, the character of the Translations hitherto made into the Oriental Languages; and maintains that they are so very imperfect, that they cannot be understood. If that be the fact, he may dissipate his apprehensions of the evil they will do; for it will certainly go far to neutralize his objection, that they will do more harm to Christianity than good. He knows, as well as I do, that the natives are not so industrious, as to toil through a volume which they find it difficult to comprehend. In the event, then, of a stray copy finding its way to a man as unprepared for it as he may suppose him to be, and not familiar with the style in which it is rendered, it cannot do the harm which he pretends to fear.” (P. 125.)

This is not much to the purpose. The Abbé’s objection is, that the Bible Society’s translations of Scripture will prejudice the natives of Hindostan against the reception of Christianity, because those translations are in many instances absurd. To reply that the Hindoos are too lazy to discover these manifest imperfections, seems no trifling mistake upon the part of Mr. Hough. The laziness of the natives affords a strong

presumption against their taking the trouble to separate the sterling ore of the Gospel from the dross and impurities by which it is concealed; but who ever heard of a person being too lazy to take offence at what shocks his ruling prejudices, or that superficial faults will not be detected for want of industry.

If their palliating answer is injudicious, the more direct reply is at least equally unsatisfactory:

“ So far, then, as my observation has extended, I affirm that the Abbé Dubois has totally failed in his attempt to fix a stigma upon the operations of the Bible Society in the East.

“ I admit that accurate Translations of the Holy Scriptures, into the various languages of India, are difficult to be obtained: but first versions require, and will receive, indulgence from all who candidly consider the great obstacles with which the translators have to contend. It is not necessary for me to reply to M. Dubois insinuations against the Serampore missionaries. Their qualifications for the important task they have undertaken; the vigilance and labour with which they have endeavoured to prevent inaccuracies in every version that has passed through their hands, have been fully, and, to every unbiassed mind, satisfactorily explained.* I feel that it would be degrading those estimable men—men whose talents, and worth, Marquis Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Marquis Hastings, together with a long list of public servants in Bengal, eminent no less for piety than ability, knew how to appreciate—to intimate the necessity of advancing one word in their defence against the Abbé’s unwarranted attack †. P. 35, &c. &c.

This is no defence of the Bible Society’s translation. Their gross inaccuracy is asserted, not only by the Abbé Dubois, but by every person who has written or spoken upon the subject, save and except the Society itself; and Mr. Hough’s defence is, that Carey and Ward were men of talent and character, aided by Lord Wellesley, Lord Minto, and Lord Hastings; and therefore they have translated the Bible with accuracy!!

Mr. Townley is equally careful not to pledge himself for the correctness of these much debated works:

“ I anticipate that now my own opinion of the Indian versions of the Sacred Scriptures may be demanded; and I shall be free, as far as my competency extends, to give it. My testimony must, however, be confined to the versions in the Bengalee language; for,

* See Ward’s Farewell Letters—the whole Series of Memoirs published by themselves upon their Translations—the Eclectic Review for Nov. 1823, &c.

† For a vindication of the Serampore missionaries, see their *Vindiciæ Scramporianæ*,

except in a very slender degree, I am not acquainted with any other of the Indian dialects.

“ There exists two versions of the New Testament in Bengalee ; one by Dr. Carey, and the other by the late Mr. Ellerton, of Mialda, both of them admirably acquainted with the vernacular idiom of the Hindoos inhabiting Bengal.

“ Both of these versions are of great and acknowledged merit, each possessing excellencies peculiar to itself. That by Dr. Carey has more of the attractions resulting from Sanscrit stores, and a learned modification of the sacred page. That by Mr. Ellerton excels in many happy renderings of a familiar and idiomatic kind. Whilst capable of improvement in subsequent editions, they are, in their present state, of incalculable value to the Christian teacher in Bengal. They have been of essential service to myself, and are so to every missionary labouring among the Hindoos of that province. They are perused by many hundreds of Hindoo youths in different schools, and by many adult Hindoos, both converted and unconverted ; and they are the means of imparting a variety of important and essential benefits, both temporal and eternal, to Bengal ; and if the author should insinuate that they are ‘ spurious versions,’ ‘ ludicrous, vulgar, and almost unintelligible,’ and looking like ‘ forgeries of some obscure, ignorant, and illiterate individual ;’ I trust that such insinuation will altogether be deemed unwarranted.

“ With respect to the various other versions of the Scriptures which have been made in India, I am, as I have already intimated, unable to give any positive opinion. If I were nevertheless required to state what is my impression as to the probability of the several versions being adequately executed, I should say, that I apprehend all the versions are not of equal merit. The gradations in the experience and skill of the translators, I presume, will naturally lead to gradations in the excellencies and defects of their respective versions. I would add, that I should presume, that in every version in its first stages, there would probably be found many stiff and unidiomatic expressions, and a multitude of renderings capable of much improvement. In this sentiment I am countenanced by one of the Serampore missionaries, the late Mr. Ward, who does not attempt to represent the numerous versions executed by himself and colleagues as having no or few defects. ‘ Every first version of such a book as the Bible,’ says Mr. Ward, ‘ in any language, will require in future editions many improvements, and all the aids possible to carry those versions to perfection.’ I would add, that I apprehend the worst executed version that can be found in India, contains a sufficiency of what is plain and intelligible, to make the Hindoo reader acquainted with the dialect in which it is written, wise unto life eternal. If he be of an humble, teachable disposition, he will, I apprehend, discover enough to guide him to honour, glory, and immortality ; and if he be of a proud, supercilious, cavilling turn of mind, then his contempt of an imperfectly executed translation of the word of God, made for his benefit by a benevolent stranger who loves him, and

longs for his felicity, is a fault chargeable, not on the version, but on the proud, ungrateful individual who thus spurns it."

"The Mission College, established by the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in the neighbourhood of that metropolis, may be expected to render very considerable aid towards the accomplishment of the important design. That learned and zealous prelate, in laying down the plan of the institution, has particularly specified the translations of the Sacred Scriptures into the languages of Hindostan, as one principal object which the College would embrace. 'In the third place,' Dr. Middleton states, 'I would make the Mission College subservient to the purpose of translations. Much has been done, or attempted in this way; but by no means, as I have reason to believe, so much and so well, as to make this department of missionary labour superfluous or unimportant. We still want versions, which, instead of being the work of one or two individuals, should be the joint productions of several, taking their allotted portions of Scripture, submitting their tasks to approved examiners, and sending the whole into the world under the sanction of authority.'

"This intimation is greatly calculated to strengthen the expectation of the Christian public, that in due time the Indian translations of the Holy Scriptures will attain a sufficient degree of accuracy and maturity, to constitute them standard versions of the Sacred Volume."

The last passage is particularly creditable to Mr. Townley's candour; and we trust that such a hint from such a quarter will not be thrown away. A distinguished Baptist missionary looks forward with pleasure to the assistance of Bishop's College in providing *standard versions* of the Sacred Volume. He admits, therefore, that standards are wanting; that is to say, that existing versions are incorrect. And yet it is for asserting this very fact that he quarrels with the Abbé Dubois. Even before Mr. Hough's admission, the point was as certain as such a point could be. "I hope," says a learned correspondent of our's, speaking of a new translation now in some forwardness, "that, *unlike many now in India*, it will neither offend the learned native by its barbarism, nor the biblical critic by its incorrectness." "The Bombay Bible Society," observes another highly esteemed friend, "has assisted the missionaries in translating the Old and New Testament into Guzaratee, and the Gospel into Mahratta. And the fact is remarkable, because the Serampore translators professed to have done the same before. But their translation is almost entirely Sanscrit, and utterly unintelligible to the bulk of the people. If it were otherwise, the Bombay Society would not have been justified in making entirely new translations, without any allusion to those of Serampore." These are the tes-

timonies of most respectable men, who can hardly be mistaken upon the subject in dispute; and if they are not enlisted under the banners of the Bible Society, and are for the present without a name, we may refer the reader to an authority not liable to either of these objections, "For my part," says Dr. Henderson, in the very sensible pamphlet which unanswerably established the *Mahometanism* of the Bible Society's Turkish New Testament, "I cannot help expressing it as my conviction, founded on a knowledge of facts, that a surprising degree of credulity has obtained, and still in part obtains, as to the qualifications of those to whom the overwhelming responsibility has been attached, of providing translations and editions of the Sacred Scriptures."

Adding these assertions to that of the Abbé Dubois, and comparing them with Mr. Hough's very qualified negative, we rejoice with Mr. Townley at the prospect of obtaining standard versions; and let us not forget that it is Bishop's College from which these versions are expected to emanate.

There is one other portion of the controversy between the Abbé and his correspondents to which we must briefly advert, namely, the degree of success which has attended the labours of the Church Missionary Society, and its kindred associations. The Abbé asserts that it has been much exaggerated.

"I will now close the discussion I have carried on in this and the foregoing letters. When I commenced them, I did not imagine I should go so far into the question. I was induced to enter into so many details by the consideration that elucidations on this interesting subject, by a person of my profession and experience, might prove of some advantage to the public, among whom, it appears, much ignorance and misapprehension prevails, and whose opinion has been in a high degree misled by imperfect, and, in many instances, erroneous statements, published of late, at home, by persons led astray by a misguided religious zeal, and who took upon themselves to treat of matters with which they were scarcely at all, or but very imperfectly acquainted.

"In fact, on perusing the reports of those gentlemen, persons unacquainted with the subject might be induced to suppose, that the Hindoos are a people quite prepared for a revolution in their religious system, and ready to break to pieces and trample upon their gods of stone and brass. One would think, in hearing them, that these fields "*are white already to harvest*," and that it is only necessary to come with sickles and baskets to cut down and gather an abundant crop.

“ For my part, as an experienced veteran in this kind of sacred militia, engaged for a long period in the same kind of holy warfare, thoroughly acquainted with the character, the dispositions, and resources of the common foe, and with all the difficulties which are to be met with in the contest, I beg to be allowed to entertain the most serious doubts of the truth of those pompous and all-promising reports, until more unbiassed and more impartial evidence shall have removed my scepticism.” P. 139.

When we perceived that both Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley had devoted separate chapters to the “ Success of the Protestant Missions,” we anticipated a triumphant reply to these serious imputations. The following are the most distinct answers we can find :

“ But while I thus explain the *means* which Protestant missionaries employ for the conversion of the natives of Hindostan ; and maintain, in opposition to the Abbé Dubois’ assertion to the contrary, that they are more likely to accomplish that end than any which the Jesuits have used ; I nevertheless beg to state, that, without God’s blessing, they do not *depend* upon *any* means for success. Fully do I concur in opinion with him, as he restates his position, ‘ that, under existing circumstances, there is no *human* possibility of converting the Hindoos :’ (p. 2.) I know the difficulties ; have grappled with them as well as he ; and again and again have been compelled to stand still. But, praised be God ! this has not always been the case ; and one instance of success has appeared to me an ample remuneration for the labour expended upon twenty failures. P. 183.

“ Here I might speak of a catechist of high caste, who, by eating and drinking in my presence what was handed to him by a *pariah* servant, gave incontestable proof of his having renounced caste, and all Pagan distinctions, for the sake of Christ. After this, he continued in my service several months ; and I had every reason to be satisfied of his sincerity, and to be thankful to God for the success that attended his labours. I might dwell also with satisfaction upon the character of another catechist, whom I employed about four years in a confidential situation. The humility, piety, zeal, and integrity of this man were as evident fruits of the Spirit as I ever remember to have witnessed. To these I might add several private Christians among the Tinnevely Protestants, who, I had every reason to believe, were sincere converts : also several priests, catechists, and laymen at Madras, Vepery, Tanjore, Tranquebar, and in North India. But my object is, not so much to count the number of converts upon whose sincerity we may rely, as to shew, *from my own experience, that the work of conversion is actually begun in India.* One instance is sufficient to establish my point, and overturn the whole of the Abbé Dubois’ reasoning and conclusions. I have given three cases, at least, of native converts, who have come under my personal observation, and of whose “ real ” *conversion* I can speak with some confidence.” P. 209.

" But to proceed with the main subject of the chapter. When I left Bengal in the month of November, 1822, there was one Hindoo, concerning whom the missionaries in Calcutta had hopes that he was really, from upright motives, seeking admission into the Christian church ; these hopes have been subsequently strengthened, and he has been actually baptized. Herein there has been a similarity between the first fruit of missionary exertions reaped by the London Society, and that gathered by the Baptist missionaries. The first Hindoo convert, effected by the instrumentality of the missionaries of the Baptist denomination, was won to the cross of Christ after their society had commenced its operations in India about seven years : the London Society in Calcutta have obtained their first convert after about the same lapse of time.

" It may be added, that the Church Society reaped their first fruits at Burdwan also, after having the faith and patience of their missionaries put to the test during a period of about the same duration." P. 109.

From the caution which they have observed in the works before us, not less than from their general character, these gentlemen are clearly incapable of asserting what they do not suppose to be true. We have no doubt that they believe the reality of the conversion which they report, and we see no reason to differ from them on the subject ; but can they possibly imagine that these timid assertions will suffice to rescue " the pompous and all-promising reports of their societies " from the just indignation of the Abbé ? Is there not a remarkable difference between the statements of these individual gentlemen, for which they pledge their own word, and the " emblazoned panegyrics of official reports " (as Dr. Henderson calls them) for which no individual is answerable. The reader will not be able to discover a satisfactory answer to these questions in any of the works under review. The charge is, that the general tenor of the reports, the speeches of certain itinerant orators, and the common language of their party, exaggerate the success of the missionaries. Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley reply, that to the best of their belief, ten or twelve real conversions have taken place. Is this the language of Mr. Townley in the sermons which he delights to preach in all the market towns in the kingdom ? Is this the language of Mr. Parson, who has harangued so many church missionary meetings in the course of the last summer, and informed them, we presume, of the respect with which he treated Bishop Middleton, and of the reception which he gave to Bishop Heber ? We can only say, that if they are, if these gentlemen have used the moderate and qualified language which distinguishes the answerers of Dubois, their hearers must be deaf or stupid ;

for we never met with one of them who viewed the business in this light, and we suspect they will be somewhat surprised at the difference between oratorical amplification, and written accuracy and precision. The only success worth mentioning which the missionaries have obtained, or which is claimed by Mr. Hough and Mr. Townley, is the extensive establishment of native schools, and the employment of a few indifferently qualified native teachers. If these advantages are duly improved, they may lead to important results ; but those results will not be secured, unless the education of the native teachers is conducted upon sound principles. Mr. Townley deplores the loss of a Brahmin, who had a goodly “ gift in prayer ;” and Mr. Hough commends the reports of Abdool Messeh, for which it is generally understood that we are indebted to Archdeacon Corry. But whether this be or be not the fact, the judicious, and orthodox, and adequate instruction of such natives as aspire to the rank of teachers, is the point upon which most of what is about to be done must hinge ; and what plan that deserves the name has been suggested for such instruction, except that chalked out by the projector and first visitor of Bishop’s College ?

This question will be put with still more effect when we have attended to the “ Persian Controversies.” They consist of the tracts on Christianity and Mahometanism, which were composed by the late Mr. Martyn, and his opponents ; and we heartily concur with Professor Lee, in his estimate of their importance. It is rumoured, that the highest authorities in British India intend to abstain from all interference with Mahometans. We will not credit so strange a tale ; but among many other reasons why it cannot be true, we may notice the progress which has been already made, and the great danger of arresting it. The Mahometans have been attacked with vehemence ; and not contented with remaining on the defensive, they have attacked Christianity in return ; impeached the authenticity and truth of the Bible, and entered upon an immense field of critical, historical, metaphysical, and sceptical inquiry. To decline the contest therefore, if it were possible, would be in the highest degree impolitic. It would be supposed, and not unreasonably, that Christians were no match for the learned defenders of Islam. It would be said, that we are eager to encounter an ignorant idolatrous Hindoo ; but retire, in alarm and disgrace, before the followers of the true prophet. Professor Lee very sensibly observes, that every missionary should be prepared to cope with Mahometan errors ; and he gives a gentle hint that it is not commonly the case.

“ As the following pages may perhaps be found useful to missionaries and others, who wish to make themselves acquainted with this question, I have thought it might not be amiss to give some notices and extracts from the controversy as it existed prior to the times of Mr. Martyn; especially as that controversy was prosecuted to a much greater length than his, and contains much valuable matter on the subject. It may also be desirable to know where books treating on this question are to be found; because we hear it sometimes affirmed, that a missionary has not the means, in this country, of acquiring a deep and accurate insight into the opinions of the Mohammedans:—that Grotius, Sale, and others, have left us in the dark, as to their metaphysics, mysticism, &c. and therefore, that it is necessary, not only to learn their language in the East, but also their opinions. As far, however, as my knowledge of this subject goes, I must be allowed to express a different opinion, having no doubt, that both the languages and opinions of the Orientals can be learned in this country at as little expense, and in as little time, as they can in the East, and at a much less risk. Our public libraries contain the very best books on every subject connected with grammar, history, ethics, theology, geography, and every other science; and to which, even in the East itself, access is seldom to be had. Valuable as the labours of Mr. Martyn certainly were, yet I have no doubt, that if he had passed a short time in this country in a preparatory course of Oriental reading, he would not only have done more than he has, but he would have done it better, and with far greater comfort to himself.” P. i.

The account thus promised is contained in the professor's preface, and is well worth reading; but Mr. Martyn, and his antagonists, have a more immediate claim upon our attention. The professor's account of them is contained in the following passages:—

“ It appears from his Memoirs, that he left the Bay of Bengal in January 1811, and arrived at Shiráz in the June following. After disputing several times with the literati of that place, he was informed on July 3, that *Mirza Ibrahim*, the preceptor of all the Moolas, was then writing a book in defence of Mohammedanism; which appeared accordingly on the 26th of the same month. ‘ A considerable time had been spent,’ it is said, ‘ in its preparation; and, on its seeing the light, it obtained the credit of surpassing all former treatises upon Islam.’ The epigraph to this tract, given in Mr. Martyn's Memoirs, does not occur in the manuscript which has come to my hands; it is this: ‘ This was finished by Ibraheem ben al Hosyn, after the evening of the second day of the week, the 23d of the month Jemadi the second, in the year 1223 of the Hegira of the prophet. On him who fled be a thousand salutations!’ ” P. cxv.

“ ‘ His answer,’ says Mr. Martyn's biographer, (p. 403), ‘ was divided into two parts: the first was devoted *principally* to an attack upon Mahometanism: the second was intended to display the evi-

dences and establish the authority of the Christian faith. It was written in Persian, and from a translation of the first part, which has been found, we perceive that Mr. Martyn, 'having such hope,' used great plainness of speech, whilst, at the same time, he treated his opponent with meekness and courtesy,' &c.

"This is not quite correct. Mr. Martyn's replies consisted not of two, but of three parts, as the reader will perceive from the following translations. Nor do they treat of the evidences of Christianity, at least in the sense in which that word is usually received. Towards the end of the third tract, indeed, some of the evidences in favour of Christianity are proposed: but with this Mr. Martyn's biographer seems not to have been acquainted." P. cxvi.

The tract of Mirza Ibrahim sets out with asserting the necessity of a miracle to establish the reality of a prophetic mission, and defines a miracle to be, "an effect exceeding common experience, corresponding to a claim of prophecy made, and accompanied by a challenge to produce the like." We are therefore told, that to judge whether an event be miraculous, the person judging must be of the sect or calling to which the miracle naturally attaches itself; as for example, that he be a magician as it respects the miracles of Moses, or a physician with respect to the greater part of the miracles of Jesus. That it is not usual with God to permit the performance of miracles to *absolute sufficiency*, that is to say, in such numbers as to satisfy every scientific person by a reference to his own particular science, but that one set of men are *immediately* convinced, and others may be satisfied through their intervention.

"These things then being premised, we now affirm that there appeared an Arab among us, who, making a claim to prophecy, proposed as his miracle the production of a certain written composition, and then asserted that mankind were unable to produce the like, by any effort of rhetoric, or any thing else. And since we have shewn, that a miracle is not necessarily confined to any one science, to the exclusion of another, provided it be such as comport with the dignity of a prophet, there can be no impropriety in his making this the miracle, upon which he would establish his prophetic mission. And since we have also shewn, that an assurance of the reality of the miracle is to be obtained either from a knowledge of the science, &c. to which the alleged miracle is referrible; or, by the attestation of those skilled in such science, that it is impossible to produce the like. And as we have also shewn that an absolute sufficiency in the assurance of inability is not to be expected, as laid down in the first place; we now affirm, that the mission of Mohammed has been established with the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and the inhabitants of Dailam. With the Arabs, on account of their knowledge of the Arabic language, and of the science of eloquence. Had therefore his production originated in this science, they could have produced

its equal. But they have not, notwithstanding the great numbers of their orators and preachers, and the prevalence of these professions, at that time: to which may be added, the extreme enmity they would exercise towards him, as is always the case, when such claims are advanced. His mission too is established with others, by the confession of the learned among the Arabs (numerous as they were, and extensive as were their territories) of their utter inability to produce the like. So that, in fact, no one of them, during the space of twelve hundred years, has yet produced the like, notwithstanding the continued allegations of the preachers of Islamism, that the Koran holds out a challenge to all. Now, in the matter of a prophetic mission, nothing less than assurance can be admitted as of any weight: and therefore, assurance is of the first importance. But assurance has here been obtained in the most satisfactory manner: namely, from the inability of men to produce the like; just as the claim had been made by Mohammed; his mission has therefore been thus established with those also, who were not Arabs." P. 9.

" This assurance is then to be obtained from an acquaintance with the science of eloquence, which must be founded upon a knowledge of the elements of language, just as it is from the unanimous confession of the learned; viz. that it is a miracle, and not the effect of eloquence alone:—an assurance, in which there can remain no doubt; and no less convincing than that of the miracles of the other prophets. Nay, it is more so; for the impossibility of imitation is now just what it was at the first performance of the miracle, on account of its perpetuity, and its utter incapability of decay. And further, it will for ever remain just what it was at the first propagation of Islamism, contrary to the character of the miracles of other prophets, of which we have now nothing remaining but mere relations, as Moses or Jesus, for instance, did this or that; or it is thus preserved by tradition. But no relation can have the evidence of an eye-witness. The miracles of other prophets, moreover, in addition to their want of evidence, as already noticed, when compared with that of the Koran, will by length of time become less and less convincing; because in process of time any relation must become less impressive. But the miracle of the Koran, on the contrary, will, in process of time, become more so, because the learned who have confessed their inability to produce the like, will have been more numerous, though the miracle itself will remain exactly what it was at the first: and the conviction of its being a miracle will thus become more powerful. Hence will the mystery be explained, why this prophet was, to the exclusion of all others, termed the seal of prophecy: because, as the evidence of their miracles is daily becoming weaker, a time must at last arrive, when it will fail of affording assurance, that they were miracles at all; whence would arise the necessity of the mission of another prophet and other miracles, 'lest men should have an argument of excuse against God after the Apostles had been sent to them:' contrary to what is the fact, as it respects this prophet and his miracles; which will remain to the day of judgment, not only what it was at the first, but more convincing.

And hence there will be no necessity for another prophet, or for other miracles to all eternity." P. 12.

Such is the direct argument for Islamism with which Mirza Ibrahim encountered Mr. Martyn. The ingenuity of the reasoning is indisputable; and if we do not believe that men would embrace Mahometanism on these grounds, still less can we expect them to quit it, while such plausible defenses are unanswered. If Mr. Martyn or professor Lee have furnished a sufficient answer, sufficient not only for the European but for the Asiatic inquirer after truth, they have deserved well of the church of Christ; but with great respect for their talents, we think they have not accomplished this task. Both of them have shewn considerable skill in exposing Mirza Ibrahim's false logic. Mr. Martyn, more especially, meets him on the ground of miracles, and proves the insufficiency of the Mahometan argument.

"It has been said, (p. 10), that the Koran's being a miracle has been established with those who are not Arabs, by the Arabs confession of inability to produce its equal. We reply: that, waving what has already been said, the confession of the Arabs can have no weight with us; because, in this case, they are parties concerned: and no one is absurd enough to make the same party, both opponent and judge. If it be asked, how then can we satisfy ourselves whether the Koran is a miracle or not, if we are not to believe what the Arabs say on that point, ignorant as we are of the peculiarities of the language? We answer: in cases where no judge can be found, decision must necessarily be suspended." P. 87.

"We answer, in the second place, that had not the Arabs a violent motive for what they say, it is probable they would give a different testimony. But the truth is, they have a violent motive, in which is implicated the necessity of changing their religion, of confessing the folly and error of their forefathers, and of denying the truth of what both they and their forefathers have hitherto advanced on the subject of religion. It is possible, therefore, that they may not be very scrupulous as to the truth in these matters. And, if they are conscious of the truth of what has been said, that may perhaps be an additional motive to silence. But supposing the utmost, viz. that some should from time to time have let out the truth; or have produced an equal to the Koran, who, in this case, should have been judge, or have determined that such production was equal to the Koran? If it be said, that this could have been determined by the rules of rhetoric, we answer, first: This would be contrary to the supposition that the Koran's being a miracle is determined from its exceeding the rules hitherto laid down in that science. And, secondly, that as all the rules of rhetoric are taken from the Koran, and every rule in that science is established by a citation from it, it must follow, that the rules of rhetoric are to be tried by the Koran, and not the Koran by the rules of rhetoric; as it there-

fore is agreed among the Arabs, that the Koran possesses the highest degree of elegance, every thing, not perfectly accordant with it, will of course be deemed inelegant.

“ If it be said that at the time of Mohammed there were many professors of eloquence, who, notwithstanding their endeavours to produce an equal to the Koran, found it impossible to do so, and that this is proof sufficient for them. We reply; we are not quite satisfied that the professors of eloquence were at all numerous in those times; for it appears from several passages both of the Koran and the traditions, that Mahommed was raised up from among an illiterate nation. And, again, both the commentators and historians call the Arabs an illiterate people in consequence of their ignorance of writing and want of wealth, in those times. And as the learned affirm, that to be illiterate does not necessarily preclude the possibility of being eloquent, (it being possible that some one may at the same time be both illiterate and eloquent), upon what principle is it, that they also affirm, that Mohammed's being illiterate constitutes one of the miracles of the Koran, unless they could have first shewn, that to be illiterate necessarily precludes the possibility of being eloquent? And, as to the existence of one or two poets in those times, we affirm, that circumstance can avail but little; according to the adage: “ What is rare, is as nothing.” Besides, if we even allow that there were many, still we are not prepared also to allow that they did not produce an equal to the Koran; because this wants proof. And again, should we allow that they did not produce an equal, still we do not therefore also allow, that if they had made the attempt they could not have succeeded. Because, as long as Mohammed remains in Mecca, and it was not known how this affair would end, people would not be very anxious on this subject; and particularly the more sober, who saw that his object was to call the Arabs from the worship of idols to that of the true God: and if a few idolaters had really been unable, during so short a period of time, to produce an equal, no very great stress can be laid on that. But after Mohammed got to Medina, and from that day to this, no one among the Arabs had dared to say that he could prove the Koran not to be a miracle, or that Mohammed was not a prophet; or that he could produce, or had produced, an equal to his book. But further, should we allow that the attempt had been made, and failed, still it would not follow that the Koran is miraculous. For, it is well known that ancient books are to be found in some languages, to which no one can now produce equals. Such, for example, as the writings of Homer in the Greek, or those of Virgil in the Latin; or some others in other languages, which might here be mentioned. The same may be said too of many productions of art, which have come down from former times; to which, notwithstanding the efforts of the moderns, no equal has yet been produced: contrary to the case of the Koran, to which, on account either of superstition or fear, few have thought of opposing their skill in composition. Hence it will appear how the repeated challenges in the Koran to produce its equal are to be un-

derstood: and also, that the Koran itself, although no one might have been able to produce its equal, is no miracle." P. 88.

This is better said than any thing else in the volume; and is a proof that much might have been done by Martyn, had his life been spared, and his exertions judiciously directed. But it refutes a particular treatise, rather than a general system; and the most that can be expected of it, is to put Mirza Ibrahim to silence. Mr. Martyn's defence of Christianity is liable to many objections. The ground-work of it is the *à priori* necessity of an atonement, a truth which infidels may reasonably dispute. They will contend, that God might have appointed some other method for the pardon and salvation of man; and until they are driven from this post, Mr. Martyn's argument will have no effect. The remainder of it is inferior to many well known tracts upon the evidences; and on the whole, we should rather say, that he wrote a clever pamphlet, than that he gave Mahometanism a heavy blow.

The reply which he called forth, is in one sense heavy enough. It occupies a large portion of the professor's volume, and is written not by the original advocate of Islamism, but by a third person named Mahommed Ruza, who has re-asserted Mirza Ibrahim's principles, and contended, that Mahomet was predicted in the Jewish scriptures, if not in the corrupted copies of them, which are current in Christendom. We cannot now follow the writer through this treatise, but must content ourselves with extracting professor Lee's summary of it, which forms the introduction to his remarks upon the controversy.

"In resuming the question discussed in the preceding tracts, it has not been thought advisable to follow the line of argument adopted either by Mr. Martyn or his opponents; because, however the particular topics discussed by them might be vindicated or refuted, the general question at issue may nevertheless not be advanced by such a method; and the reader, reduced perhaps to the mortifying consideration, that time and pains had been thrown away, may at last ask, To what purpose has been this waste? It is our intention, therefore, to take a different line of argument; and to endeavour to arrive at a conclusion, which will tend to place the subject before us in a profitable point of view, adverting occasionally to the arguments which have been given in the foregoing pages, as the nature of our subject may require.

"Situated as Mr. Martyn was in Persia, with a short Tract on the Mohomedan religion before him, and his health precarious, the course he has taken was perhaps the only one practicable: but, as an elaborate reply to him has now appeared, in which the principal arguments

generally urged in favour of Islamism are to be found, it becomes a duty to examine them at some length, not merely to refute them, but to enable ourselves to propose a more rational and profitable creed, with the greater probability of success.

“ It must have appeared from what has already been detailed, that the arguments of a Mohammedan are not quite so easily to be met as it has sometimes been supposed. In addition to the opinion that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted, and, therefore, unworthy of credit, the professor of Islamism has fortified his system by metaphysical disquisitions, difficult to be understood, and more difficult to be refuted; not because they are true, but because a system of erroneous reasoning is also to be set aside, and documents, now believed to be authentic, to be proved unworthy of credit. In addition to this, we have to assail a system of mysticism, of almost too indefinite a nature to be made the subject of analogical enquiry.

“ In this, the Deity is not only considered as *one*, in opposition to polytheism, but as the only being in existence, from whom all that is seen, felt, or heard, is but the merely ideal emanation, which in a short time shall again be absorbed in his mysterious essence. Hence pain or pleasure, sin or holiness, action or rest, are looked upon as the mere modes of existence necessarily entailed on all the imaginary characters introduced to this theatre of temporary being; and a state of stupor, which a moderately taught Christian would consider as little short of real madness, is considered as the highest degree of mental perfection to which man can aspire, and from which he shall glide into that union with the Deity, of which he is most desirous. In this state, the devotee considers the voluptuous paradise of his prophet, as pointing out those spiritual provisions for the soul which await him in the higher stages of his progress: that Jesus and all the prophets have trodden this mysterious path:—that idolatry and faith are all but one thing,—all being God, and verging towards that state of union with him, at which, finally, they shall all arrive.”
P. 451.

It is evident from this passage, that the professor, like ourselves, is dissatisfied with Mr. Martyn's argument. We wish it were equally certain that he has furnished a better. That he has sketched a better we admit, and the reader shall be made acquainted with it directly. It will prove that the professor is not unacquainted with the direction in which Mahometanism may be best assailed.

“ In order, therefore, to bring our subject fully before such readers, I have taken the following line of argument as the most suitable to our question; viz. To shew, in the first place, that the principles, by which evidence has been estimated in the preceding Mohammedan Tracts, is not calculated to ascertain the truth in questions relating to religion. And, in the second, to propose others upon which reliance may be placed.

"In the third place, since both parties allow, that a revelation has been made from above, and that the books of the Old and New Testament were originally so revealed, to shew that those books are now mainly the same as they originally were; that is, that no wilful corruption has ever taken place in them, either affecting any point of doctrine, or article of history; although we are disposed to allow, that some variety of reading is found to exist in the different copies.

"Having determined this point, and agreeing with the author of the preceding tract, that all information relating to religion must necessarily be derived from revelation, we propose to enquire, in the fourth place, Whether revelation affords the criteria by which any one laying claim to a divine mission may be known. And, if so, Whether Mohammed's character answer the requirements of such criteria."

If this outline had been vigorously and distinctly filled up, one branch of the Persian controversy would have reached its proper termination. There still would have remained much to do; for the *soofeism* of the learned Mahometans is a gross, if not an Atheistic infidelity; and whenever they are compelled to relinquish the claims of the Koran, they will reject all revelation. They are unwilling to avow the extent of their scepticism, and will defend their prophet as long as they can. We fear that the professor's argument will not shorten that period; it is long, pointless and indistinct; it satisfies himself, and it satisfies us; but we shall be very much surprised if it satisfies an Arab or a Persian. It treats of matters familiar to every theologian, but neither advances new reasonings, nor improves materially upon the old. It shews the futility of Mahometan objections to the Bible, and defends its doctrines with more judgment than Mr. Martyn has done. But it is an instance of the great variety of men's natural talents, and proves, that a successful cultivator of languages may make an indifferent advocate. Thanks are due to professor Lee for the pains which he has bestowed upon these controversial tracts. In their present accessible shape, they will instruct every reader, and be highly useful to those who are engaged in Eastern missions; and they tend more especially to shew, that such missions should be superintended by men of extensive learning; that the exposure of Mahometanism is an arduous task; and that great diligence and great abilities may be devoted to it with indifferent success.

These, however, are points upon which difference of opinion may exist. The labours, both of Mr. Martyn, and of professor Lee, may be more highly esteemed by others than they are by us; and we have no desire no dispute the question with their friends or admirers. We turn to another subject which is calculated to produce more unanimity, and ask whether

it can be doubted, after a perusal of the preceding details, that subordination, superintendence, and system, are necessary for the effectual propagation of Christianity in the East? The selection, instruction and controul, of European missionaries, the education of native priests and catechists, the translation of the Scriptures into foreign tongues, and the conduct of learned and difficult controversies; can these be entrusted to any voluntary association? Unless we have entirely mistaken the effect of the investigation which has now been instituted, there can be no difficulty in returning a proper answer. The authority by which teachers are sent out, should either be that of the whole Church, or of the prelate who presides over a particular diocese. Their qualifications should be ascertained, and their respective posts assigned, not by Baptists or Church Missionary Societies, or even by Societies for promoting Christian Knowledge; but what is required to be done at home should be done by the Supreme Head of the Church, with the concurrence of the Metropolitan; and what remains to be done abroad should be done by the Suffragan Bishops, who are appointed to each separate country. These are general principles, and apply in every case. But in India they are strengthened by local circumstances, and their abandonment will not only make our hopes fallacious, and our endeavours futile, but will expose the Gospel to the contempt of unbelievers. The political as well as the religious consequences of irregular and desultory enterprise, will manifest themselves ere long to the world; and the extinction, not merely of the British power, but of the British name, language, laws, civilization and religion, will be the natural result of uncombined, indiscreet, unauthorized endeavours at conversion.

We are sanguine enough to hope, that the "Sermons and Charges" of Bishop Middleton may assist in convincing all parties of these important truths. The Memoir, as we have already stated, is worthy neither of its subject nor of its author. The great aim throughout its pages is to say nothing which may offend, and the whole is unsatisfactory and meagre. With the exception of the Bishop's two visitations, which are invested with some portion of interest, we learn no more from the Memoir of his Life than had already appeared in the magazines. Little or nothing is disclosed respecting the opposition which he encountered from the Court of Directors, or the feeble support which he received from the India Board. Little or nothing is stated respecting that inveterate presbyterian hostility which would have over-

whelmed a weaker man, and, even to Bishop Middleton, was a constant source of trouble and uneasiness. The reader of Archdeacon Bonney's Memoir will obtain no sufficient knowledge, either of what the Bishop underwent, or of what he achieved; and, in spite of our respect for the worthy memorialist, and our conviction that he intended to do justice to the memory of his friend, we must say that he has not accomplished his purpose, and that the fame of Middleton deserves a better historian.

Still there is much to be expected from the republication of the Sermons and Charges. They have appeared at a favourable season, and may serve to decide the controversy between the Abbé Dubois and his opponents, in a manner of which neither party will altogether approve. We extract a few passages which bear upon this question. The first is taken from "The Manifold Wisdom of God made known by the Church," a sermon preached at the cathedral of Calcutta, in which the Bishop explains his sentiments respecting the conversion of the heathen:

"A zeal, then, for the glory of God, if its lineaments have now been correctly portrayed, will be forcibly directed to the state of those nations, in which the Gospel is not merely undervalued, but utterly unknown. Where, for instance, shall its energies be excited, if they are dormant in the land which we now inhabit? In what other region of the known world is the glory of God more effectually obscured, and His truth, to allude to the Apostle's saying, more palpably 'turned into a lie?' (Rom. i. 25.) The case of ruder nations furnishes no answer to this question: refinement, when corrupted, may be worse than barbarism; and system has a power of evil beyond simplicity. Where else too, we may ask, do we find more evident vestiges of that fall from primeval uprightness, which the Gospel was designed to repair? From the dislocated strata and confused position of heterogeneous substances in the bowels of the earth, the geologist attests the breaking up of the vast deep in times remote, if he yield not implicit faith to the Scriptures: and here, in like manner, does the Christian trace indubitable evidence of that wreck and ruin of the moral world, which the same Scriptures record: the best qualities or tendencies of our nature and their opposite defects are found in immediate contact: the fear without the knowledge of God;—courtesy without brotherly love;—profuseness without public spirit;—lowliness without humility;—a consciousness of sin without the want of a Saviour;—fortitude without feeling or resignation;—and a contempt of death without a thought of immortality;—these are among the inconsistencies and perversions of original goodness, which every day's observation may exhibit to our notice: and who can contemplate these appearances, and not lament them?"

or who, that laments them, can be backward to employ the remedy? I mean not, of course, in any way but that of affectionate and Christian solicitude, and by teaching and ‘persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.’” P. 118.

The following passages occur in the Bishop’s second and third Charges :

“ That I may not, however, rest a fact of so much importance upon mere assertion, I will state to you very briefly (for briefly it must be) what appears to have been the method in which Christianity was disseminated in the primitive times. I have remarked that early ecclesiastical history, after the apostolic age, is not what, according to modern ideas, we might expect to find it, much engaged in the subject of missions. The command of Christ, ‘to baptize all nations,’ may be considered as the authority under which Christians are required to be solicitous for the diffusion of the Gospel; the command, however, was given to the eleven, and to those by implication, as well as by the special assurance of divine aid, who might be joined with them, or succeed them in the work; to say nothing of the case of St. Paul, whose commission, though subsequent to that of the twelve, was directly from Christ. By the apostles themselves and their associates, as some have gathered from the apostolic writings, about seventy churches were founded, reaching to Babylon, eastward, and westward, as far as Spain; if indeed St. Paul ever accomplished his meditated journey thither, and if St. Peter, in speaking of the church at Babylon, meant the ancient capital of Chaldea, neither of which seems probable. At any rate, Christianity was planted in the apostolic age in most of the regions subject to the power of Rome, though the converts were almost every where but a small part of the whole population. It does not, however, appear that any churches were planted except by the apostles, or by persons acting in connexion with them: the work of conversion began in unity, whatever were the divisions which arose afterwards; and these divisions were never so great as to obliterate the effects of the order in which conversion commenced. What then was the course pursued? Of the proceedings of the apostles I need not speak; it is sometimes said that they were missionaries, as the name applies: missionaries they were indeed; going forth in the power and the spirit of Christ, and, as was to be expected, teaching the same doctrines, and establishing churches, the members of which could meet in conscientious communion, knowing of no other separation or distinction than that of place. If the apostles, however, required assistance, as we know that they did, still more would their successors: something analagous to a missionary system was indispensable, and this was supplied, partly by the persons denominated evangelists, and partly by catechists. Evangelists were missionaries in the strictest sense; their business was, as we learn from Eusebius, to preach Christ to those who had not heard of his name, and deliver to them to the Gospels. It is asserted, however, on the same authority, that these men were disciples of the apostles;

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that they laboured not merely to found new churches, but to confirm and consolidate those which were already planted; and that even at the time of which the historian is speaking, the reign of Trajan, the Holy Spirit still wrought mighty works by their hands: of course they were under His especial guidance, and thus was the original purpose of edification and unity, and a knowledge of the truth, fulfilled; for St. Paul declares, that all offices in the church, including that of evangelists, were designed 'for the edification (the building up) of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God under a perfect man.' These evangelists, therefore, though they seem not to have been confined in their mission to any certain spot longer than the occasion required, were yet recognised members of the church, and amenable to its discipline. Upon this subject *Mosheim*, a Lutheran, and not a strenuous asserter of episcopacy, has remarked, that 'in early times it was undoubtedly the custom for such members of any church as might be desirous of imitating the example of the apostles, and propagating the Gospel among the heathen, to apply to the bishop for his 'license, and to enter on their travels under his sanction.' Order, it seems, was not then thought incompatible with enterprise or with holy influences, but rather, perhaps, to have been among the tests and evidences of a commission from God.

"The other provision to which I alluded for the extension of the Gospel, was in the appointment of catechists. As the evangelists were sent among barbarians, to whom possibly the name of Christ was unknown, the catechists were to bring into the fold of Christ the heathen who resided in the neighbourhood of any Christian church: the conversion of these was an object contemplated in every Christian establishment: all who expressed a desire to be acquainted with the doctrines of the Gospel, were considered as standing in a certain relation to the church; not a close one indeed, till they had given evidence of their being in earnest, but yet one which was publicly avowed: places contiguous to the church were set apart for their instruction; catechisms were compiled for their use; catechumens were allowed to be present in the church during the sermon, and while certain prayers were offered for their illumination, in which they were required to join; and, if I mistake not, even the heathen who had not openly professed a desire to be instructed in our faith, were not altogether excluded.

"These then appear to have been the missionary proceedings of the first ages; but all antiquity abounds with circumstances tending to show, that the propagation of the Gospel was in close connexion with order and discipline. Churches were built under the bishop's sanction, signified by his visiting the spot and affixing a cross; no clergyman could be ordained but with a specific and local charge; a convert could not be admitted to the orders either of priest or deacon, till he had brought over his whole family, whether infidels or heretics, to the catholic church; and one of the canons of the council of Chalcedon provides for the consecration

and subordination of bishops in foreign parts. Regulations such as these may be thought trivial in the laxity of modern times, still this was the system under which our faith was disseminated, and which had manifestly the blessing of God." P. 216.

" Still it may be asked, is there no way in which the different sects, now unhappily dividing the Christian world, may essentially and unexceptionably contribute to the propagation of the Gospel? I should shrink from such a conclusion, however legitimate were the process, by which it might seem to be deduced: I should hesitate to believe for a moment, that laborious and pious and benevolent men, of any religious denomination, could be altogether disqualified for furthering such a work: if they would turn their attention chiefly to the elementary instruction of youth,—to the dissemination of European knowledge and arts,—to the improvement of morals,—to facilitating the acquisition of languages,—to bringing us acquainted with the opinions, and habits, and literature of those whom we wish to convert, and generally to breaking up and preparing the soil for the seed of the Gospel, they would indeed be valuable auxiliaries in the Christian cause; and the most inconsiderable sect might thus attain a degree of usefulness, if not of worldly renown, which the most prominent cannot hope for in the present state of things." P. 221.

" Upon the course of proceeding in this great question in the primitive ages, I took occasion to speak at some length when I last addressed you; and if I mistake not, I showed distinctly that the diffusion of Christianity was not effected so much by independent efforts, and unauthorised experiments, as by the gradual expansion of the Catholic church. It was thus that the work began: 'As they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders, which were at Jerusalem: and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.' It may, therefore, be expected that nothing would more effectually contribute to the object in question than a considerable church establishment among us, which should at least make our religion conspicuous and procure for it respect, while it countenanced the operations and gave a character to the labours of those who should be employed in the work of conversion. I am not, I need hardly observe, supposing the regular clergy to be missionaries; they have other duties to perform, and almost every where, if they be performed with diligence, sufficient to occupy their time, though no reason can be given why they should not avail themselves of their Christian opportunities to receive converts within the pale of their respective congregations: nor can there be any thing more Christian in its aspect than the spectacle which, I am told, may be seen, of a number of native converts joining with our own people in the service of the church. Missionaries, therefore, acting under proper authority, and subject to control, as in the primitive times, must be employed; and schools in connexion with our missions must be maintained, in which elementary knowledge shall

be taught preparatory to the sowing of the seed of the Gospel. Still the prevailing sentiment among the established clergy, in questions of this kind, will always have great weight : missionaries will effect comparatively little if it be not seen with what they are connected, or whence they are sent ; and any enormous disproportion between the provision which may be made for the maintenance of religion among ourselves, and for the teaching of it to the heathen, will carry upon the very face of it a confession, that the subject altogether is of less importance in the judgment of some among us than of others. It is, in truth, a question in which much, in the commencement at least, must depend upon externals : as the minds of these people are constituted, and perhaps most minds not habituated to abstraction, they must see before they can understand, or will even enquire. If we err it should not be on the side of simplicity. In the early times, as we learn from Origen, the heathen would ask the Christians, where were their temples ? which were comparatively few and mean. The answer might have been, that the Christians then were poor. Whatever has been done among ourselves in this way, has undoubtedly contributed to the change of sentiment among the heathen ; and a proportionate effect may be expected from what may be done hereafter. The Christian measures of Constantine, on his conversion, may be ascribed to the influence of his adviser Eusebius ; they were, therefore, such as the judgment and extensive experience of that great man recommended, and they were principally the building of churches, and a provision for the better observance of the Lord's day." P. 242.

Our limits will not suffer us to make any further use of these admirable charges. A careful consideration of them is indispensably necessary to such as would understand the missionary question. Bishop Middleton treats it not as a subject for the exercise of mere zeal and good intention, but rather of zeal regulated by learning, and expecting no great results from hasty and unconnected measures. He recommends us to propagate Christianity by extending the church ; and he reminds the church that her ancient instruments of conversion must be resorted to, before the days of her increase can return. These principles are developed both in the works which we have already quoted, and in his lordship's admirable letter to the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, which is reprinted in the present work ; and, after looking through a mass of unsubstantiated statements, and inconclusive arguments, it is no slight gratification to meet with Bishop Middleton at the end of our journey. He explains the principal advantages to be derived from Bishop's College, in a note to the sermon from which our first extract was taken ; and those portions of it which relate to missionaries, scholarships, translations and schools, cannot be too extensively known :

“ The intention is to make the discipline and studies established in our English universities, with so much benefit to the cause of true religion and sound learning, the basis of the constitution of the college near Calcutta ; and to raise upon them such a superstructure, as the circumstances of this country and the particular destination of the students may require. The site of the college ensures seclusion and freedom from interruption : the students will be constantly within their own walls or grounds, except by special permission, and be subject to a system of order and restraint ; and the chapel, the hall, and the lecture rooms, will claim their regular attendance at specified hours. In their studies, theology, with all that is subsidiary to it, will form the prominent employment of those who are designed for the ministry ; combining with the study of the Holy Scriptures, Hebrew and the learned languages, ecclesiastical and profane history, the elements of natural philosophy, and so much of mathematical knowledge as may tend to invigorate their minds and facilitate all other acquirements. They who shall be destined to be schoolmasters, will have their studies in like manner directed to their future efficiency : they will be well grounded in classical learning, and be furnished with all those branches of knowledge which may conduce to open the minds and dissipate the prejudices of the native population of India. By both classes of students, however, the Oriental languages, those especially used in the districts, which may be expected to become the scene of their future labours, will be cultivated with the greatest application ; and all will be familiarised with the principles which attach British subjects to their national establishments, and be trained in feelings of respect and deference for the constituted authorities in India : and it is hoped, that with the divine blessing, early habits of piety and industry, and self-control, combined with an affectionate remembrance of the place of their education, will give to the students a character of mind and sentiment which they will never lose, and by which they shall be marked and known in all future life.” P. 131.

“ The society for founding the college, contemplates the establishment of missionary stations, wherever an opening shall seem to present itself for accomplishing their benevolent purposes. To supply such stations with missionaries and their proper assistants, and to keep up a never-failing succession of them, is their primary object ; to which every thing else is collateral and subsidiary. But before this can be effected, it is obvious that students must be maintained in the college and duly prepared for their allotted labours. It may seem, therefore, that the question of supplying stations is posterior to that of maintaining students, and may thus be for the present postponed ; it must be considered, however, that the admission of students into the college must in a great measure be regulated by the prospect of a provision for them afterwards ; and such provision will be generally (although not invariably in respect of schoolmasters,) by their appointment to some missionary station. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance, that the public benevolence as applicable to this head, should shew itself early, and in truth it is the point, to which above

all others, the society may be presumed to wish, that attention should be directed : benefactions, therefore, made specially applicable to this department will be suffered to accumulate, until such stations can be actually formed.

“ The foundation of scholarships is only second in importance to the preceding head, and even prior to it in actual operation. A scholarship, it is computed, taking the average on the difference of expence in maintaining European students, (or those of European habits,) and natives, and reckoning on a moderate rate of interest, may be founded and endowed for 5,000 sicca rupees. On the interest of this sum one student at a time may be constantly educated in the college, free of every charge : and every scholarship so endowed will, as in our English universities, be for ever denominated from the name of the founder, who moreover will have the privilege of recommending the first scholar, being a youth duly qualified according to the statutes, and to be subject in all respects to their operation. Other sums, however small, being directed to be appropriated to this object, will be applied to the maintenance of a student, when the aggregate shall be found sufficient.” P. 134.

“ The college press will, is is hoped, embrace an important and efficient department of the college labours. For the expence of printing versions of the Holy Scriptures, if a statement already alluded to may be credited, provision for some time will probably have been made ; but for printing versions of the liturgy, of short religious treatises and tracts, such as those of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, of elementary books of science, and of school books, a considerable fund will in time be required ; and from the very commencement of the college labours, something may be attempted in this way.

“ Both Christian and native schools are within the contemplation of the society. One of the former kind will be indispensable to every missionary station, and such might be established to great advantage in some instances, where no missionary station could conveniently be formed. In native schools the elements of useful knowledge and the English language will be taught, wherever it may seem desirable, without any immediate reference to Christianity. In either case, it will be among the objects of the college to supply masters well qualified for the undertaking. The provision for such while they remain in college, will fall under the second head of expenditure ; and for those who should be attached to stations, under the first head : all other schools would form a distinct concern.” P. 135.

After a mature examination of this plan, are we not justified in saying that it must be adopted ? Is it possible, not merely that any Churchman, but that any Dissenter, except he be under the influence of an all-powerful fanaticism, can wish to see Bishop Middleton's schemes defeated, or believe they can be abandoned without injury to the

common cause of Christianity? Present appearances, we have admitted, are against us; but we feel convinced that Bishop Heber will not return from his visitation without having discovered that his predecessor was in the right. Whatever he may have been told to the contrary, he will see that Bishop's College is not calculated to check any missionary exertions. He will see that it offers a better education to the European clergy than they can obtain elsewhere. Its scholarships are not limited to this or that institution, but are so arranged that all charitable persons may contribute to them. The translation department will enable the Bishops of Calcutta to rescue the sacred volume from that patched and party-coloured dress which it now wears in Hindostan; and the native preachers and native schools may not only do as much good as those which are patronised in other quarters, but they may do a great deal more; they may become models for the rest. Instituted by a chartered corporation, and controlled by episcopal authority, they may give a guarantee for orthodoxy of doctrine, and general propriety of conduct, which no agents of an association can furnish; they may raise the tone, and improve the utility of other teachers, in the same manner as the regular clergy at home have diminished the natural bad consequences of sectarian preaching. And when additional sees shall be erected in India, additional colleges will follow in their train. Additional missionary stations will be chosen; additional schools will be opened, and there will be a great body of European and Asiatic clergy; and it may be hoped also, a great body of European and Asiatic laymen, attached to the Established Church, superintended by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and united by many strong ties to an institution which derives its existence from the supreme power of the Crown. We are most ready to admit, that no system, as such, can prevent the failure of missionary undertakings; but, if conformity to the Scripture model, purity of intention, and a due submission to constituted authorities; if a careful use of all natural means of success, and an humble reliance upon Him who can furnish supernatural assistance; if these are good grounds for confidence in a religious undertaking, we are confident that the Church of England, if duly directed and encouraged, may be the blessed instrument of adding Hindostan to the spiritual dominions of our Redeemer.

ART. II. *An Essay on Instinct, and its Physical and Moral Relations.* By Thomas Hancock, M.D. London. Phillips. 1824. 8vo. pp. 550.

DR. HANCOCK has here presented us with a book, whose title properly belongs to about one-third of it only. The first part, comprising about that proportion, treats of the power of instinct in Animals;—a highly curious topic of enquiry, and one on which a good work is much wanted. The second relates to what is termed instinct in Man, which the author understands to be a sort of light within; so that this part seems to us to apply chiefly to the Society of Friends. This the author considers by far the most important part, to which the other is merely an introduction, put in to please “a certain class of readers;”—that is, we presume, the profane world. As we shall probably be included in this class, we shall confine our remarks chiefly to the first part.

In endeavouring to lay before our readers a brief outline of that part of the work before us, which treats more immediately of the subject proposed, we shall not follow exactly the author's arrangement, for though it may be better suited for introducing his theory of human instinct or internal illumination, we conceive the instincts of inferior beings, might have been traced out in a more natural and more instructive course. We shall begin with our author's sixth chapter, where we are presented with many highly curious facts respecting the organic functions of those classes, which stand lowest in the scale, or what we may call by analogy, the instinct of plants.

We need not here particularize the apparent instinctive propensity to turn to the light, that and many similar phenomena being, doubtless, owing to the chemical influence of the sun's rays. The following facts are less easily explicable.

“If a vessel of water be placed within six inches of a growing cucumber, in twenty-four hours the cucumber alters the direction of its branches, and never stops till it comes into contact with the water. When a pole is placed at a considerable distance from an unsupported vine, the branches of which are proceeding a contrary direction from that towards the pole, in a short time it alters its course, and stops not till it clings round the pole. But the same vine will carefully avoid attaching itself to low vegetables nearer to it, as the cabbage; hence Pliny and Cicero remark, that the vine hates the colewort and cabbage: as if it possessed the faculty of perception and the power of choosing.”

Instances are next adduced of roots, which have been observed to change their direction in order to avoid noxious, and approach salubrious, objects. These instances appear more like the result of some internal impulse, than of the action of an external cause. What this is, or how it acts, we may in vain attempt to enquire. But applying it to our present purpose we may observe, that it bears the closest *analogy* to some of the lowest manifestations of animal vitality in the class of zoophytes. Many other facts, such as the sensitiveness of some plants, &c. bear an equally close resemblance to the power of muscular irritability.

This last term, we must observe by the way, is one very badly calculated to convey its meaning. It conveys an idea of sensation, which is in fact meant to be wholly excluded. It means the power inherent in animal muscle to contract when touched or excited, which it possesses quite independently of the nerves, or of sensation, and which it retains when the animal is dead. Our author has given a very good and clear account of this power; which is in fact very essential to be understood in reference to the present enquiry. We shall content ourselves by referring our readers to p. 122, *et seq.* and shall only mention the general conclusion, which the united labours of many distinguished physiologists have concurred to establish, viz. that *muscular irritability* is possessed in the greatest perfection by those animals which are the lowest in the scale of *nervous* structure, in the perfection of sensation and in the developement of the brain. Such phenomena of vegetables as are analogous in any degree to those of vitality, resemble the effects of irritability; and they are always directed to the attainment of certain ends necessary to the well being of the plant. Each plant displays its peculiar faculty in the preservation of its seeds and the selection of nutriment. Dr. H. observes,

“Plants imbibe food by the roots, (this has been controverted) the trunk, and the branches; and in the opinion of some also, by the leaves and flowers. The plant is compensated for every thing it has been denied, by the intensity of the single power that operates in it. It neither requires the faculty of loco-motion, nor the knowledge of other plants around it. But it attracts and enjoys after the manner of plants, heat, light, air, and the juices that nourish it: and the propensity to grow, to bloom, and to multiply its species, it exercises more truly and incessantly than any other creature.” P. 132.

Out of all the various influences which may be in action, and the various objects which may be present, around it, the plant receives and is affected by only those which promote the continuance and the purposes of its existence; it

imbibes those supplies which are requisite, because its organs are solely adapted to imbibing these and no others. It avoids certain evils and attains certain advantages, by a peculiar and mysterious power of its faculties, which they possess in regard to no other objects.

The transition from plants to zoophytes is almost insensible. Many of these are fixed by roots, and multiply life in their branches, giving out deciduous buds, which again take root. The polypus possesses astonishing powers of reproduction, and displays that degree of vitality which consists in *irritability* to a great degree; however divided, this power remains in each part, which becomes a separate animal. These creatures may also be grafted upon one another; their powers of nutrition are confined to distinct organs; their selection of nutriment limited to certain kinds, but not much more like choice than that of vegetables.

In the order testacea, a rather higher range of vital powers are observable; the snail, for example, possesses sensibility in its tentaculæ; traces of nerves are found. What are called its eyes have been shewn very recently, by Sir E. Home, not to be so; its power of reproduction is great, proportioned to its irritability and small degree of nervous sensibility.

If we rise to insects, we find a much more perfect structure. They possess something like a brain, which, however, is but one of several nervous ganglia; they have no circulation; their irritability is very great; their muscular powers astonishing: but this muscular vitality is not as in the preceding classes, sufficient to reproduce lost limbs. Yet, a separated limb retains motion for a considerable time, owing to this power.

The term *instinct* is of very undefined meaning. We believe it is not usually applied to the impulse by which the testacea and the polypi are urged to obtain nutriment, and to propagate their species; to many of the habits of insects, it is, however, very commonly applied. As we know nothing of the ultimate principle upon which it depends, it is perhaps wrong to carry this distinction to so great an extent, as to imply any real difference between the power or principle in the two cases. It is certainly much more remarkably displayed by insects, in proportion to their more perfect organization. Their organization is such as to give them the means of performing a certain set of actions, and no others; they have also some sort of susceptibility to impulses, from whatever source, leading them constantly to that particular set of actions. Beyond this we know nothing. We may use the

term instinct to cover our ignorance, as meaning the unknown impelling power ; but strictly speaking, we must not (like Dr. Hancock) attribute to it any other meaning than what is implied in the facts above adverted to ; and by keeping to this very simple definition, we see that it may, without any impropriety, apply to the lower creatures also. We cannot, by any analogy, describe the *origin* of this power ; but its *continuance* is closely similar to the power of habit.

That species of instinct, which impels the insect tribes to seek appropriate food, is perhaps the lowest in rank ; it is displayed by those classes of insects which seem the lowest in the scale of organization : the caterpillar, for example, when shaken off the leaves of a tree, returns and crawls up the trunk, and along the branches, till it regains the situation best fitted for its present support and future transformation. This degree of instinct differs by only one step from that of the sea anemone. It will perhaps be admitted, that the primary impulse on the caterpillar is the sensation of hunger ; but this may urge it to ascend the tree, without its employing any distinct process analogous to reasoning, to lead it from that sensation to the consideration of moving in a particular direction, and in the end finding food.

The wonderful instincts of the ant are familiarly known. The following facts, recorded by Dr. Hancock, are extremely curious :—

“ The principal resource of the ant, is the honey of another insect called the aphis, an insect which abounds on the plants that are usually found in the vicinity of ant-hills. This honey is an exudation from the body of the aphis, and is absorbed greedily by the ants, without any detriment to the insect that yields it. It is voluntarily given out by the aphis, when solicited to do so by the ant. A single aphis supplies many ants with a plentiful meal. Some species of ants, we are told, bring the aphides to their own nests, instead of seeking them, when the cold is excessive, and lodge them near the vegetables on which they feed ; while the domestic ants prevent them stirring out, guarding them with great care, and defending them as their own young ; they even collect the eggs of the aphis, and superintend their hatching, continually moistening them with their tongue, and preserving them till the proper season for their exclusion ; and in a word, bestow all the attention which they give to the eggs of their own species. The ants defend them from the ants of other societies. That they have some notions of property in these insects, would appear from their occasionally having establishments for their aphides, at a distance from the city, in fortified buildings, which they construct for this purpose alone, in places which are secure from invasion. Here the aphides are

confined as cows in a dairy, to supply the wants of the metropolis." P. 30.

We have selected this, among numerous instances of the extraordinary sagacity displayed by the ant, because it is perhaps less generally known than some others: it serves to illustrate a progressive elevation in intelligence; but it is not necessary in explaining it, to suppose that the ants act upon a distinct process of reasoning and calculation, and this observation we conceive to be of some importance towards acquiring our only definite ideas of the distinction between instinct and reason. It is clearly *possible* to explain these instances, without supposing a distinct putting together of separate ideas; but we will now advert to a very important instance, which, to our apprehension, carries the argument one step further, and shews that there are cases in which we *cannot* admit the exercise of *reason*, as just described; the case we allude to is that of the cells of bees, the structure of which our author has noticed briefly, and perhaps without giving his argument all the advantages it might have had. We shall not pretend to enter into the details, but shall endeavour to state those points on which the argument depends in the most simple manner. The fact then is this: it may be shewn, by mathematical investigation, that there are particular ways in which a set of contiguous cells may be constructed, so as to require less labour and materials, and to unite this saving with strength and security, in a greater degree than by any other construction; moreover, by the aid of the fluxionary method, it is possible to determine, with the utmost exactness, the precise form required, and the exact angles at which the planes terminating the figure must be inclined to each other. All this, it is important to observe, cannot be done without the application of very extended geometrical and analytical knowledge, and depends on truths which, at no very remote period, were unknown to mankind; some of them, even as late as the age of Newton. Several distinguished men have solved the problem; to give an idea of it, we may mention, that in a recent work by Dr. Cresswell, the investigation occupies 20 octavo pages.

Now, on examining the cells of the honeycomb, we find the bees have adopted precisely the figure and mode of construction which the mathematician has shewn to be the best; have selected, out of all the various forms which might have been employed, that alone in which all the advantages of economy of time, labour and materials are gained, united with greater strength and security; and not only is this rule fol-

lowed *nearly*, but upon the most *accurate* measurement to which the angles can be subjected, they have been invariably found, by several observers, to be *precisely* those determined by calculation.

Upon considering all these circumstances, the question we would ask as this ;—is it possible to suppose that the bee proceeds to its work, upon a distinct apprehension that it is desirable to save labour and materials ; upon an enquiry, whether, by adopting one particular construction, such a saving would be effected ; upon a regular deduction from the first principles of geometry, up to the application of fluxionary calculation, whereby it learns that those advantages may be obtained, and what is the best construction for obtaining them ? We think no one would maintain such a view of the subject ; and if so, it follows that the bee must arrive at its practical directions by some shorter mode ; by some other way than the process of putting together distinct ideas, till we form a connected chain of reasoning ; by something analogous to an intuitive perception or feeling that the construction adopted is the right.

If then, in this case, we are sure that the animal does not proceed by regular steps of reasoning, we must by analogy extend the conclusion to the cases of other animals, such as those already spoken of.

Insects are, perhaps, the lowest class which display any *accommodating* power of instinct to particular circumstances ; its ordinary manifestations are invariably confined to one regular routine : but sometimes the animal will shew a difference in its habits, according to a change in situation. Dr. Hancock (p. 103) illustrates this in insects by several differences observable in bees and wasps ; their precautions being different according to the difference of climate.

Following the progress of organization to its higher classes, if we take the order of Amphibia, we find a structure in which *irritability* still predominates. Owing to this power, a tortoise has lived twenty-three days after losing its head ; the jaws of a dead crocodile pulled asunder, can inflict a severe bite ; and those of a viper, a mortal wound eight or ten days after death ; but the *nervous* system begins to assume a more perfect character : the excess of vitality is not so great as to give the power of reproducing lost parts ; but in proportion to the more perfect nervous organization, there is a greater degree of sensibility, and a higher range of *instinct*. The habits then which these classes of animals display, are of a nature approaching somewhat more to those of intelligence, and susceptible of more diversity than in

the instances hitherto considered. That most extraordinary faculty of finding their way from an amazing distance to the place they have been accustomed to inhabit, which many animals possess, has been observed in a tame serpent, as our author has related from Lord Monboddo. (P. 76.)

The remarks above made may be continued to the next class, the fishes. One remarkable instance of their instinct is the power of migration for the purpose of spawning. It is probable, that if we were not precluded from an intimate acquaintance with their habits, we should observe many other curious manifestations of instinct.

It is probably owing to their coming more within our familiar observation, that the classes of birds and quadrupeds, though decidedly superior in instinct to those below them, yet appear separated by a greater interval than perhaps is really the case.

Among birds, it will not need many instances to shew the superior degree of intuitive intelligence they possess in the regular discharge of the functions proper to their nature. Among these, there is none in which more remarkable sagacity is shewn, than in their care for their young.

The preliminary operation of building the nest, is conducted in a different manner exactly suited to its peculiar wants by each species. It is not by traditional instruction that this art is learnt, because a crow hatched by a hen, and having no communication with its species, has been observed to build with exactly the same materials, and in the same manner as the rest of its tribe. Were this faculty the result of reasoning, we should see deviations according to the peculiar wants or conveniences of each bird, as among the buildings of men. The work is perfect in its kind; we never see imperfect attempts abandoned for want of skill to complete them, or any thing like progressive improvement in the course of years or ages.

But though this faculty seems so entirely confined to one routine, yet there are cases in which instinct appears to accommodate itself to circumstances. For example,

“ In countries infested with monkees, birds which in other climates build in bushes and clefts of trees, suspend their nests on slender twigs, and thus elude their enemies. The same species of birds build their nests differently, when climate and circumstances require it. Dr. Darwin has collected many facts to show, that the cuckoo in some places hatches and educates her own young; while in others she builds no nest, but uses that of some lesser bird, as the wagtail or hedge sparrow, and depositing one egg in it, takes no further care of her progeny.” P. 104.

Our author then proceeds to the very remarkable phenomenon of migration. We are somewhat surprized, considering the time which has now elapsed since Dr. Jenner's researches on this subject have been made public, and the very decisive character of his conclusions, that our author should not only not allude to them, but even continue in the obscure, inconsistent and unfounded opinion which previously prevailed. We shall not here advert any further to this curious topic; but for a full display of this and many other equally wonderful instincts in birds, refer our readers to the late Dr. Jenner's paper in the Philos. Trans. 1824. Part I. (See B. C. September 1824.)

Thus far we may safely apply to the case of birds, the same doctrine which we before applied to that of lower animals, viz.; that the course of actions which they pursue in obedience to what we call instinct, are not the result of a comparison of distinct ideas, however few or simple; but of a sort of conviction arrived at directly without any intermediate steps. The power of apprehension from which this practical result springs, is open only to the perception of those particular objects which are connected with the well-being and wants of the animal; and the number of such objects is extremely limited beyond those limits, though hundreds of other objects affect the external senses, yet none excite that peculiar faculty by which the bird arrives instantaneously at practical conclusions.

But here we come to a new class of facts; to apparent deviations from the ordinary routine of instinct; to certain instances in which upon a particular emergency, the animal has adopted a particular and appropriate resource.

One of the most remarkable *ordinary* instincts of crows, is observable in the way they contrive to get at oysters and other shell fish. viz; by carrying them to a great height in the air, and then dropping them upon the stones, so as to break the shell. This, however curious, being a regular habit, comes under the class of instinct already spoken of. But what shall we say to the following application of the same method, for a purpose quite different:—

“ In the spring of 1791, a pair of crows made their nest on a tree in a gentleman's garden; and in his morning walks he had frequently been amused by witnessing furious combats between them and a cat. One morning the battle raged more fiercely than usual, till at last the cat gave way, and took shelter under a hedge, as if to wait a more favourable opportunity of retreating to the house. The crows continued for a short time to make a threatening noise; but perceiving that on the ground they could do nothing more than

threaten, one of them lifted a stone from the middle of the garden, and perched with it on a tree planted in the hedge, where she sat watching the motions of the enemy of her young. As the cat crept along under the hedge, the crow accompanied her by flying from branch to branch, and from tree to tree; and when at last puss ventured to quit her hiding place, the crow leaving the trees, and hovering over her in the air, let the stone drop from on high on her back." P. 81.

Another instance of the same description, is as follows:—

"Linnæus informs us, that the martin dwells on the outside of houses in Europe under the eaves; and that when it has built its nest, the sparrow frequently takes possession of it. The martin, unable to dislodge his intruding enemy, convokes his companions, some of whom guard the captive, whilst others bring clay, completely close up the entrance of the nest, then fly away, leaving the sparrow to be suffocated." P. 79.

We shall not detail the account of the mocking bird, nor give the story quoted from Locke, of the Brazilian parrot, who is said to have given rational answers to some questions put by a person who had never before seen him. This person, however, did not understand the language in which the bird spoke, and not only might there be a collusion between the interpreters employed, but the same answers might have been returned, for any thing that appears to the contrary, to a very different set of questions.

We shall reserve our remarks upon these extraordinary applications of instinct, till we have briefly traced its powers in the class of quadrupeds.

Of the ordinary instinct displayed by quadrupeds, there are so many instances familiar to our daily observation, that it is unnecessary here to quote any of them, except perhaps one or two, which are too singular to be passed over, and which bear upon the comparison between ordinary and extraordinary instinct.

We cannot fail to observe in general both the higher degree of ordinary instinct, as well as the greater variety of objects to which it is directed in this class of animals, in proportion to their less irritability, their more perfect nervous sensibility, and the greater number and complication of their organs. The beautiful adaptation of habit and disposition to structure, is well illustrated by Dr. H. in the instances of the elephant, the lion, the sloth, and the mole. We observe an undeviating instinct in animals while in their natural state; we find also the effects of difference of situation, and particularly human intercourse, in materially altering their instinctive habits; and beyond this, we find them, in extra-

ordinary emergencies, deviating still more from their regular course. In proportion, however, as the ordinary instinct is of a higher kind, those occasional deviations appear less extraordinary, and more approaching the natural order. But whatever such alterations may take place, there is never a total change; there is always a similarity preserved to the original character. It is not the loss of one sort of instinct, and the substitution of another, but always a modification of that already possessed. These points of resemblance are highly curious and deserving attention. To observe, collect, classify and combine these points of resemblance and difference, is the only inductive path by which we can pursue our enquiries respecting instinct. We think, therefore, that Dr. Hancock would have been much better employed in making such deductions from the accumulation of facts, than in occupying two-thirds of his book, as he has done, in metaphysical and theological reveries, about the internal illumination of man.

Many instances are adduced to shew the exquisite and almost inconceivable perfection in which some animals enjoy particular senses. This the author is very careful to distinguish from the power of instinct. But there are extraordinary instances of particular actions in animals which seem hardly capable of being referred to an extraordinary perfection in any of the known senses, however exquisite. For example, the power by which animals will find their way from an incredible distance through an unknown country to their home. Instances are familiar in the dog and the horse; similar stories are here related of the ass and the sheep. Some persons have attributed this power to a sixth sense; which has also been the case in regard to some instances related of human beings, who have, in some manner not accounted for, been able to feel the presence of certain objects not perceptible to any of the ordinary senses. Whatever may be the real cause, it is clearly a case in which reasoning is not concerned.

Considering these instances either as referable to some hidden physical influence, or as at least belonging to natural instinct, we have to observe in general, that its *ordinary* display is always found in exact proportion to the perfection of the animal's organization, as well as confined to those particular objects which are connected with its well-being: never directed to the attainment of any end beyond these, and never exercised by any other means than those which are afforded by the peculiar organization of the animal, and the habits which are naturally characteristic of its kind.

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With respect to the effects of human intercourse on the lower animals, we may cite the case of oxen. These, when wild, possess a spirit and fierceness which render them extremely formidable. They possess, also, such acuteness of smell as to trace the footsteps of men over the grass, at which they always display peculiar symptoms of rage and horror. However different this is from the domestic state of cattle, it is still more so from the state to which they are brought in some countries by education. Among the Hottentots they are trained to a variety of useful domestic labours; and not only this, but are made use of in war: at a signal they fall upon the enemy, striking with their horns and hoofs, overturn and trample upon whatever resists them, and thus completely break the ranks, and pave the way for an easy victory to their masters. They are also instructed to guard the flocks, and defend them from beasts of prey, and from robbers, whom they distinguish from the keepers, or other persons.

Now, from this instance, we may take occasion to observe, that the effect of intercourse with man, and education, does not take away the natural instinct, and substitute an acquired one, but only modifies and extends the powers already possessed by the animals. They still make use of those powers alone which constitute the distinguished feature in their character in all conditions.

Many other instances of this kind are recorded in the work before us; but we must now proceed to the last and highest manifestation of instinct, if so it can be called, in sudden emergencies, and on extraordinary occasions, where something much more like a power of reasoning is displayed. Of this, we have mentioned some instances in birds; those related of quadrupeds are yet more astonishing. In dogs, we have many examples of extraordinary sagacity, in perceiving the approach of danger to their masters, such as the concealment of a robber or assassin, a leak on board a vessel, and other like occurrences; but in such cases there is always room to suppose their superior power of smell, or other senses, may have guided them. In other cases the power of habit is clearly discernible. In others again, a dog feeling for his master in danger, would naturally so express it, as to communicate the intelligence to others, and thus be the means of saving him. All these cases, though extremely interesting, do not positively require the supposition, that the animal put together distinct ideas, and acted upon the conclusion. Of the astonishing intelligence of the elephant, several instances are mentioned; his management in pushing a carriage up hill, his amazing docility, his recollection of

persons and places from favours bestowed, and his care of children, are truly wonderful, but may be explained by a sort of indefinite feeling, without distinct reasoning. A well-known anecdote is introduced from Pliny, of a number of these animals, who, when they found themselves condemned to death in the sanguinary games of the circus, by their gestures and cries seemed to implore the compassion of the spectators to a degree which was quite effectual.

To pass over many other instances, which do not appear to us to prove any thing with respect to a reasoning power in animals, we will cite two, which are, perhaps, the strongest on record, and seem to be regarded by our author as decisive proofs.

“ Two goats, grazing about the ramparts of Plymouth citadel, got down upon the narrow ledge of the rock, and one of them advancing before the other till it came to an angle was enabled to return: but in its way back, met its companion, which produced a most perplexing dilemma, as it was impossible for them to get past each other. Many persons saw them, without being able to lend any assistance. After a considerable time, one of the goats was observed to kneel down with great caution, and crouch as close as it could lie; which was no sooner done, than the other, with great dexterity, walked over him, and they both returned the way they came in perfect safety. And at Ardinglass, near Glenarm, in Ireland, two goats, moving towards each other over a precipice 1,000 feet high, on a narrow ledge of the rock, were seen to extricate themselves from danger by a similar expedient. In both these instances the animals looked at each other for some time, as if they were considering their situation, and deliberating what was best to be done in the emergency. I apprehend that mere instinct would have prompted them immediately to act, instead of thus comparing and judging by their outward senses of danger and expedients.” P. 80.

The other case, which we must quote, is this:—

“ A lady had a tame bird, which she used to let out of its cage every day. One morning, as it was picking up crumbs from the carpet, her cat, who had always before shewn great kindness to the bird, seized it on a sudden, and jumped with it in her mouth upon a table. The lady, alarmed for the fate of her favourite, on turning about, observed that a strange cat had just come into the room. After turning it out, her own cat came down from her place of safety, and dropped the bird, without inflicting the least injury. Now, it seems very clear, on considering this act, that various circumstances must have influenced this sagacious animal. She must have known that the bird was in danger from this intruder, and must have reflected on the best means of rescue: and we may take it for granted, that instinct could not, on the same principle, have prompted the one cat to destroy, and the other cat to save, at the same moment of time; but the manner in which the preservation was effected

is instructive, and affords a very striking example of reasoning in the brute, the more striking, as cats are not remarkable for sagacity." P. 84.

These facts are certainly extremely curious and interesting; but in our author's reasoning upon them, we can by no means wholly coincide. The two goats might have stopped for some time before they contrived to pass, without doing so for the purpose of reflection. The cat, we observe, acted instantaneously; but there is one observation which we think important, and which applies also to the instances before mentioned of birds. It is this, that in every case the expedient adopted was one exactly in accordance with the ordinary habits of the animal: it made use of precisely those resources which it was in the habit of ordinarily employing. Thus, the goat is naturally a climber; he, therefore, walked over his companion: had they been cats or hares, one would probably have taken a spring over the other: rabbits or dogs might have tried to widen the path by scratching, &c.: in the same way the martin is by trade a plasterer; he therefore plastered up his enemy. The crow was in the habit of dropping bodies from a height: to the cat, it was natural to seize a bird in its mouth, but not to kill it immediately. In the instance alluded to, there was the counteracting feeling of affection for the bird, which prevented the cat from even injuring it; and its seizing the bird the moment a strange cat appeared, need not necessarily be ascribed to a reflection on the danger of the bird, but might merely have been the excitement of the natural disposition of the cat to seize the bird, in order to secure the prey from the rival. Or, if this were not the case, an undefined sensation of the danger, united with its affection for the bird, suddenly affecting the cat, might have urged it, by instantaneous impulse, to the instinctive action of seizing the bird in its mouth. Had it been a dog, it would have attacked the strange cat, and driven it away.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to be very doubtful of the propriety of ascribing to such instances the character of reasoning. It appears to us much more likely, from every thing we know both of inferior animals and of man, in sudden emergencies, to suppose a sort of undefined intuitive feeling, upon the impulse of which the requisite steps are taken, and this we believe to arise entirely from the peculiar mental habits of the individual. We believe it to be precisely the same sort of impulse which made Charles the 12th put his hand to his sword, when he received the shot which killed him.

But it may be said, that all this is a mere dispute about words, and that we gain nothing by the enquiry, as to the distinction between instinct and reason. It may be said, that if we will not ascribe these latter instances to reason, we must, in consistency, ascribe half the conclusions of man to instinct: and, in fact, we perfectly agree with Dr. Hancock, in considering man to be under the dominion of instinct as well as the inferior animals, though not perhaps exactly in the sense in which he means it. We are of opinion, that the greater part perhaps of the practical conclusions, on which we every day act, are not the result of reasoning. We think, moreover, that a very large portion of mankind hardly ever reason at all: it is true, we have no very adequate term to describe the sort of influence which this sort of principle has upon us. We believe it to arise chiefly from education, organization, and resulting intellectual habit. And the distinction we make is precisely this; *reasoning* is the putting together, by two and two successively connected, distinct ideas, so as to perceive their agreement or disagreement, till we arrive at the connection between two ideas, which form the respective terminations of a long chain. When the conclusion is not obtained by this intermediate process, but depends upon the putting together of the first and last idea, and supposing them to agree or disagree, we know not why, but because experience has in no instance shewn the contrary; this, we say, is not reasoning, but is of the same kind exactly as *instinct*. The association may have been implanted in the mind, or a tendency to act upon it in the faculties or organs, from a great variety of supposable causes. Where then is the distinction between man and the lower creatures? We believe it to consist in this, that man has the *faculty* of reasoning, though it be not always employed; and that the beast has it not: and this power is associated with the use of articulate symbols; without which, perhaps, there could be no distinction between definite and indefinite ideas.

We think Dr. Hancock's distinction, between reason and instinct, is far from clear, and, perhaps, to this cause a great part of his book may owe its existence. We shall not pretend to wade into the mystico-metaphysico-theological part of the work; but shall content ourselves with observing, that the whole seems to be founded upon the supposition of the existence of certain innate practical principles, and the author is in consequence extremely anxious to refute Locke: his success in this attempt appears to us very questionable. We, like Dr. Hancock, believe in original genius, in natural difference of disposition, &c.; but we can believe all this

without the least impugning Locke's doctrine. What may be the precise nature of Dr. H.'s "moral seeds," we do not pretend to understand; but we are inclined to think that the earliest impressions which the mind receives are of an entirely indefinite description, consisting, in fact, of associations of ideas, constituting vague feelings, rather than clear apprehensions, and that it is not till a considerable time after that clear and definite ideas are formed, or that consequently reasoning takes place. By those early associations, if such they may be termed, feelings of pleasure or pain are connected with other ideas and sets of ideas, the whole dependent on the bodily constitution. As we think Locke has unanswerably disproved the existence of *innate* ideas, or principles, (which are, perhaps, indefinite associations of ideas,) and that peculiarities of mind and disposition may be explained without them, we shall be excused, if we doubt the truth of a system which, according to the author's method of stating it, requires us to believe in innate ideas.

ART. III. *Original Letters, illustrative of English History; including numerous Royal Letters; from Autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other Collections. With Notes and Illustrations by Henry Ellis, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. In three vols, 8vo. 1l. 16s. Harding, Triphook and Lepard. 1824.*

A GREAT change is taking place in our general knowledge of English history. The last generation was contented with Rapin and Hume, and did not trouble itself about the discovery of new facts, or the verification of old ones. Chronicles and manuscripts were studied by the antiquary only; and the result of such studies was seldom communicated to the public. At present the monkish historians are in request; the Museum is open; gentlemen and ladies read by the index, and transcribe by the hour, and we are inundated with memoirs and narratives, and biographies from the gossiping tittle-tattle of an Aikin, to the ponderous volumes of a Turner and a Lingard.

There is no reason to fear the ultimate consequence of such proceedings. Eventually truth will be more fully ascertained, and more generally known and remembered. But while the process is going on, it is attended with serious in-

convenience. There are no such things as standard books. The History of England is set adrift, and no one can determine what course it will take. Every party has its own historian, who writes to please the palate of his readers, and succeeds as a writer in proportion as he is useful as a partizan. One class of authors inform us, that Hume wrote the early history of his country with carelessness, and the latter part with partiality. Another, object to the great length and tediousness of Rapin, Echard and Carte. A third have studied the original authorities for themselves, and are prepared to furnish authentic works. The result is, that there are no undisputed facts, and few unquestionable characters. The politician appeals to some important circumstance, and is told that he has been misinformed respecting its material points. The orator refers to some popular or odious personage, and is answered by an assurance that hitherto posterity has decided ignorantly and unjustly. Turner becomes the advocate of King Richard the Third, Lingard represents Cranmer as a hypocrite, and Queen Elizabeth as a coward, and Godwin has discovered that Laud was a fool. And these additions to the stock of knowledge are not suffered to remain in their native seed-beds, but are transplanted with care into magazines and newspapers. Cobbett's infamous History of the Reformation is an abridgment of Lingard, and Mr. O'Connell's club has undertaken to circulate this compound of jesuitical falsehood, and radical impudence. A similar use will be made of other improvements, when opportunity offers, and the cause of mischief may be served. The Jeremy Benthamites will shew that our constitution is absurd, by the same argument which convinces Cobbett that the Reformation was a curse. The Whigs are on the look-out for Sir James Mackintosh's history, and expect to date the recovery of their popularity from the day of its publication. And if the borough-mongers know their business, they will engage an adept in antient charters, to vindicate the privileges of Winchelsea and Knaresborough, and establish the merits of virtual representation by an appeal to King Alfred and King John.

But while the study of records and manuscripts is pursued in some instances for such purposes as these, there are many men who, like Mr. Ellis, have better objects in view, who seek knowledge for its own sake, and endeavour to correct errors, confirm truth, and illustrate history, in the hope that their labours may prove serviceable to the world. And the work before us is a very favourable specimen of the manner in which a learned and accurate antiquarian may convey in-

struction and amusement to the general reader, while at the same time he provides materials for the future historian, and for the philosophical observer of men and manners. We can hardly possess too many documents upon such a subject as the history of our country. And when they are selected with judgment, and explained by one who is fully qualified for the task, they form an important addition to the stock of national literature. We shall therefore request Mr. Ellis to explain the nature of his undertaking in his own words.

“ To remove doubts, to verify facts, and to form a clear conception of particular events, the reader must seek subsidiary aid, in the dispersed materials of history; of which, ORIGINAL LETTERS of EMINENT PERSONS IN THE STATE form both the largest and the most important portion: and they exist in this country, in an uninterrupted succession, for more than five centuries.

“ These bear the impress of their respective times: and, whilst many of them regard affairs in which the writers were actively engaged, all afford a closer and more familiar view of characters, manners, and events, than the pen of the most accomplished compiler of regular history, even if he might be trusted, could supply.

“ They unravel causes of action which without their aid would be impenetrable; and even throw new light upon parts of history which superficial readers suppose to be exhausted.

“ How far the present selection of letters may deserve so good a character, the reader must determine for himself.

“ The Editor has been desirous of producing a work, which, while it exhibited within reasonable limits a series of historical pictures, might be considered as a SUPPLEMENT TO OUR HISTORIES. To render it more acceptable, he has, here and there, prefixed introductions to particular letters, in which numerous traits and minute anecdotes bearing upon detached topics of history have been compacted and condensed. In the execution of this design the illustration of historical truth has been his sole object: and he believes it will be found that these introductions, as well as the letters themselves, throw new light on various passages of our history.” Vol. I. Preface, p. vii.

The series begin with a letter from King Henry Vth; but this and about ten others, written before the accession of Henry VIIth, are curious rather than instructive. In the latter reign we learn little respecting the state of the country, but have a glimpse at the intrigues of the French and Scotch courts, and a specimen of the political cunning of the first of the Tudors. It is under ‘bluff King Hal’ that the work commences in good earnest, and is carried on with more than usual success. The early disputes with Scotland; the state of the Scotch court under James IV; the border wars, ennobled by the battle of Flodden, and protracted throughout half a

century; Wolsey's administration and fall; the death of Anne Boleyn, and the suppression of the monasteries, are illustrated by numerous letters from the principal personages of the age. Many minor points are alluded to, and there is no important event in the civil history of the reign which is not considered; the ecclesiastical are passed over slightly. We extract a letter from Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, written at a time when the communication between the king and his minister appears to have been carried on entirely through their celebrated secretary. The correspondence is extensive, and shews how much the king attended to his own business. We are surprised to find that Mr. Ellis thinks this a new fact.

" Hit may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that I have received your Graces lettres directed to my selfe dated the last day of Auguste, with the lettres of my Lord Admirall to your Grace, sent in post, and copies of lettres sent bytwene the Quene of Scotts and his Lordshipp concernyng the maters and affaires of Scotland, with the prudent answeris of your Grace as well to my said Lord in your awne name, as in the name of the Kings Highnes to the said Quene of Scotts. All which lettres and copies I have distinctly redde unto his Grace, who hath in the reding therof substancially considered as well the Quene his sisters lettre with the lettres agaynward devised and sent by my lord Admirall to her, and his lettres of advertisement to your Grace, as your moost politique devises and answeres un to all the same; among which the lettre which your Grace devised in the name of his Highnes to the Quene his sister, his Grace so well lyked that I never saw him lyke thing better; and as help me God in my pore fantasie, not causeles, for hit is for the quantite one of the best made lettres for wordis, mater, sentence, and cowching that ever I redde in my life.

" His Highnes, in your Graces lettre directed to my Lord Admirall, marked and well lyked that your Grace towched my said Lord and my Lord Dacres, in that that theire opinions had bene to the lett of the great roode which if hit had bene ere this tyme made in to Scotland, as by your prudent advice hit had if theyre opinions with other had not bene to the contrarie, hit shold, as by the Quenes lettre appereth, have bene th'occasion of some great and good effecte.

" His Highnes also well allowed that your Grace noteth not onely remisse dealing, but also some suspitione in that the Lord Dacre so litle estemed the mynde and opinion of the Kings sister, wherof he had by his servant so perfait knowledge.

" Finally his Highnes is of the mynde of your Grace, and singularly commendeth your policie in that your Grace determineth for a finall way that my Lord Admirall shall sett forth his enterprises without eny longer tracte of tyme, not ceacing to preace theym with all the annoyance possible till they fall earnestely and effectually to some

better trayne and conformitie. And verily his Highnes thinketh as your Grace writeth, that for eny lakke of those things which as he wryteth are not yet cummen to hym, he shold not have neded to forbore to have done theym with smaller roods, at the lest way some annoyauns in the meane season.

" I redde also to his Highnes the lettre of Mr. Doctor Knyght written un to your Grace, with your Grace's lettres written to my selfe, by the tenor wherof his Grace well perceiveth your moost prudent answeere devised and made as well to his said embassiator as to thembassiator of theemperor, concernyng the disbursyng of such money as his Highnes shold lay owte for th'entretenement of the x^m. lance knights wherin his Grace highly well approveth, as well your moost politique foresight, so wisely dowyng leste this delay of the declaration myht happen to be a device wherby th'emperor myght spare his awne charge and entreteign th'almaignes with th'only cost of the Kings Grace, as also your moost prudent ordre taken therin, by which his Highnes shalbe bounden to no charge excepte the Duke first passe the articles sent by Sir John Russll, and that the x^m. almaynes be levied and joyned with the Duke and he declared enemy to the French King.

" I red also to his Highnes the copie of your Graces lettres devised to M. Doctor Sampson and M. Jernyngham, wherin his Highnes well perceived and marked what labor and payn your Grace had taken as well in substantiall advertising his said embassiators at length of all occurraunts here, with the goodly rehersall of the valiaunt acquittall of his army on the See not onely there done, but also descending on the land with all his preparations and armyes sett forth and furnyshed as well toward France as Scotland, as also in your good and substantiall instructions geven un to theym for the semblable advauncyng of th'emperors army and actuall invasion to be made on that side for his part.

" His Highnes hath also seen and signed the lettres by your Grace devised in his name, as well to Don Ferdinando and to the Duke of Mechelberge in answeere of their late lettres sent un to his Grace, as also to the Duke of Ferrare in commendation of the Kings orators in case the Duke accepte the ordre.

" In the redyng and advising of all which things, his Highnes saied that he perceived well what labor, studie, payn, and travaile your Grace had taken in the device and penning of so many, so greate things, so high well dispatched in so brief tyme, whan the onely redyng therof held hym above twoo howres. His Highnes therfore commaunded me to write un to your Grace that, for your labor, travaile, study, paine, and diligens he geveth your Grace his moost harty, and not more harty than highly well-deserved thanks. And thus our Lord long preserve your good Grace in honer and helth. At Okyng the first day of Septembre.

" Your humble orator and moost

" bounden beedman

" THOMAS MORE." Vol. I. p. 203.

In these days of rampant Popery, it may not be amiss to direct attention to several letters from Sir William Kingston, lieutenant of the tower, to secretary Cromwell, respecting the conduct of Queen Anne Boleyn, during her imprisonment. Lingard has treated this unfortunate woman with his usual unfairness; and Cobbett is a greater brute than her husband. But they have little to say against her, except that she did not profess her innocence on the scaffold. It is evident, however, from the fragments of a letter from Sir William (Vol. II. p. 64), that she "sent for him, that he might be with her at the celebration of the sacrament, and hear her declaration touching her innocency." The conclusion is remarkable. I have seen men and also women executed, and they have been in great grief. "*Thys ladye hass meche joy and plesur in dethe.*" Is not such a fact worth a hundred declarations on the scaffold? Although for the absence of them, Mr. Ellis offers a satisfactory reason, viz. that the queen was anxious for the safety of her daughter.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary add little to Mr. Ellis's collection. Elizabeth is a larger contributor, and there are several disputed points upon which he adduces new evidence; but not having time to meddle with Elizabethan politics, we shall content ourselves with extracting a letter from Mr. Recorder Fleetwood to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, on the police of London. It proves that the vices of the metropolis are not of recent date. A subsequent part of the same correspondence gives us a list of reputed thieves and *flash houses*, the number of the latter being eighteen.

"Right honorable and my verie good Lord, uppon Thursdays laste beinge the crastinn of Trinitie Terme, we kepte a sessions of inquirye in London in the forenone, and in the afternone we kepte the lyke att Fynsburie for Middlesex, in which two severall sessiones all such as were so be arrayegned for felonye at the gaole deliverye were indyted. Uppon Frydaie last we sate at the Justice hall att Newgate from vij in the morninge untill vij att night, where were condempned certen horstealers, cutpurses, and such lyke, to the number of x., whereof ix. were executed, and the tenth stayed by a meanes from the courte. These were executed uppon Saterdaye in the morninge. There was a showmaker also condempned for wyllfull murder commytted in the Blacke ffryers, who was executed uppon Mondaie in the morninge. The same daye my Lord Maior beinge absent abowte the goods of the Spannyards, and also all my Lords the justices of the benches beinge also awaye, we fewe that were there did spend the same daie abowte the searchinge out of sundrye that were receptors of ffelons, where we fownd a greate manye aswell in London, Westminster, Sowthwarke, as in all other places abowte the same. Amongest our travells this one matter

tumbled owt by the waye, that one Wotton a gentilman borne, and sometyme a marchauntt man of good credyte, who fallinge by tyme into decaye, kepte an alehowse att Smarts keye neere Byllingesgate, and after, for some mysdemeanor beinge put downe, he reared upp a newe trade of lyffe, and in the same howse he procured all the cuttpurses abowt this cittie to repaire to his said howse. There, was a schole howse set upp to learne younge boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devises, the one was a pockett, the other was a purse. The pockett had in yt certain cownters and was hunge abowte with hawkes bells, and over the toppe did hanng a litle sacring bell; and he that could take owt a cownter without any noyse, was allowed to be *publique ffoyster*; and he that could take a peece of sylver owt of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged a *judiciall nypper*. Nota that a ffoister is a pick-pockett, and a nypper is termed a pickepurse, or a cutpurse. And as concerninge this matter, I will sett downe noe more in this place, but referr your Lordship to the paper herein enclosed.

“Saterdaye and Sondaie beinge paste, uppon Mondaie my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the M^r of the Rooles, my Lord Anderson, M^r Sackford Master of the Requests, S^r. Rowland Hayward, my selfe, M^r. Owen, and M^r. Younge, with the assystaunce of M^r. Attorney and M^r. Solicitor, did arraigne one Awfeild, Webley, and Crabbe, for sparcinge abroad certen lewed, sedicious, and traytorous bookes; Awfeild did most trayterously maynteyne the booke, with longe tedious and frivolous wordes and speaches. Webley did affirme as much as Awfeild had uttered. They are both executed thorough Gods goodnes and yo^r Lordshippes good helpe, as M^r. Younge told me. There came a letter to reprove Awfeild, yt was not well digested of as many as knewe of yt, but after all was well taken. When he was executed, his bodye was brought into S^t. Pulchers to be buried, but the parishioners would not suffer a traytor’s corpes to be layed in the earthe where theire parents, wyeffs, chyl dren, kynred, maisters, and old neighbors did rest: and so his carcase was retourned to the buryall grounde neere Tyborne, and there I leave yt. Crabbe surelye did renounce the Pope, and my Lords and the rest of the benche moved M^r. Attorney and M^r. Solicitor to be a meane to her Maiestie for him, and for that cause he was stayed. Trewelye my Lord it is nothinge needfull to wrytte for the staye of any to be repyved, for there is not any in our commys-sion of London or Middlesex but we are desirous to save or staye any poore wretche, yf by color of any lawe or reason we maye doe ytt. My singler good Lord my Lord William of Wynchester was wonte to saye, “when the courte is furthest from London, then is there the best justice done in all England.” I once hard as great a parsonage in office and authoritye as ever he was, and yett lyvinge, saye the same wordes. Yt is growen for a trade nowe in the courte to make meanes for repyves, twentie pownd for a reprove is nothinge, although it be but for bare tenn daies. I see it will not be holpen onles one honored gentilman, who many tymes is abused by wronge informacion (and suerlie uppon my sowle, not uppon any evill mean-

inge) do staye his penn. I have not one letter for the staye of a theiffe from your Lordshippe. Fearinge that I trouble your Lordship with my-tedious lettres I end, this vijth of Julie 1585.

“ Your good Lordships moste humbly bownden,

“ W. FLETEWOODE.” Vol. II. p. 296.

The accession of James I. his journey to London, and the circumstances connected with it, are described in some interesting letters; and an admonitory epistle from the king to his eldest son is deserving of notice.

“ My sonne, that I see you not before my pairting impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa precieuse; but that shall by Goddis grace shortlie be recompencid by youre cumming to me shortlie, and continuall residence with me ever after. Lett not this newis make you proude, or insolent, for a kings sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire ar ye yett. The augmentation that is heirby lyke to fall unto you, is but in caires and heavie burthens. Be thairfor merrie, but not insolent; keepe a greatnes, but *sine fastu*; be resolute but not willfull; keepe your kyndnes, but in honorable sorte; choose nane to be youre play fellowis but thame that are well borne; and above all things give never goode countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in æstimation with me. Looke upon all Englishe men that shall cum to visite you as upon youre loving subjectis, not with that ceremonie as towards straingeris, and yett with such hartlines as at this tyme they deserve. This gentleman quhom this bearare accompanies is worthie, and of guide ranke, and nou my familiare servitoure; use him thairfore in a maire hamelie loving sorte nor otheris. I sende you herewith my booke latelie prentid: studdie and profite in it as ye wolde deserve my blessing; and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhairof ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the verrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye levell everie mannis opinions or advyces unto you as ye finde thaime agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett down, allowing and following thaire advyces that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon thaime that advyses you to the contraire. Be diligent and earnist in your studdies, that at your meiting with me, I maye praise you for youre progresse in learning. Be obedient to youre maister, for youre awin weill, and to procure my thankis; for in reverencing him ye obeye me, and honoure yourselfe. Fairuell.

“ Your loving Father,

“ JAMES R.” Vol. III. P. 78.

The most voluminous correspondent during the reigns of James and Charles is the celebrated Joseph Meade, who resided at that time at Cambridge, and appears to have been a diligent collector and disseminator of news. His letters are entertaining; but we cannot look upon them in the same light as the contents of former volumes. Sir Thomas More and Lord Burleigh could not have been ignorant of the

affairs which they describe. A Cambridge student is in a very different predicament, and his communications are not entitled to the name of authentic political information.

The two Charles's and James II. have contributed very little; and Mr. Ellis will do good service if, on some future occasion, he can supply the deficiency. A letter, describing the death of the second Charles, has led Mr. Ellis into one of the greatest errors in his work. It is written, as he supposes, by a chaplain of Dr. Turner, bishop of Ely; and he speaks of it as conclusive evidence against Burnet's account of the same transaction. When the reader has perused the first sentence, he will hesitate at condemning Burnet upon the chaplain's evidence. "Yesterday evening, I do believe the most lamented prince that ever satt upon a throne, one of the best of kings, left this world, translated *doubtless* to a much more glorious kingdom than all those which he has left behind him, none bewailing of their losse."

The last portion of the work is principally occupied by letters from Bishop Nicholson to Archbishop Wake. Nicholson was Bishop of Carlisle in the year 1715, and gives a good account of the rebellion that happened at that time, and of the proceedings for high treason at Carlisle; but we have by no means so high an opinion of him as Mr. Ellis appears to entertain. The Scotch bishops are spoken of in these letters in very disrespectful terms, and considering what they had undergone for conscience sake, they were entitled to better treatment from an English prelate. But there is stronger evidence against Bishop Nicholson in other parts of this same correspondence. His letters to Wake, after he had been promoted to the see of Derry, were printed some years ago in the *Christian Remembrancer*, and from them he appears to have been much more attached to his own interest, than "to the civil and ecclesiastical government of his country." In fact, he was one of a bad school, from which the church both in England and Ireland has severely suffered.

We take leave of Mr. Ellis, with many thanks for his valuable publication. The Manuscripts, of which he is keeper, are of much importance, and could not be placed in better hands. The interesting selection from them which he has now made creates a demand for more, and we shall hail the appearance of another portion with great pleasure and sincerity.

ART. IV. *Historical Notes, respecting the Indians of North America; with Remarks on the Attempts made to convert and civilize them.* By John Halkett, Esq. Hurst, Robinson & Co. 1825.

THIS is the work, we perceive, of a mere fireside traveller. The object of it is good, and the execution respectable, but it bears no proof of a personal acquaintance with the various matters which it contains. Mr. Halkett, it should seem, has studied the Indians of America in the libraries of Europe, rather than in their native forests; and his "Historical Notes," accordingly, have a closer reference to times that have long gone by, than to the actual condition of the "red children" of the woods at the present moment.

The annals of the white men on the great western continent are, we must confess, deeply stained with the misery and oppression which they have inflicted upon the Indians, since the first day that a European ship touched the trans-atlantic shores. The Spaniards, the French and the Dutch, have respectively much to answer for in regard to the mode in which they planted their several colonies in that part of the world; and we wish we could assert, that our own countrymen had no arrear of guilt chargeable upon their memories, and that no compensation were due at our hands to the unfortunate tenants of the American wilderness. Fraud and cruelty marked too long all the intercourse of the Europeans with the simple Indian; and, in order to justify their worst actions, they propagated every where the groundless calumny that the aboriginal inhabitants of the extensive countries to which their cupidity had directed them, were not superior in intellect to brute beasts, but were stupid, ungrateful and ferocious. The reports of interested traders and inhuman commanders were at length made the foundation of a theory by a certain class of philosophers at home; who, as is amply proved by the writings of Buffon and De Pauw, took pleasure in representing the natives of the New World as vicious, despicable and brutish, and far inferior to those of the Old, in mental as well as in corporeal qualities.

The good missionary, Le pere Lafitau, in his work entitled "*Mœurs des Sauvages Américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers Temps*," was among the first who boldly opposed the calumnies of his countrymen, in relation to the character of the Indians. In the face of the impudent statements made by several of his contemporaries, he maintained that the na-

tives of America were possessed of sound judgment, lively imagination, ready conception, and wonderful memory. All the tribes, he adds, retain at least some trace of an ancient religion, handed down to them from their ancestors, as also a form of government. They reflect justly upon their affairs; they prosecute their ends by sure means; they evince a degree of coolness and composure which would exceed our patience; they never permit themselves to indulge in passion, but always, from a high sense of honour and greatness of soul, appear masters of themselves. They are high-minded and proud; possess a courage equal to every trial; an intrepid valour; the most heroic constancy under torments; and an equanimity which neither reverses nor misfortunes can shake. Towards each other they behave with a natural politeness and attention, entertaining a high respect for the aged, and a consideration for their equals, which appears scarcely reconcilable with that freedom and independence of which they are so jealous. They make few professions of kindness, but yet are affable and generous. Towards strangers and the unfortunate, they exercise a degree of hospitality and charity which might put the inhabitants of Europe to the blush.

In those extensive regions, bounded by the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, the French, as is well known, exercised a severe and treacherous rule over the native inhabitants; imitating the latter in the most barbarous acts of revenge, in torture, and cruel deaths. This policy was strongly reprobated by the more judicious of the missionaries, who were soon made to feel the terrible effects of such an ill-timed retaliation. But our limits prevent us from entering into details on this early period of American colonization; suffice it to say, that the reader will find in Mr. Halkett's historical notes a valuable selection of most important information on that head, drawn from very authentic and impartial sources. We pass over, in like manner, the transactions of the Dutch in their infant establishment at New York, and proceed to give some account of the English settlers in America, whose descendants have made greater encroachments upon the birthright of the Indian, than all the other nations of Europe beside.

There is a romantic story, connected with the name of Captain John Smith, which gives a view of the state of society among the natives, as well as a striking picture of female generosity, and which on these accounts, cannot fail, we think, to engage the attention of the reader. Captain Smith was a hero by nature. Granger says that he "deserves to be ranked with the greatest travellers and adventurers of this

age. He was some time in the service of the Emperor and the Prince of Transylvania, against the Grand Seigneur, when he distinguished himself by challenging three Turks of quality to single combat, and cutting off their heads; for which heroic exploit he wore a chevron between three Turks heads on his arms. He afterwards went to America, where he was taken by the savage Indians, from whom he found means to escape. He often hazarded his life in naval engagements with pirates, Spanish men of war, and in other adventures, and had a considerable hand in reducing New England to the obedience of Great Britain, and in reclaiming the inhabitants from barbarism."

It was while exploring the country, and examining some of the principal rivers, that Captain Smith was taken prisoner by the Indians. Having resolved to put him to death, his savage enemies were already in the act of fastening him to a tree, that they might shoot him with arrows, when he, with great presence of mind, pulled out a pocket compass, and presented it to their chief. The astonishment felt by the Indians at the movements of the needle, and the extraordinary appearance of the whole instrument, induced them to postpone his execution. They probably looked upon Smith as a magician; at all events they determined forthwith to carry him to their king, whose name was Powhatan.

This prince, at that period, ruled over a vast extent of country, and mustered under his banners from two to three thousand warriors. The appearance of his court is thus described by the Captain, in the simple style of his age, now fast becoming obsolete. "Here were more than two hundred of these grim courtiers who stood wondering as he had been a monster, till Pohatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire, upon a seate like a bedsteade, hee sat covered with a great robe of rarowcan (raccoon) skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either side did sit a young wench, of about sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side the house as many women; with all theyre heades and shoulders painted red; manie of theyre heades bedecked with white down of birdes, but everie one with something, and a greate chayne of white beades about theyre necks."

At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The queen of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers instead of a towel, to dry them. After these and other Indian ceremonies, Captain Smith was invited to partake of an entertainment, and a council being

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now held, it was determined that he should be immediately put to death. He was accordingly dragged forward before the king, and his head placed on a large stone which rested on the ground, in order to have his brains beaten out by two men armed with clubs. This sentence was on the point of being executed, when to the astonishment of the whole assembly, the king's favourite daughter Pocahontas, then about twelve or thirteen years of age, rushed forward, and throwing herself down, folded her arms round the head of the captive, to save him from the blows of his fierce executioners. Such was her generous and persevering resolution, that Powhatan at length ordered the Captain to be released. From that time he was treated with distinguished regard by the king, as well as by his sons, and was soon afterwards sent back to the settlement at Jamestown, under an escort of twelve trusty Indians. Peace, too, was immediately established between Powhatan and the English; and the young princess, having become their avowed friend and patron, was allowed to visit the colony with her attendants, and to carry provisions and presents to them whenever they were in want.

Nor were her services confined to mere civilities. On the contrary, when war was unhappily renewed, and a stratagem formed for surprising Captain Smith and his party, she made her way through the forest in the dead of the night, gave him notice of the designs which were about to be put in operation against him, and thereby enabled him to provide for his safety. The Captain meeting with an accident from the explosion of gunpowder, returned soon after to England: and Pocahontas, unable to preserve peace between the white strangers and her father's subjects, lived with some trusty friends, in a state of concealment, on the banks of the Potowmac.

Captain Argale, who commanded an English ship on that station, hearing that the girl was in the neighbourhood, contrived to seize her person and carry her on board, with the view, it is said, either of procuring from Powhatan, more advantageous terms of peace, or of compelling him to pay a high ransom for his daughter. A negociation ensued under the auspices of Sir Thomas Dale, who was at that time entrusted with the government of the Virginian colony; but the Indian monarch, not finding it expedient to comply with the terms which were proposed to him, the treaty broke off, and the princess was detained two years in the English settlement.

It was during this very questionable captivity, that a young Englishman, named Rolfe, formed an attachment to Poca-

hontas; and the affection proving mutual, Sir Thomas Dayle found no difficulty in giving his consent to their union. Information of this event was also conveyed to her father, who sent one of his brothers and his two sons to make known his acquiescence, and to witness the ceremony of his daughter's marriage. This new relationship with the English, fortunately led to a peace, the conditions of which the Indian faithfully observed during the remainder of his life.

After the lapse of little more than a year, the Governor of Virginia returned to England, and with him, Mr. Rolfe, the wife of this gentleman, and their only son. Pocahontas had been some time baptised, and had made considerable progress in the English language. Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*, thus describes the occurrence. "Sir Thomas Dayle having thus established things as you have heard, returned thence, and arrived at Plymouth in May or June 1616, to advance the good of the plantation. Master Rolfe, also, with Rebecca, his new convert and consort, and Uttamatomakin, one of Powhatan's counsellors, came over at the same time. With this savage I have often conversed at my good friend's, Master Doctor Goldstone, where he was a frequent guest, and where I have both seen him sing and dance his diabolically measures, and heard him discourse of his countie and religion, Sir Thomas Dayle's man being the interpretour as I have elsewhere shewed. Master Rolfe lent me a discourse which he had written of the estate of Virginia at that time, out of which I collected those things which I have in my *Pilgrimage* delivered. And his wife did not only accustome herselfe to civilitie, but still carried herselfe as the daughter of a king: and was accordingly respected, not onely by the company, which allowed provision for herselfe and her sonne, but of divers particular persons of honor, in their hopeful zeale by her to advance Christianitie. I was present when my honourable and reverend patron, the Bishop of London, Doctor King, entertained her with festivall pompe, beyonde what I have seene in his great hospitalitie to other ladies."

At the moment Pocahontas arrived in England, Captain Smith, who had recovered from the effects of the accident which befell him abroad, was preparing to set out once more for his American plantation. He resolved, however, not to leave his native land until he had laid before the queen, the consort of James the First, an account of this Indian visitor, and entreated the royal protection in her favour. He accordingly wrote a "little book," setting forth to her Majesty the services and generosity of Rebecca Rolfe; for an abstract of which we must content ourselves, with referring to the

Generall Historie of Virginia, by Captain John Smith, or to the historical notes, from which we have abridged the above narrative.

The interview which he had with Pocahontas previous to his departure, deserves to be related in his own words. She had heard that he was dead, a circumstance which probably accounts for the agitation which she betrayed at their first meeting.

“ Being about this time preparing to set saile for New Englande, I could not stay to doe her that service I desired, and shee well deserved; but hearing she was at Brandford with divers of my friendes, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, shee turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, wee all left her two or three houres, repenting myself to have writ she could speak English. But not long after shee began to talk, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done, saying, ‘ You did promise Powhatan, what was your’s should be his, and hee the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason must I doe you.’ Which, though I could have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because shee was a king’s daughter. With a well set countenance she said, ‘ Were you not afraid to come into my father’s countrie, and caused fear in him and all his people but mee; and fear you that I should call you father? I tell you then that I will, and you shall call me childe, and so I will be for ever and ever your countrieman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimouth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakin to seek you, and know the truth, because your countriemen will lie much.’ ”

In England Pocahontas was well received and kindly treated. She was presented at court, and met with the most affectionate attention from persons of the first rank and station. But she was not long to remain the object either of curiosity or regard. Her husband had been appointed to an official situation in Virginia, and had even proceeded as far as Gravesend, with the intention of embarking with his family for America, when she was suddenly seized with the small-pox, and, after a few days illness died at that place, in the twenty-second year of her age. The fate of this young woman called forth in England the sympathy of all who knew how much she had done to support the cause and to save the lives of the British settlers in America. Her death was also deeply regretted by the old king her father, who continued faithfully to keep his promise of peace and friendship

to the English. He expressed much joy that her son lived, and hoped that, after the boy should grow up and become strong, he would return from beyond the great salt lake, and visit him. The boy remained in England under the care of an uncle, until his education was completed; after which he settled in Virginia, where he rose to considerable affluence and distinction, and in due time laid the foundation of several respectable families in that division of the American plantations.

There is another Indian heroine, whose fame indeed rests on a different ground, but who, in the character of a nun and a convert to the christian faith, fills a much larger space in the annals of American colonization. Tegahkouita was born in the country of the Mohawks, and was left an orphan at a very early age. Her aunts, to whose care she had been committed, were amazed to find that she entertained an insuperable repugnance to matrimony; not knowing that the superstitious spirit of Jesuit monachism had already counteracted in her one of the most natural sentiments of the human heart. To avoid the importunities of her relations she took refuge with the mission at Sault St. Louis; at which place, in consequence of her anxious and constant entreaties, the church admitted her into its bosom as a nun. She was the first of her nation, says Charlevoix, who entered into vows of perpetual virginity.

“Tegahkouita now began to prescribe for herself the most rigid penance. She strewed her bed with thorns, rolled herself among briars and prickles, mixed up earth and ashes with her food, travelled amid ice and snow, with her feet naked, and then scorched them in the flames. Under this regimen, her health, as might naturally have been expected, rapidly declined, and she died at the early age of twenty-four, to the inexpressible sorrow of the college of Jesuits at Quebec. These, however, found some consolation in knowing, that the effects of her virtue survived her. ‘It was the Mohawk tribe,’ exclaims Charlevoix, ‘who gave to New France this Geneviève of North America, the illustrious Catherine Tegahkouita, whom Heaven has continued for almost seventy years to render celebrated by the performance of miracles, the authenticity of which will stand the proof of the most rigid enquiry.’”

A long account follows, in the shape of an epistle to the superior of the mission, containing a number of wonderful cures, attested, it is said, by persons whose power and judgment cannot be suspected. As a proof of the efficacy attending the intercession of the “holy girl,” we shall transcribe

a certificate furnished by the Abbé de la Colombiere, who was restored to health in the manner therein described.

“ Having been ill at Quebec last year, from January to June, of a slow fever, against which all the usual remedies proved ineffectual, and also attacked with a flux, which ipecacuanha itself could not cure, it was thought advisable I should make a vow that in case it pleased Heaven to put a stop to my malady, I should go to the mission of St. François Xavier, in order to offer up my prayers at the tomb of Catherine Tegahkouita. From that day the fever ceased, and the flux became also much diminished; I embarked some days afterwards to acquit myself of my vow, and scarcely had I proceeded a third part on my journey, when I found myself perfectly cured. I therefore feel, that it would be unjust in me not to ascribe to the mission of Canada the glory which is their due; and to testify, as I now do, that I am indebted for my cure to the Iroquois virgin. I accordingly make the present attestation, not only to evince the sentiments of gratitude which I entertain, but also to express as much as in my power the confidence to be reposed upon the intercession of my benefactress, and thus incite others to imitate her virtues. Done at Villa Marie, this 14th September 1696. J. De La Colombiere.

Another certificate was given by the Capitaine de Luth, ‘ one of the bravest officers,’ says Charlevoix, ‘ that the king has ever had in this colony.’

“ I, the undersigned, certify to all whom it may concern, that having, for three-and-twenty years, been tormented by the gout, and suffering such pain as to have been deprived of rest for three months together, I addressed myself to Catherine Tegahkouita, the Iroquois virgin, who died in odour of sanctity, at the Sault St. Louis, and I promised to visit her tomb, if Heaven should please to remove my malady through her intercession. At the end of a nine days fasting and devotion, which I performed to her honour, I was so completely cured, that for the last fifteen months I have not the slightest fit of the gout.” Done at Fort Frontenac, this 15th day of August 1696. J. De Luth, Capitaine, &c.

As a check upon the scepticism of the heretical reader, it seems expedient that he should be supplied with the following warning, extracted from the history of New France, a work of the good father Charlevoix:—“ On every anniversary of the death of La bonne Catherine—for that is the name by which, in deference to the Holy See, she is honoured in Canada—the neighbouring parishes were in the habit of repairing to the church at the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal,

to perform a solemn mass. The curate of La Chine, M. Remy, who had recently arrived from France, having been apprized of this custom, and that his predecessors had always conformed to it, declared that he did not think himself authorized to sanction by his presence, a public religious solemnity not ordained by the church. Those of his parishioners who heard him make this remark, foretold that it would not be long before their new curate would be punished for his refusal; and in fact, from that day M. Remy fell dangerously ill. But the worthy curate, perceiving at once the cause of his sudden malady, made a vow to follow the pious example of his predecessors; upon which he was immediately restored to health."

Under the auspices of such men, it was not to be expected that the progress of Christianity among the Indians could be either rapid or secure. In fact, they accomplished nothing. The two great orders of missionaries, the Jesuits and the Recollets, after manifesting the utmost resolution, and undergoing the severest privations, returned home with no other reward but the consciousness of having acted under the influence of benevolent motives, and the pleasant conviction that they ensured, by a seasonable baptism, the eternal salvation of some thousands of dying infants. At the present day, no other record can be discovered in the Indian wilderness, that the ministry of the Gospel had ever been exercised among its inhabitants, than the appearance of a few silver crosses, which are worn round the neck by way of ornament or charm, and probably answer the same purpose with the *fetiché*, which is seen in possession of all the tribes which wander over the deserts of Africa. The Romish missionaries sowed the seed before they prepared the soil; and hence all their labour was lost, and their means thrown away. They attempted to engraft Christianity upon the habits of savage life, and to communicate the profoundest mysteries of our holy faith to minds which had never been accustomed to exercise reflection, or to analyse the elements of thought; it ought not, therefore, to excite the smallest surprise, that their hopes were disappointed, their endeavours opposed and rendered useless, and all their pious schemes limited to the imaginary benefit of securing a passport into bliss for such infants as they were permitted to baptize, or for a few aged persons on their death-beds, who had no longer the power of refusing their services.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie remarks, in his American travels, respecting the early French missionaries, that there is

hardly a trace to be found of their meritorious function. The cause of their failure, he adds, must be attributed to a want of due consideration in the mode employed by them to propagate the religion of which they were the zealous ministers. They habituated themselves to the savage life, and naturalized themselves to the savage manners; and by thus becoming dependent, as it were, on the natives, they acquired their contempt rather than their veneration.

Many of the missionaries, it is well known, fell victims to the revenge or superstition of the natives; while such of them as were permitted to live in the wilds, endured every species of suffering which can arise from cold, hunger and fatigue. But the principal cause of failure in their pious labours is to be traced, not to the circumstance of their becoming as savage as the Indians, and of rendering themselves dependent upon them for food and clothing; it is to be discovered in the vain attempt already mentioned, of conveying to uncultivated minds the abstruse learning of systematic theology, and of founding upon that learning a reverence for ceremonies, which otherwise could not fail to appear ridiculous. The Indian listened, but received no impression. The rites of the Roman Catholic seemed good enough for the white man; but as the Great Spirit had given to his red children a more simple and rational religion, they would not accept of the former, except in so far as they were bound by complaisance and decorum. The Indians, says Charlevoix, have been seen to attend our churches for years together, with an assiduity and solemnity which made it be supposed they entertained a sincere desire to learn and embrace the truths of Christianity; but they would suddenly refrain from coming to church, saying coolly to the missionary, 'You had no one to pray with you; I took compassion upon you in your solitude, and kept you company; others, at present, are willing to render you the same service; I therefore take my leave.' The same writer tells us, that several of the Indians had carried their complaisance so far, as to request and receive the rites of baptism, performing for some time the christian duties; after which they declared they had done all this only to please the priest, who was pressing them to change their religion.

The father Hennepin likewise observes, that the Indians reckon it highly improper to contradict any thing that is said; and they will not dissent from you, even if you make the most absurd assertions. They always answer, "Brother, you are right—it is well." Yet, in private, they only believe what

they please, and shew the greatest indifference even for the great truths of the Christian religion. It is this, he adds, which forms the principal obstacle to their conversion.

“ The Tonicas were visited by Charlevoix, and, bating always their dislike to conversion, he found them a well disposed and hospitable nation. In the year 1718, when M. Du Pratz travelled up the Mississippi, he also paid a visit to them, and found the missionary Davion then residing amongst them. ‘ I asked him,’ says Du Pratz, ‘ if his great zeal for the salvation of the Indians was attended with success ?’ He answered, with tears in his eyes, ‘ that notwithstanding the great respect they shewed him, it was with difficulty he could get leave to baptize a few children at the point of death ; that those who were grown up excused themselves from embracing our holy religion, saying, they were too old to accustom themselves to rules so difficult to be observed ; that their grand chief, since he had put to death the physician who had attended his only son in a distemper of which he died, had taken a resolution, in consequence of Davion’s reproaches, to fast every Friday during his life ; that this old chief attended at church both morning and evening, the women and children likewise assisting ; but as to the men, they did not come often, and when they did, they took more pleasure in ringing the church bell.’ ”

The Baron de la Hontan remarks, that almost all the conquests gained to Christianity by the Jesuits, are those infants who have received the rites of baptism, and those old men who, at the point of death, find no inconvenience in being baptized. Pere Lallemant, in the account of his early mission among the Hurons, states nearly the same thing. “ We have this year baptized more than a thousand, most of them afflicted with the small-pox, of whom a large proportion have died with every mark of having been received among the elect. Of these there are more than three hundred and sixty infants under seven years of age, without counting upwards of a hundred other little children, who having been baptized before, were cut off by the same malady, and gathered by the angels as flowers in paradise. With respect to adult persons in good health, there is little apparent success ; on the contrary, there have been nothing but storms and whirlwinds in that quarter.

The storms here alluded to respected the dissatisfaction of the Indians on the subject of matrimony ; the missionaries insisting upon curtailing their wonted privileges in regard to the number and succession of wives. On this head too, as on many others, the practice of the Europeans was utterly opposed to their doctrines. The planters and traders ob-

served no other limits than their own conveniency in the amount of their domestic establishment; a fact upon which the natives did not shut their eyes, nor allowed to pass unnoticed in their disputes with the christian teachers.

No one who has read with candour the history of the French missions in Canada, has ever found any other thing to blame besides the injudicious attempt to teach savages the mysteries of our holy religion. The zeal, devotedness, and perseverances of the missionaries are worthy of all praise. It is gratifying to find, that the same good spirit continues to actuate the Roman Catholic clergy in the endeavours which they are making, at the present day, to instruct the Indians, and eventually to bring them within the pale of the church. So far as benevolence, charity and paternal care, can afford comfort to the Indian, he receives it at their hands; and to any one, says Mr. Halkett, "who feels an interest in the fate of that race, it must be satisfactory to observe the kindness of their Catholic teachers in Canada, and painful to contrast it with the barbarous conduct of the Spanish North American missions bordering upon the shores of the Pacific ocean."

Since we have alluded to the conduct of the Spaniards, we shall transcribe a paragraph from the voyages of La Perouse, who visited California in 1786. At that period, there were in the country twenty-five missions labouring among about fifty thousand Indians, of whom about a fifth part were said to have embraced Christianity. In one of these missions, Perouse thus notices the usual occupation of the converted Indians: "Every day they have seven hours of labour, two of prayers, and four or five on Sundays and feast days, which are set apart for repose and divine worship. Corporal punishment is inflicted upon the Indians of both sexes who fail in their religious exercises; and several offences, for which in Europe the punishment is left to the hand of divine justice, are punished here with irons. From the moment that a neophyte is baptized, it is the same as if he had taken perpetual vows; and if he should escape from the mission, and take refuge among his relations in their Indian villages, he is summoned three times to return. If he refuses, the missionary applies for the authority of the governor, who dispatches soldiers to drag him from the bosom of his family, and take him back to the missions, where he is sentenced to receive so many lashes. These Indians are of so timid a character, that they never make any opposition to those who thus violate every human right. And this practice, against which reason cries aloud, is maintained, because

theologians have decided, that the rite of baptism ought not in conscience to be administered to men of so inconstant a turn of mind; for whom the government must, therefore, in some degree act as sponsors, and answer for their perseverance in the faith.

It is painful to reflect, that after the experience of so many years, the Spaniards have not yet resorted to more lenient and liberal means for propagating the Gospel. Kotzebue, the latest voyager to that part of the American continent, informs us, that he landed at California a short time before the festival in honour of that saint was to be celebrated. Upon entering the church, which is spacious and handsomely fitted up, he found several hundred half-naked Indians kneeling, who were never permitted, after their conversion, to absent themselves from mass, although they understand neither Latin nor Spanish. As the missionaries, he adds, do not trouble themselves to learn the language of the Indians, he cannot conceive in what manner they have been instructed in the Christian religion. "Twice in the year they receive permission to return to their native homes. This short time is the happiest of their existence, and I myself have seen them going home in crowds, with loud rejoicings. The sick, who cannot undertake the journey, at least accompany their happy countrymen to the shore where they embark, and then sit for days together, mournfully gazing at the distant summits of the mountains which surround their homes. They often sit in this situation several days, without taking any food; so much does the sight of their lost home affect these new Christians. Every time some of those who have the permission to visit their homes, run away; and they would probably all do it, were they not deterred by their fears of the soldiers, who catch them, and bring them back to the mission as criminals. Langsdorff, who had visited the mission of San Francisco a few years before, made a similar observation. 'When the Indian is retaken, he is brought back to the mission, where he is bastinadoed, and an iron rod is fastened to one of his feet, which has the double use of preventing him from repeating the attempt, and of frightening others from imitating his example.' The timidity of those runaway convicts is so great, says Kotzebue, that seven or eight dragoons are sufficient to overpower several hundred Indians."

This mode of dragooning the American heathen into Christianity, and that too in the nineteenth century, is, as Mr. Halkeitt remarks, scarcely to be credited; and yet the circumstance is confirmed by the united testimony of witnesses of various

countries, and professing different religions;—by French, Russian and British travellers; by members of the Roman, Greek and English church. It was observed by the celebrated Eliot, known in New England as the apostle of the Indians, that “in order to christianize the savages, it was necessary at the same time to civilize and make men of them;” but the priests at San Francisco seem to have thought it more consonant with the mild precepts of Christianity, that they should begin by enslaving them. “The savage, says Kotzebue, comes unthinkingly into the mission, receives the food which is willingly offered to him, and listens to their instructions. He is still free; but as soon as he is baptized he belongs to the church; and hence he looks with pain and longing to his native mountains.”

But still we repeat, that the main error among the Romanists was their constant practice of identifying baptism with Christianity;—the substitution of the *opus operatum* for improvement of the understanding, change of habits, and extension of useful knowledge. It was no matter to the Jesuit, whether his convert continued to live like a savage, and feel like a barbarian, if he kneeled the stated time during mass, and crossed himself at the proper intervals. Dr. Robertson, in his History of America, informs us, that in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions. Proselytes, he justly remarks, adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given their assent, nor taught the absurdities of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rights with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired.

The absurdity of such conduct, as pursued by the French in the upper provinces, at length provoked the interference of the learned doctors of the Sorbonne. After some discussion on the point, it was determined, that “with respect to dying infants and adults, the missionaries might risk the sacrament of baptism when asked for; presuming that God would give to the adults some ray of light, such as it was believed had already occurred in several instances: that as to the other savages, it ought not to be administered, unless where, by a long trial, it appeared that they were instructed, and detached from their own barbarous customs, or where they had habituated themselves to the manners of the

French ; and the same with respect to their children. A formulary and species of canon was composed for the regulation and guidance of the missionaries on this subject."

We cannot enter at any length into the history of the Protestant missions, which, in proportion as the English extended their territory, and hemmed in the French, gradually succeeded those of the Jesuits and the Recollets. It gives us pain to observe, that the zeal of our countrymen was not accompanied with richer fruits than such as were gathered by their predecessors in that arduous field. If, indeed, we may believe the earliest of our missionaries, their failure was owing, in no small degree, to the deceptions practised by the Romanists. One of the converts assured a Protestant minister, that the Jesuits taught his countrymen that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation ; that his mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French lady ; that it was the English who murdered him ; and that all who would recommend themselves unto his favour, must avenge his quarrel upon the English as far as they could.

A greater obstacle to success in spreading the Gospel, was created by the English themselves, who soon brought their motives into discredit, by employing the tomahawks of one tribe against another. The morals, too, of the soldiers and traders, strongly prepossessed the natives against their religion. Nor were the measures of the local government at all times consistent either with the spirit of Christianity, or with sound political wisdom. An Indian chief very indignantly asked a missionary, why he pressed his countrymen to become Christians, seeing that the Christians were so much worse than they ? The Christians, said he, will lie, steal, and drink worse than the Indians. It was they who first taught the Indians to be drunk ; and they stole from one another to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it ; but that was not sufficient to deter others from it : and he supposed that if the Indians were to become Christians, they would then be as bad as these.

The speech of Red Jacket to the representative of the United States, in the year 1820, touches on another topic which is closely connected with the success of missionary exertion. " Another thing recommended to us, said he, has created great confusion amongst us, and is making us a quarrelsome and divided people ; and that is the introduction of preachers into our nation. These black robes contrive to get consent of some of the Indians to preach among us ; and whenever this is the case, confusion and disorder are sure to follow, and the encroachment of the whites upon our land is

the invariable consequence. The governor must not think hard of me for speaking thus of the preachers. I have observed their progress, and when I look back to see what has taken place of old, I perceive that wherever they came among the Indians, they were forerunners of their dispersion; that they introduced the white people on their lands, by whom they were robbed and plundered of their property; and that the Indians were sure to dwindle and decrease, and be driven back, in proportion to the number of preachers that came among them."

When Mr. Mahew asked permission of a sachem to preach to his Indians, the chief replied, "Go, and teach the English to be good first." A distrust relative to the character and motives of the whites, pervades every portion of the Indian population. Two missionaries were furnished by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and sent among the Delawere tribes with a letter containing much pious compliment and friendly promise. When the two Christians arrived at their destination, the chiefs assembled, and said they would take the subject into consideration; that in the mean time they might instruct the women, but were not to speak to the men. Fourteen days were spent in council, after which the leading individuals made known the result of their deliberation, which was as follows. They very courteously dismissed the two strangers, with an answer to those by whom they had been sent; assuring us, says Dr. Boudinot, that they owed us "great acknowledgments for the favours we had done them. They rejoiced exceedingly at our happiness in thus being favoured by the Great Spirit, and felt very grateful that we had condescended to remember our red brethren in the wilderness; but they could not help recollecting, that we had a people among us, who, because they differed from us in colour, we had made slaves of, causing them to suffer great hardships, and lead miserable lives. Nor they could not see any reason if a people being black, entitled us to deal with them, why a red colour would not equally justify the same treatment. They therefore had determined to wait and see whether all the black people among us were made thus happy and joyful, before they could put confidence in our promises; for they thought a people who had suffered so much and so long by our means, should be entitled to our first attention; that therefore they had sent back the two missionaries, with many thanks, promising, that when they saw the black people among us restored to freedom and happiness, they would gladly receive our missionaries.—This, adds the Doctor, is what in

any other case would be called *close reasoning*, and is too mortifying a fact to make farther observations upon."

The contamination produced by the fur-traders, who have demoralized one-half of the Indian tribes, by means of ardent spirits and European vices, renders conversion more difficult, and less effectual than ever. Various methods have been suggested to the government of Washington for reclaiming the inhabitants of the western forests; but every effort will prove abortive, while the off-scourings of their population are allowed to carry among them the example of every wickedness, and the means of gratifying their worst passions. The red children, we fear, will add, at no distant period, another example of the melancholy fact, that the colonization of a polished people, in a land inhabited by savages, leads not to the improvement of the latter, but to their final extirpation. The President of the United States has proposed the division and appropriation of the land which they yet possess, hoping that they may be induced to practice agriculture, and remain in fixed habitations. But the Indian cannot be confined either to place or occupation. He will retreat into the woods farther and farther, till he reach the rocky mountains, seeing his numbers diminish and his resources gradually decrease, until at length the remains of the copper-coloured race will be sought for in vain, or mingling with the kindred tribes on the western declivity of the Andes.

Mr. Halkett's book contains a good deal of interesting matter, and at the same time opens up many sources of valuable information in regard to the early history of North America. On this account, chiefly, we venture to recommend it to the curious reader.

ART. V. *A brief Narrative of an unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through Sir Thomas Rowe's "Welcome," in His Majesty's ship Griper, in the year 1824. By Captain G. F. Lyon, R.N. With a Chart and Engravings.* 8vo. 199 pp. 10s. 6d. Murray. 1825.

EVERY body who could read must have felt pain in taking up the Newspaper which announced Captain Lyon's disappointment; and this regret, we think, will be increased a hundred-fold after the perusal of this short and unpretending narrative, which has since been offered to the public. In a voyage barren of all incident, except that of the storms which

occasioned the ship's return, we did not think it possible that our attention could have been arrested as forcibly as we have found it to be; for it is scarcely exaggerated praise to add, that we do not recollect in the whole circle of literature, a passage of profounder interest, than the few simple pages in which Captain Lyon recounts the perils which he twice so providentially escaped.

Our readers will doubtless bear in mind, that from the discoveries in Captain Parry's second voyage, there appeared a very strong probability, that a western portion of the Polar Sea would be found at no great distance from Repulse Bay, across Melville Peninsula; that is at about three days journey, according to the Esquimaux calculation. To determine this question, and then to examine the eastern part of the North coast of North America, from the western shore of Melville Peninsula, to the point at which Captain Franklin's journey terminated, was the service in which the Griper was employed. For these purposes, Captain Lyon was instructed to winter in Repulse Bay, and in the spring of 1825, to proceed across the Peninsula.

The Griper was a gun brig of 180 tons burden, strengthened and raised for the particular service to which she was destined. Her crew, inclusive of officers, amounted to 41 persons. She was plentifully stored with all necessaries, and for the land-journey various instruments and sledges were provided; and two boats to be covered with water-proof canvass, were carried out in frame. The Snap surveying vessel was to accompany Captain Lyon, until he entered the ice, and then, having put her cargo on board the Griper, was to make for Newfoundland.

On the 10th of June 1824, Captain Lyon was towed from Deptford; on the following day Professor Barlow came on board at Greenhithe to adjust his plate for the correction of the compasses from the effects of local attraction. The Griper on entering the salt water, drew 16 feet 1 inch abaft, and 15 feet 10 inches forward: and from her great depth and sharpness abreast, she was found to pitch very deeply. The first berg, a piece of ice about 70 feet, was seen on the 1st of August, and by the sudden smoothness and change of temperature in the water, (32° while the air was 31°,) Captain Parry confirmed his former observation, that an approach to the ice from an open sea, may always be ascertained by the variation of the thermometer. On the 4th of August the Snap parted company, having previously delivered all her stores, under weather so adverse, that during the whole time that the boats were passing between the two vessels, which were

entirely hidden from each other by the density of the fog, they were guided backwards and forwards through loose ice by the sound of bells.*

“ When our stores were all on board, we found our narrow decks completely crowded by them. The gangways, forecastle, and abaft the mizen-mast, were filled with casks, hawsers, whale-lines, and stream-cables, while on our straightened lower deck we were obliged to place casks and other stores, in every part but that allotted to the ship's company's mess tables; and even my cabin had a quantity of things stowed away in it. The launch was filled high above her gunwales with various articles, and our chains and waste were lumbered with spars, spare plank, sledges, wheels, &c. Our draught of water aft was now sixteen feet one inch, and forward fifteen feet ten inches.

“ This account of our crowded state may lead to a supposition, that I carried out a larger portion of stores than was absolutely requisite; but I may in a few words explain my reasons for having endeavoured to carry all the supplies which the *Snap* brought across the Atlantic for us.

“ Our stay in the Polar regions must of necessity have been above one year and a half, even supposing that my journey to Point Turnagain had been performed with the greatest expedition; but had I encountered difficulties, and experienced those delays on my return to the *Griper*, which are unavoidable in this desolate country, I might not have reached her until she was again frozen in, and two years and a half would then have been her shortest stay; in which case it was indispensably requisite that provisions for that time should be carried out, and these it was that now so much incommoded us. On the *Griper's* former expedition with Captain Parry, she was only able to carry one year's provisions, and was supplied from the *Hecla* at the expiration of that time; and on her recent voyage with Captain Clavering, up a wide and open sea, she only carried an eighteen month's supply, as it was not intended she should winter in the country.

“ The difference in the quantity of stores may therefore account, in some degree, for the ship's being so hampered; and I have trespassed thus far on the patience of my readers, in consequence of an

* “ Although the Fogs in the Polar regions are so frequently mentioned in the course of the recent Narratives which have been published, I believe they are generally understood as resembling our English fogs; which is not, in fact, the case, In the northern seas these vapours rarely rise to above a hundred feet from the sea, and a sky of most provoking brilliancy is frequently seen over head. The view from the deck is bounded to about a hundred yards, and such is the rapid formation of the icicles on the rigging; that it is actually possible, when the temperature is low, to see them grow beneath the eye. Yet chilling as this may appear, the sudden clearing of the fog no sooner permits the sun to break forth in its full vigour, than the ship and rigging glisten in the most brilliant manner, as if they were of glass, and a rapid thaw quickly restores every thing to its original colour.” P. 43.

idea which has been adopted by some persons unacquainted with naval affairs, that I had uselessly lumbered my ship; when, in fact, had I succeeded in reaching Repulse Bay with less stores than I now carried, certain starvation would have attended us all, if we were detained, as might have happened, a second winter. It may also be proper to mention, that the *Fury* and *Hecla*, which were enabled to stow *three* years provisions, were each exactly *double* the size of the *Griper*." P. 20.

The want of an accompanying ship, "if not to help, at least to break the deathlike stillness of the scene," could not but be strongly impressed upon all minds at their parting. It was in some measure relieved by the affectionate confidence mutually subsisting among the crew. They already arranged their little places of study and amusement, and "looked forward with pleasure to the approach of winter."

The strong north-easterly gales prevalent all July and August, had very materially altered the usual trending of the ice in Davis's Strait, and the tunnel-shaped entrance to Hudson's Strait, afforded it an easy reception. Owing to this circumstance, even before the 10th of August, when barely within the mouth of the Strait, Captain Lyon had already encountered more ice (always excepting the Strait of the *Fury* and the *Hecla*) than in the whole of his last outward voyage. No water was seen in any direction; the sea was crowded, and in many places closely *packed*, so far as the eye could reach.

On the 12th the first Esquimaux made their appearance, about sixty in number, speaking the same language as those of Igloodik. Little that was new occurred in this interview. The two first hours of introduction were spent in raving and screaming. Some of the natives attempted their usual thefts, and were reduced to honesty by being knocked down or thrown overboard. The few animals in the ship excited more fear than admiration. For two Shetland ponies they entertained a profound and distant reverence; and when they had overcome the first alarm excited by the squeaking of some pigs, they expressed great satisfaction, by a loud laugh and general shout, at having seen what they considered to be two new species of rein deer (*Tooktoo*.) The customary barterings concluded the visit; and here, for the first time, Captain Lyon states, that the ladies, with a violation of decorum hitherto unknown, were by no means unwilling to dispose of their breeches for knives and tenpenny nails.

As the ice thickened, the sluggishness of the compasses increased rapidly. Gilbert's, which had hitherto been fully

corrected for the local attraction of the ship, by Professor Barlow's plate, on the 15th, on a still day, under the broad glare of the sun, whenever the ship's head was eastward, began to shew as much deviation as the others. Off Southampton Island on the 23d, when the ship's head was southward, they were all quite useless; that in particular to which the plate was fitted, was so powerless that the north point stood wherever it was placed by the finger. With the head northward they all traversed again: but this was of little benefit, for as the course lay south-west, they had no other sure guidance but the celestial bearings which could not always be obtained. Captain Lyon particularly marks the defects of the old charts, respecting the coast of Southampton Island. It is laid down as a bold precipitous shore, having from 90 to 130 fathoms. On almost every part which Captain Lyon coasted, the hand leads were going, at from five to ten miles from the beach, (which no where could be approached within a mile by the ships) at from 35 to 50 fathoms.

To the south of Cape Pembroke more Esquimaux were met with. The first who came off as the herald of his tribe, floated on three inflated seals-skins instead of a canoe. Across one of these he sat astride, and his legs protected by seal-skin boots dangled almost to the knee below the water. He guided himself by a whalebone paddle, secured by a thong to his float. A friendly intercourse was soon established. This tribe appeared in greater destitution than any others which had been seen. They were less clamorous than the generality of their countrymen, and even when the officers shot several birds before their eyes, they expressed neither fear nor curiosity at the report or the effect of the gun. Contrary to usual custom, they did not lick any article which was given them. Captain Lyon visited their tents about two miles distant from his landing place. He found them very small and full of holes, every where giving admission to wind and rain. The floors, excepting a small place assigned for sleep, were strewn with salmon and its offal. They had no lamps, no sledges, and only one miserably constructed cooking-pot; so that their fish, agreeably to Captain Cochrane's taste, were generally to be eaten raw. None of those little domestic toys were seen, which graced the tents in Winter Island. The women possessed two iron-needles made from nails, not much reduced in size, and with such diminutive eyes that they must have been useless, and a few others constructed of the pinion-bones of birds. These ladies were slightly tattooed on the face, and each wore her hair twisted into a strait club hanging over the temples. The gloves of the men were made of

the reversed skin of the dovekie, dried without further preparation, so that the long stiffened neck-part pointed forward, and was always in the way. Each had an immense ball of hair projecting from the rise of his forehead; one of which was opened before Captain Lyon; it was bound tightly at the base, measured above four feet, and consisted of six long strips of hair, originally plaited, and afterwards matted into greater consistency by dirt and tufts of deer's skin. From their total want of iron, their extreme poverty, their good behaviour, and their simplicity, Captain Lyon thinks it probable they had never before seen Europeans.

In the course of the 31st, from the extraordinary change in the deviation of the needle, and from the erroneous manner in which the land was laid down in his charts, Captain Lyon found himself entirely at a loss as to his relative position to the shore on either side of him. During the night he steered N.W. by the polar star, and ran under easy sail, his soundings varying from 28 to 30 fathoms, till about half-past two, on the morning of the 1st of September, he shoaled suddenly to 19.

“ Fearing danger, I turned the hands up, but having shortly deepened to twenty-seven and twenty-five, again sent them below. At six A.M. having quickly shoaled to nineteen, running N.N.W. from midnight, I shortened sail, but came to seventeen at dawn, when we discovered land bearing N.N.W. and apparently not continuous to the right, but a thick fog which hung over the horizon limited our view. As our run had been about fifty miles N.N.W., and as I expected to find the American shore east of its position in the charts, I conceived that this would be Cape Fullerton of Middleton, and therefore kept it on our larboard hand, intending to run past it at five or six miles, which was its distance at this time. We soon, however, came to fifteen fathoms, and I kept right away, but had then only ten; when being unable to see far around us, and observing from the whiteness of the water that we were on a bank, I rounded to at seven A.M., and tried to bring up with the starboard anchor, and seventy fathoms chain, but the stiff breeze and heavy sea caused this to part in half an hour, and we again made sail to the north-eastward; but finding we came suddenly to seven fathoms, and that the ship could not possibly work out again, as she would not face the sea or keep steerage way on her, I most reluctantly brought her up with three bowers and a stream in succession, yet not before we had shoaled to five and a half. This was between eight and nine A.M. The ship pitching bows under, and a tremendous sea running. At noon the starboard bower anchor parted, but the others held.

“ As there was every reason to fear the falling of the tide, which we knew to be from twelve to fifteen feet on this coast, and in that case the total destruction of the ship, I caused the long-boat to be hoisted out, and with the four smaller ones, to be stored to a certain

extent with arms and provisions. The officers drew lots for their respective boats, and the ship's company were stationed to them. The long-boat having been filled full of stores which could not be put below, it became requisite to throw them overboard, as there was no room for them on our very small and crowded decks, over which heavy seas were constantly sweeping. In making these preparations for taking to the boats, it was evident to all, that the long-boat was the only one which had the slightest chance of living under the lee of the ship, should she be wrecked, but every officer and man drew his lot with the greatest composure, although two of our boats would have been swamped the instant they were lowered. Yet such was the noble feeling of those around me, that it was evident that had I ordered the boats in question to be manned, their crews would have entered them without a murmur. In the afternoon, on the weather clearing a little, we discovered a low beach all around astern of us, on which the surf was running to an awful height, and it appeared evident that no human powers could save us. At three P.M. the tide had fallen to twenty-two feet, (only six more than we drew,) and the ship having been lifted by a tremendous sea, struck with great violence the whole length of her keel. This we naturally conceived was the forerunner of her total wreck, and we stood in readiness to take the boats, and endeavour to hang under her lee. She continued to strike with sufficient force to have burst any less-fortified vessel, at intervals of a few minutes, whenever an unusually heavy sea passed us. And, as the water was so shallow, these might almost be called breakers rather than waves, for each in passing, burst with great force over our gangways, and as every sea "topped," our decks were continually, and frequently deeply, flooded. All hands took a little refreshment, for some had scarcely been below for twenty-four hours, and I had not been in bed for three nights. Although few or none of us had any idea that we should survive the gale, we did not think that our comforts should be entirely neglected, and an order was therefore given to the men to put on their best and warmest clothing, to enable them to support life as long as possible. Every man, therefore, brought his bag on deck and dressed himself, and in the fine athletic forms which stood exposed before me, I did not see one muscle quiver, nor the slightest sign of alarm. The officers each secured some useful instrument about them for the purposes of observation, although it was acknowledged by all that not the slightest hope remained. And now that every thing in our power had been done, I called all hands aft, and to a merciful God offered prayers for our preservation. I thanked every one for their excellent conduct, and cautioned them, as we should, in all probability, soon appear before our Maker, to enter his presence as men resigned to their fate. We then all sat down in groups, and, sheltered from the wash of the sea by whatever we could find, many of us endeavoured to obtain a little sleep. Never, perhaps, was witnessed a finer scene than on the deck of my little ship, when all hope of life had left us. Noble as the character of the British sailor is always allowed to be in cases of danger, yet I did not believe it to be possible, that amongst forty-

one persons not one repining word should have been uttered. The officers sat about, wherever they could find shelter from the sea, and the men lay down conversing with each other with the most perfect calmness. Each was at peace with his neighbour and all the world, and I am firmly persuaded that the resignation which was then shewn to the will of the Almighty, was the means of obtaining his mercy. At about six P.M. the rudder, which had already received some very heavy blows, rose, and broke up the after-lockers, and this was the last severe shock which the ship received. We found by the well that she made no water, and by dark she struck no more. God was merciful to us, and the tide, almost miraculously, fell no lower. At dark, heavy rain fell, but was borne with patience, for it beat down the gale, and brought with it a light air from the northward. At nine P.M. the water had deepened to five fathoms. The ship kept off the ground all night, and our exhausted crew obtained some broken rest.

"At four A.M. on the 2d, on weighing the best bower, we found it had lost a fluke, and by eight we had weighed the two other anchors and the stream, which were found uninjured. The land was now more clearly visible, and the highest surf I ever saw still breaking on it, and on some shoals about half a mile from the shore. Not a single green patch could be seen on the flat shingle beach, and our sense of deliverance was doubly felt from the conviction that if any of us should have lived to reach the shore, the most wretched death by starvation would have been inevitable. In standing out from our anchorage, which in humble gratitude for our delivery, I named the 'Bay of God's Mercy,' we saw the buoy of the anchor we had lost in ten fathoms, and weighed it by the buoy rope, losing therefore only one bower anchor. We now hoisted the long boat in, and an occasional glimpse of the sun enabled us to determine the situation of our recent anchorage, which was in lat. $63^{\circ} 35' 48''$, long, $86^{\circ} 32' 00''$. The land all round it was so low that it was scarcely visible from the deck at five miles distance, while the point which I had taken for Cape Fullerton, and which I named after Mr. Kendall, (assistant surveyor,) was higher than the coast of Southampton hitherto seen, although still low land. The extreme of the right side of the bay was named after Lieutenant Manico. Keeping abreast of Cape Kendall, and steering west in from ten to thirteen fathoms, at six or eight miles off, at seven P.M. we anchored in thirteen fathoms. The weather was calm, with a heavy ground-swell setting for the shore. The ship being now somewhat to rights, I called the hands aft, and we offered up our thanks and praises to God, for the mercy he had shewn to us. All hands then turned in, and the ship lay quiet for the night." P. 76.

We will not injure the effect of this simple and sublime picture, by a single comment of our own; nor will we deprive our readers of the satisfaction of appreciating for themselves the high-minded courage and the genuine piety which it so forcibly exhibits.

It was now plain, that although Southampton Island was laid down with a continuous outline in the charts, it had in fact never been seen, except at its southern extremity. This discovery could not but be the source of intense anxiety; it prevented the ship from running, unless by day, and even then only while the sky remained clear; for as the compasses were of no use, no course could be ascertained when the sun was clouded. Besides this, it had been proved that the Griper was unable to work off a lee-shore; it thus became necessary to keep the leads going both day and night, to the great fatigue and exhaustion of the men. The temperature was 28° , and rain fell heavily for a great part of the time.

Little, even of nautical interest, occurred till the night of the 12th, when the Griper was to the north of Wager river:

“ The night was piercingly cold, and the sea continued to wash fore and aft the decks, while constant snow fell. As the lower deck was afloat, our people and all their hammocks thoroughly soaked, no rest could be obtained.

“ Never shall I forget the dreariness of this most anxious night. Our ship pitched at such a rate, that it was not possible to stand even below, while on deck we were unable to move without holding by ropes which were stretched from side to side. The drift snow flew in such sharp heavy flakes, that we could not look to windward, and it froze on deck to above a foot in depth. The sea made incessant breaches quite fore and aft the ship, and the temporary warmth it gave while it washed over us, was most painfully checked by its almost immediately freezing on our clothes. To these discomforts were added the horrible uncertainty as to whether the cables would hold until day-light, and the conviction also that if they failed us, we should instantly be dashed to pieces; the wind blowing directly to the quarter in which we knew the shore must lie. Again, should they continue to hold us, we feared by the ship's complaining so much forward, that the bitts would be torn up, or that she would settle down at her anchors, overpowered by some of the tremendous seas which burst over her.

“ During the whole of this time, streams of heavy ice continued to drive down upon us, any of which, had it hung for a moment against the cables, would have broken them, and at the same time have allowed the bowsprit to pitch on it and be destroyed. The masts would have followed this, for we were all so exhausted, and the ship was so coated with ice, that nothing could have been done to save them.

“ We all lay down at times during the night; for to have remained constantly on deck would have quite overpowered us; I constantly went up, and shall never forget the desolate picture which was always before us.

“ The hurricane blew with such violence as to be perfectly deafen-

ing; and the heavy wash of the sea made it difficult to reach the main-mast, where the officer of the watch and his people sat shivering, completely cased in frozen snow, under a small tarpaulin, before which ropes were stretched to preserve them in their places. I never beheld a darker night, and its gloom was increased by the rays of a small horn lantern, which was suspended from the mizen stay to shew where the people sat.

“ At dawn on the 13th, thirty minutes after four, A. M., we found that the best bower cable had parted, and as the gale now blew with terrific violence from the north, there was little reason to expect that the other anchors would hold long; or if they did, we pitched so deeply, and lifted so great a body of water each time, that it was feared the windlass and fore-castle would be torn up, or she must go down at her anchors; although the ports were knocked out, and a considerable portion of the bulwark cut away, she could scarcely discharge one sea before shipping another, and the decks were frequently flooded to an alarming depth.

“ At six A. M., all farther doubts on this particular account were at an end; for, having received two overwhelming seas, both the other cables went at the same moment, and we were left helpless, without anchors, or any means of saving ourselves, should the shore, as we had every reason to expect, be close astern. And here again I had the happiness of witnessing the same general tranquillity as was shewn on the 1st of September. There was no outcry that the cables were gone, but my friend Mr. Manico, with Mr. Carr the gunner, came aft as soon as they recovered their legs, and in the lowest whisper, informed me that the cables had all parted. The ship, in trending to the wind, lay quite down on her broadside, and as it then became evident that nothing held her, and that she was quite helpless, each man instinctively took his station, while the seamen at the leads, having secured themselves as well as was in their power, repeated their soundings, on which our preservation depended, with as much composure as if we had been entering a friendly port. Here again that Almighty Power which had before so mercifully preserved us, granted us his protection, for it so happened that it was slackwater when we parted, the wind had come round to N.N.W. (*along the land,*) and our head fell off to north-east, or seaward; we set two try-sails, for the ship would bear no more, and even with that lay her lee gunwale in the water. In a quarter of an hour we were in seventeen fathoms. Still expecting every moment to strike, from having no idea where we had anchored, I ordered the few remaining casks of the provisions received from the Snap, to be hove overboard, for being stowed round the capstan and abaft the mizen-mast, I feared their fetching way should we take the ground. At eight the fore trysail gaff went in the slings, but we were unable to lower it, on account of the amazing force of the wind, and every rope being encrusted with a thick coating of ice. The decks were now so deeply covered with frozen snow and freezing sea-water, that it was scarcely possible, while we lay over so much,

to stand on them ; and all hands being wet and half frozen, without having had any refreshment for so many hours, our situation was rendered miserable in the extreme." P. 100.

After this second escape, in which all the bower anchors and chains were lost, so that it was impossible to bring up in any part of the *Welcome*, exposed to a sweeping tideway and constant heavy gales, being yet 80 miles distant from Repulse Bay, with the shores leading to which he was wholly unacquainted, with the compasses useless, and the ship scarcely manageable, even in moderate weather, it is no matter of surprise that Captain Lyon determined to make a southing to the narrows of the *Welcome*, and then to decide on his future operations. On addressing a letter to his officers, requesting their respective opinions, without stating his own, each individual advised (in coincidence with the judgment which Captain Lyon himself had already formed) a return to England without delay.

Even this, however, was not to be accomplished without difficulty ; hard labour, cold and wet had affected many of the ship's company with rheumatism ; the weather was still boisterous ; and, in each succeeding gale, the ship's decks became more leaky. The strains which she had suffered in the two storms had loosened her upper works considerably, and the opening of the seams allowed the water to find its way to the cork lining, whence it dropped for many hours after seas had ceased to be shipped. The lower deck had not been dry for three weeks, and was in a most unwholesome state, nor could any remedy be applied ; for the hatches of necessity were always obliged to be battened down, and in that case the galley fire would not draw. The allowance of water was reduced to a quart *per diem* ; as they were unable to anchor, none could be procured from shore ; and, to add to their distress, no ice was visible in seas which at other times were constantly filled by it. Even the small portion which they continued to obtain was procured by the uncertain supply of distillation.

Happily, however, they made the entrance of Hudson's Strait, and here they obtained sufficient water from ice-blocks on Nottingham and Salisbury islands. They were here visited by some more Esquimaux of a widely different character from the last. Our new guests, says Captain Lyon, had scarcely a single virtue left, owing to the roguery they had learned from their annual visits to the Hudson's Bay ship, "yet I saw not," he continues, "why I should constitute myself the censor of these poor savages, and our barter was accordingly conducted in such a manner as to

enrich them very considerably." Some articles of no small curiosity, considering the rudeness both of the artists and their tools, were here procured: one, a figure of a dog lying down and gnawing a bone, about an inch in length, of admirable spirit and expression, carved from the grinder of a walrus. The others were ivory bears of the same description.

On the evening of the 2d of October the Griper ran into the Atlantic with a fair and moderate breeze. Never were happier countenances seen on deck. For the first time for five weeks, Captain Lyon enjoyed a night of uninterrupted repose. Still he had to weather some heavy gales; and all the whalers whom he met in the remainder of his passage, agreed in representing the past season as the worst they had ever known, though one of them spoke from the experience of 34 years. On the 10th of November the Griper ran into Portsmouth harbour; and Captain Lyon takes leave of his readers, with the following deserved tribute to his ship-mates:

"I may with truth assert, that there never was a happier little community than that assembled on board the Griper. Each succeeding day, and each escape from difficulties seemed to bind us more strongly together; and I am proud to say, that during the whole of our voyage, neither punishment, complaint, nor even a dispute of any kind, occurred amongst us." P. 144.

To this little volume Professor Barlow has annexed an interesting paper on the magnetic errors observed in the compasses, and Dr. Hooker a notice of the few plants procured in the three short visits which Captain Lyon was able to make on shore during his expedition.

ART. VI. *Queen Hynde. A Poem, in Six Books. By James Hogg, Author of the Queen's Wake; Poetic Mirror; Pilgrims of the Sun, &c. &c.* 8vo. 443. pp. Longman & Co. London; Blackwood, Edinburgh. 1825.

WE cannot help feeling compassion for James Hogg. As a descriptive poet he possesses considerable powers. The features of his native mountains, and the occupations of his pastoral associates have been painted by his muse with freshness and truth; and the Doric reed breathes not unmusically under his hand. But Hogg aspires to greater things. He has claimed a place among the children of ima-

gination and fancy, and not consenting to be warned by the failure of his efforts, he has produced, upon the present occasion, an epic poem. The scene is antient Caledonia. The action is a descent of the Norwegian host. The manners are a grotesque and ludicrous mixture of monkery, chivalry, and barbarism; the characters are vague and uninteresting, and the event is lame and common place. There are many pretty passages scattered over the poem, which would have adorned a volume of sonnets. When Mr. Hogg describes land, or air, or ocean, running or wrestling, boating or boxing, he talks of what he understands, and talks to the purpose. When he places Queen Hynde on the throne of her ancestors, covers her from head to foot with diamonds and gold, and paints the "blooming bevy" of her attendant nymphs, the reader may fancy himself in the Arabian Nights, or in a Byronian Eastern harem; but can hardly believe that he is located in the opulent towns of Scotland. The narrative is miserably managed; as witness the following transcendent specimens of the doggrel:—

"King Eric came over, a conqueror proved;
A kingdom he wanted, a kingdom beloved:
The queen was an item he did not imply,
But the conqueror fell at the glance of her eye.
His proffer was made as a lure to the land,
For woman he loved not, nor woman's command:
The name of a hero was all his delight;
His soul was a meteor unmatch'd in the fight;
The north he had conquer'd, and govern'd the whole,
From Dwina's dark flood to the waves of the pole;
And ne'er in his course had he vanquished been,
Till now, by a young Caledonian queen.
But thou, gentle maiden, to whom I appeal,
Who never has felt, what thou could'st not conceal,
Love's dearest remembrance, that brought with the sigh
The stound to the heart, and the tear to the eye—
O, ill canst thou judge of the mighty turmoil
In the warrior's bosom, thus caught in the toil!" P. 188.

Where the metre refuses to jingle, Mr. Hogg allows it to croak.

"Now, two to one, the flying Dane
In gnashing terror scower'd the plain;
His king and his companion gone,
A madness seized the knight upon;
He tried to leap the circling piles,
For shelter 'mid the Danish files,
But was repulsed with fierce disdain,
And thrown back headlong on the plain:

No hope thus left him in the strife,
He kneel'd to Gaul, and begg'd for life.—

“ ‘ No,’ said the chief; ‘ it may not be !
The devil waits dinner for the three !
Henceforth with earth thou hast no tie,
The man is damn'd that dreads to die :
But one relief for thee is left,
And, here it is.’—With that he cleft
The stalwart craven to the brow,
Severing his ample brain in two.—

“ ‘ Beshrew thee for a bloody Scot,
If thou'st not done what I could not !’
Saith Sutherland, as turning by,—
But seeing the tear in Ross's eye,
And sorrow on his nut-brown cheek
So deep that word he could not speak,
The burly chief he kindly press'd
Unto his bold and kindred breast.” P. 402.

A large proportion of the poem is written in this delectable style; and however Mr. Hogg may protest against critics, reviewers, and other destroyers of vermin, we must take the liberty to tell him that every body will laugh at such lines as these. To shew him however, that we speak in sorrow rather than in anger, and to substantiate our assertion respecting the occasional brightness of his poetry, we extract parts of the boat race, and the invocation to the Fairy Queen. The allusion to Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, is modest—an epithet which seems inseparably attached to Scotchmen, whether poets or prosers, whether tories or whigs, whether quidnuncs or philosophers. Mr. Hogg enjoys his full share of the national property, and long may he preserve it.

“ Around an isle the race was set,
A nameless isle, and nameless yet ;
And when they turn'd its southern mull,
The wind and tide were fair and full ;
Then 'twas a cheering sight to view
How swift they skimm'd the ocean blue,
How lightly o'er the wave they scoop'd,
Then down into the hollow swoop'd ;
Like flock of sea-birds gliding home,
They scarcely touch'd the floating foam,
But like dim shadows through the rain,
They swept across the heaving main ;
While in the spray, that flurr'd and gleam'd,
A thousand little rainbows beam'd.

“ King Eric's bark, like pilot swan,
Aright before the centre ran,

Stemming the current and the wind
For all his cygnet fleet behind,
And proudly looked he back the while,
With lofty and imperial smile.
O mariners ! why all that strife ?
Why plash and plunge 'twixt death and life ?
When 'tis as plain as plain can be,
That barge is mistress of the sea." P. 329.

" O come to my bower, here deep in the dell,
Thou Queen of the land 'twixt heaven and hell ;
Even now thou seest, and smilest to see,
A shepherd kneel on his sward to thee :
But sure thou wilt come with thy gleesome train,
To assist in his last and lingering strain :
O come from thy halls of the emerald bright,
Thy bowers of the green and the mellow light,
That shrink from the blaze of the summer noon,
And ope to the light of the modest moon !
O well I know the enchanting mien
Of my loved muse, my Fairy Queen !
Her rokelay of green, with its sparry hue,
Its warp of the moonbeam and weft of the dew ;
Her smile, where a thousand witcheries play,
And her eye, that steals the soul away ;
The strains that tell they were never mundane ;
And the bells of her palfrey's flowing mane ;
For oft have I heard their tinklings light,
And oft have I seen her at noon of the night,
With her beauteous elves in the pale moonlight.

" 'Then, thou who raised'st old Edmund's lay
Above the strains of the olden day ;
And waked'st the bard of Avon's theme
To the visions of his Midnight Dream—
Yea, even the harp that rang abroad
Through all the paradise of God,
And the sons of the morning with it drew,
By thee was remodelled, and strung anew—
O come on thy path of the starry ray,
Thou Queen of the land of the gloaming grey,
And the dawning's mild and pallid hue,
From thy valleys beyond the land of the dew,
The realm of a thousand gilded domes,
The richest region that fancy roams !

" I have sought for thee in the blue hare-bell,
And deep in the fox-glove's silken cell ;
For I fear'd thou had'st drunk of its potion deep,
And the breeze of the world had rock'd thee asleep ;

Then into the wild-rose I cast mine eye,
 And trembled because the prickles were nigh,
 And deem'd the specks on its foliage green,
 Might be the blood of my Fairy Queen ;
 Then gazing, wonder'd if blood might be
 In an immortal thing like thee !
 I have open'd the woodbine's velvet vest,
 And sought the hyacinth's virgin breast ;
 Then anxious lain on the dewy lea,
 And look'd to a twinkling star for thee,
 That nightly mounted the orient sheen,
 Streaming in purple and glowing in green ;
 And thought, as I eyed its changing sphere,
 My Fairy Queen might sojourn there.

“ Then would I sigh and turn me around,
 And lay my ear to the hollow ground,
 To the little air-springs of central birth,
 That bring low murmurs out of the earth ;
 And there would I listen, in breathless way,
 Till I heard the worm creep through the clay,
 And the little blackamoor pioneer
 A-grubbing his way in darkness drear ;
 Nought cheer'd me on which the daylight shone,
 For the children of darkness moved alone !
 Yet neither in field, nor in flowery heath,
 In heaven above, nor in earth beneath,
 In star, nor in moon, nor in midnight wind,
 His elvish Queen could her minstrel find.

“ But now I have found thee, thou vagrant thing,
 Though where I neither dare say nor sing ;
 For it was in a home, so passing fair,
 That an angel of light might have linger'd there :
 I found thee playing thy freakish spell
 Where the sun never shone, and the rain never fell,
 Where the ruddy cheek of youth ne'er lay,
 And never was kiss'd by the breeze of day ;—
 It was sweet as the woodland breeze of even,
 And pure as the star of the western heaven,
 As fair as the dawn of the sunny east,
 And soft as the down of the solan's breast.” P. 362.

These are pretty verses, and Queen Hynde must be acquitted for their sake.

ART. VII. *Letters from the Irish Highlands.* 8vo. 359 pp.
10s. 6d. Murray. 1825.

THERE is matter of all sorts in this little volume, good, bad, and indifferent. The author or authors pretend to be resident Irishmen, but we suspect that they are only visitors. If the suspicion is unjust, they might have guarded against it by favouring the public with their names. The masquerading fashion which prevails among Hibernian writers, not only subjects their readers to much perplexity, but will occasionally prove troublesome to themselves: and we sincerely wish, that this or any other circumstance would induce them to throw aside their *alias* domino, and appear at Albemarle-street in their proper persons.

The errors which disfigure the work are, a recommendation to introduce the poor rates into Ireland, a notion that small farms do no mischief, and that the existing misery is owing to the increased value of the currency. The best portions are, those which recommend the strict administration of impartial justice, the encouragement of fisheries and manufactures, the legalisation of private distilleries, and the extinction of jobbing in all its branches. Those which describe the religious condition of the cottages, and the conduct of their priests, are likewise well worthy of attention. The indifferent parts are occupied with delineations of mountain scenery and Irish character. In the former, the authors do not excel; in the latter, they are very inferior to the writer of "Captain Rock Detected." Presuming that our readers have made up their minds respecting the necessity of some amendment in the conduct of Irish landlords, and trusting that Government will settle the stills and the fisheries, we shall confine ourselves principally to the subjects of religion and education; and it will be seen, that our authors bear very strong testimony in favour of the opinion expressed in our last Number. They are no great friends to the established clergy, and their evidence therefore is doubly valuable.

"One of the inspectors from 'The Kildare Street Society for promoting the Education of the Poor,' hearing by accident of the girls school which is established here, he called to see it, and gave us an opportunity of understanding fully the views and principles of the society. They profess to be upon the liberal plan of educating the poor without any interference with their religious opinions; but whether the standing rule, that every school in their connexion must place the Scriptures in the hands of the children, is not as contrary to this principle as it is to the practice of the Romish church, seems to me very doubtful. That the Bible is to be read 'without note or

comment verbal or oral,' appears but a still wider departure from the principles of the Roman Catholic Church.

"The very different situation in which the English and Irish poor are placed, makes a line of conduct commendable, and, indeed, necessary here, which would be cowardly and dangerous with you. In Ireland, the Protestants, generally speaking, are called upon to educate their Catholic dependants. Are they to do it in the true spirit of Christian benevolence, by enlightening their understandings, and inculcating those principles of morality and religion, which are common to both parties? or are they to violate the plain dictates of justice, and entrench on the natural bounds of parental authority, making use of their power, as landlords, in compelling the tenants to sacrifice to temporal interest what they believe to be the spiritual welfare of their children?" P. 88.

"The Roman Catholic faith is, in Cunnemarra, so predominant, that no Protestants are to be met with, except in the families of the two or three resident gentlemen, and some of their immediate dependants, as farm servants, mechanics, &c. On this estate, I do not suppose that a single Protestant was to be found, till within the last seven years. Of course, the children who attend the school, with scarcely an exception, are Catholics; yet, although the mistress is a Protestant, and it is in the hands of a Protestant landlord, it has been established these five years, with very little opposition from the parish priest. Indeed, I cannot help thinking that if a due mixture of firmness and toleration were at all times shewn, we should not so often hear of those acts of violence which must alike disgrace the professors of all religions. In some places, I have heard of the priest inflicting corporal punishment on those children who attended the schools, in defiance of his authority; and the tremendous sentence of excommunication is the threat commonly held out to the parents: 'the very ground whereon he treads is cursed.' Where a spirit of proselytism exists among the Protestants, and where conversions are, directly or indirectly, attempted, a priest, who acts from conscientious motives, must certainly exert himself to prevent the attendance of the children; and this he will of course endeavour to effect, either by secret persuasion or open violence, according to the bent of his own character and temper. In other cases, the opposition of the parish priest is, I believe not unfrequently, contrary to his own inclination, in consequence of the peremptory orders of his bishop; who, in case of disobedience, as one of them said, 'has power to command me to the deserts of Africa, or the wilds of America, for the remainder of my days.'"

"An instance of this kind was mentioned to us the other day, by a clergyman, who some years ago held a curacy in one of the northern counties of Connaught. He was on very friendly terms with the priest, who, nevertheless, was desired by his bishop strenuously to oppose the school established by the Protestants. This order he obeyed, by occasionally fulminating the thunders of the church against the unfortunate little scholars, giving however

a previous friendly notice to the clergyman; ‘ I am going to curse the children to-morrow, but just never mind it a bit; go on your own way, and, after a day or two, they will all come to school again.’” P. 90.

The influence and general conduct of the Catholic priests are described in plain language :

“ What will you say if, after having already disputed so many of the positions generally laid down with respect to the state of this country, I proceed even to doubt whether the influence of the priests is, by any means, so overwhelming and irresistible as you have been led to imagine? As they are supported by the voluntary contributions of their flocks, you naturally enough suppose the case to be somewhat parallel with that of the dissenters in England; whereas it is, in fact, altogether different. Regularly appointed by the titular bishop of the diocese, and removable at his pleasure, the people have no voice in the appointment of their pastors; but, like dutiful sons of the church, must submit to superior authorities, and, instead of contributing merely in what proportions they please, must pay the dues which are demanded of every householder, year by year, besides the fees upon the administration of the sacraments. The former here are at the rate of 20*d.* from the head of each family; the latter (varying however in different parts of the country) are 2*s.* 6*d.* for anointing, *i. e.* the sacrament of extreme unction, 3*s.* 4*d.* for churching, and from a guinea to 30*s.* for the celebration of marriage. As it is upon the payment of these that the priest depends for his stipend, they are exacted from the very poorest of the people; sometimes, in cases truly distressing, even to the uttermost farthing. There being no separate fee for the performance of baptism, this more essential ceremony is often very long delayed, until the fee for the less important one of churching the mother can be ready prepared. An instance lately occurred, where the priest, on going into a house in which the woman had been confined, and finding that no money was forthcoming, merely looked at the infant, said that it was likely to do well, and, although living himself at the distance of six or seven miles, declined christening it until he could also church the mother. At another time, the priest refused to christen a child, although he was offered within two-pence of the stipulated sum; even, when this was afterwards procured, grumbling, because tea and sugar had not been provided for his breakfast. In the case of another poor woman, it was not until after the birth of a second child that she was churched, although the superstitious notion, that if a woman leave the house before the ceremony is performed the grass will never grow where she treads, might seem to ensure their utmost exertions.” P. 96.

“ Nor would it, I believe, be going too far to say, that the influence of private character is as much felt by the one, in the collection of these supposed voluntary offerings, as by the other, in the legal receipt of tithes; and I have heard our poor neighbours com-

pare the disposition of their present priest with that of his predecessor, much in the same way that they are accustomed to speak of the Protestant incumbent. "Oh! sure it wasn't that way with Father Tom at all: it isn't he that would be taking the bit out of the poor *widdee* and orphan's mouth; but Father Dennis says, that where he comes from, the *widdees* were always the best rent; and he's a good warrant sure to take it from them. Didn't I go supperless the last time I carried him a tenpenny? so because I had got the money with me, I felt quite bold like; and, 'Father Dennis,' says I, 'you'd be having some pity of the poor cratur, who has six weak chulder, and no father to help them with his little earnings:' with that he just beckons me to hand him the money." As the woman concluded with the account of her reluctant compliance, her countenance assumed very much the same expression which it would have done, under similar circumstances, with a tithe proctor.

"Nor are these regular demands their only, or even their worst grievance. They consider as a heavy additional tax the necessity of providing luxuries, which they never taste themselves, in order to regale his reverence, when he performs mass, or any other ceremony, in a private house. Perhaps you are not aware, that the rites of the Roman Catholic church, in Ireland at least, are all performed at home; except indeed the marriage ceremony, which occasionally takes place in the priest's house. Twice a year he comes round the parish, for the purpose of confession; and, in the different villages, takes up his station in some snug cabin, where he expects to be treated with white bread, tea, sugar and whiskey. Those who, in more prosperous times, probably esteemed the entertainment of this reverend guest as an honour, now frequently complain of it as a burden. A poor woman who, on the last of these occasions, walked four miles in search of a teapot, gave as her reason, that neither bread, butter, nor milk, would be considered acceptable, without the addition of tea and spirits. Nay, it is a fact, that a priest, on the Sunday previous to commencing his rounds, gave public notice after mass, that as tea, sugar, and flour were to be had in the neighbourhood, there would be no excuse for those who were not prepared.

"It is however certain, that nothing of affluence or luxury is to be remarked, either in the dwellings or manner of living, among the priests in this part of the country. The poverty of their flocks must render their income both low and uncertain; and the extent of their parishes obliges them to make frequent journeys over bog and mountain, at all hours of the day and night, exposed to the changes of this most changeable climate, besides the contagion of many a fatal disease. In fact, although my experience will by no means justify the representations which have been held out, and which I had myself, at one time, been led to believe, of their being a most laborious, zealous, self-denying body of men; yet, I will readily acknowledge them to be (some gross instances of drunkenness excepted) of decent, moral character; ignorant and bigotted indeed, but apparently bent rather on preserving inviolate the pale of

their own communion, than on bringing over any large accession of converts from the outposts of heresy." P. 99.

"The magnitude of the dues of the church, and the severity with which they are exacted, is a topic on which they do not scruple to express their sentiments. The difficulty of paying these is still further increased, as no credit is generally allowed. The money must be collected to the utmost farthing before the service is performed. It is scarcely possible to blame the priest, who depends on these fees for his maintenance, and who is too well acquainted with the character of his flock to put any faith in their promises of future payment; yet, the consequences of such severity are sometimes very distressing. An instance of this has lately occurred on the borders of Cunnemarra.

"The son of a man, who had once known better days, being on his death-bed, the priest of the parish was requested to administer the holy viaticum; but his last dues were unpaid, and he positively refused. The anxious father spread the contents of his purse upon the table, and—"Plaze your reverence, take what you will;—but in vain—the priest was inexorable, and the poor young man died without the last important sacrament, indispensably necessary, as every true Catholic believes, to the salvation of the parting soul.

"Three years ago, when ribandism flourished in the county of Galway, these dues formed the subject of a clause in the petition of grievances; and to reduce them one half was reported to be the intention of the insurgents. They remain, however, in full force, even in the present times of distress." P. 103.

These, be it remembered, are not our statements. They are made by men who have no predilection for the established church, and say little in her favour. Such statements must be received, at least, as *prima facie* evidence; and what opinion will they induce us to form of the Irish Catholic priests? Are they men whom Government ought to trust? Have they either the disposition or the ability to instruct and humanize their flocks? What results may be expected from the triumph of a party, which is governed by O'Connell and a radical parliament, and contains, among its active subaltern members, such men as are described in the Letters from the Highlands?

Mr. Dominic Browne made a serious proposal to Parliament to establish the Roman Catholic religion, and gave notice of his intention to renew the subject this session. The scheme was of itself absurd; but the quarter from which it proceeds renders it entertaining and instructive. Mr. Browne is only an under conjuror in the business; his prompter is an avowed and notorious infidel, who shews his contempt for Christianity by patronizing the worst description of it. The example has been nobly imitated by Cobbett;

and the Papists, many of whom, both in this country and in Ireland, are men of the best intentions, have the mortification to find that their most zealous supporters are the open enemies of religion. The respectable Catholics disown the connection; but, after what has passed in Dublin, Cobbett cannot be disowned by the Catholic Association or its friends. And the circumstance of enlisting such a man in its service, is a proof that the club will hesitate at nothing which may increase its popularity and power. What avails it to disavow the circulation of *Pastorini's* prophecies, the work of a respectable Irish bishop, highly esteemed by Catholic theologians, while Cobbett is openly patronized? To believe that *Pastorini* has been distributed by the Protestants, is to believe them guilty of diabolical wickedness, without a shadow of proof. To believe that he has been distributed by the factious incendiaries of Rome, by the men who engage an English radical to abuse the Reformation, and assure him that he shall reap the full reward of his labours, what is there unreasonable or uncharitable in this? It is merely supposing, that those who stimulate the Papists by an historical lye, will stimulate them also by a prophetic dream. While Cobbett persuades the Irish peasant that Cranmer was a villain, and Bonner a saint, *Pastorini* keeps up the chaunt, and tells him, that in the year 1825 Magee and Mant shall be swept with the locusts into the pit, and the Pope and Bishop Doyle be exalted. There is no inconsistency here. The prophecies, which fix upon the year 1825 as the time at which Protestantism shall fall, are in the hands of the Irish peasantry. Superstitious men, believers in Prince Hohenlohe, believers in the Pope, believers in their own ignorant and bigotted priests, are believers in *Pastorini*. Thus much is certain. The point in dispute is, how did they become so? If we attribute the event to Protestant interference, we are bound to substantiate so extraordinary a fact. If we attribute it to Papists, the presumption is strongly in our favour. The circumstance tallies with other parts of their conduct. It explains why they have so long kept the people in darkness, and particularly why they prohibit the general reading of the Bible. In a word, we may not be able to bring the fact home; it may be impossible to *prove* that the Association incendiaries are the men who have printed and circulated the Prophecies; but, until they have renounced their alliance with Cobbett, and proved that it never existed, they cannot complain of such as feel strong suspicions respecting *Pastorini*, the guilt, the disgrace, are at the door of his admirers; and if a rebellion

breaks out, upon them should the pains and penalties of treason be visited.

The question is an important one, and must not be lost sight of. Parliament will soon be engaged in discussing the state of Ireland; and the Catholic priesthood, the fanatical societies, and the opposition, will be exposed to an extent for which few persons are prepared. Government has merely to do its duty, and the senate and the nation will easily be persuaded to do theirs. Let the farce of affecting a moderation which is not felt be exchanged for decided measures; let all attempts at concealment be abandoned; and truth, however unpalatable, told boldly to the country; and not only may the public safety be secured, but the Wellesleys and Plunketts, to the surprise of friends as well as enemies, may redeem their tottering credit.

ART. VIII. 1.—*A Sermon on the Duty of Family Prayer: preached in the Church of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, on Saturday, February 22, 1824. By C. J. Blomfield, D.D. (now Bishop of Chester,) Rector. And printed at the Request of several of his Parishioners. Second Edition. 8vo. 23 pp. 1s. Rivington, London. 1824.*

2.—*A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Chester, on Sunday, October 31, 1824, before the Mayor and Corporation of that City, by Charles James Blomfield, D.D. Lord Bishop of the Diocese. And printed at their request. 4to. 19 pp. Rivington, London; Poole & Co. Chester. 1824.*

3.—*A Manual of Family Prayers, for the use of the Parishioners of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. 12mo. 87 pp. Rivington, London. 1824.*

THE remarkable feature in both these discourses, is the plainness with which they are written. There is no rhetorical finery or flourishing; no softening or exaggeration. The preacher is convinced of the goodness of his cause, and under that conviction advances manfully to the conflict, and carries his point at once. Take for instance the following passages, in the Sermon upon Family Prayer, they will be found to place the duty in a variety of striking lights, and that in a very few words, and without the least appearance of effort:—

“ There are two very obvious and natural divisions of the duty of

common prayer : it may either be performed with a degree of public solemnity, under the guidance of a minister duly appointed for that purpose ; or in the more limited, but distinct and well-defined circle of family and household, under the superintendence and direction of its head. Every man ought to consider himself as a member of that church in whose bosom he has been brought up ; and also as the minister and steward of the church in his own house. And it is his own fault, and let me add, his folly, if the church in his house be not made a lively and genuine part of that branch of Christ's holy catholic church, to which he himself belongs.

“ The laws of God, and in many cases those of the land, make every head of a family answerable for the conduct of his household, so far as he has the means of watching and controlling it ; and it is unreasonable to suppose, that the responsibility which is attached to him in things of inferior moment, should lose its force in the most important object of all, the religious principles and conduct of his children and servants. There is a certain legitimate authority vested in every master of a family, the proper exercise of which is a duty which he owes to society and to God : it is sanctioned not only by the enactments of human laws, but by the most express directions of the inspired preachers of the Gospel. This duty assumes a more sacred complexion, when it is considered as affording him the means of promoting the growth of true religion, and forwarding the salvation of souls. A heavy load of guilt lies on that Christian, be his station what it may, who suffers a soul to perish by his wilful neglect : and our religious duties are so intimately and inseparably blended with the relations of social and domestic life, that it is impossible for us to fulfil the latter, as we ought, without some consideration of the effects which our conduct may produce upon the *religious* state of those with whom we are connected. *He that provideth not for his own, says the apostle, and especially for those of his own house, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* Surely if this be true of a provision for the bodily wants of those who depend upon us for support, it cannot be less applicable to their spiritual necessities, to all their means and opportunities of religious improvement.

“ With regard to our children, I need not say a word, to prove the obligation which binds us to *bring them up*, by every possible means, *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord* ; to form them to early habits of piety and devotion ; to make them betimes acquainted with God. If we know what religion is ourselves, our natural affection will inspire us with an earnest wish to make our children walk in her ways. With regard to our servants ; as we look to them for honesty, sobriety, diligence, and gratitude, it is our duty to set before them the only motives which can effectually influence them to the exercise of these virtues ; to make them, as far as we can, sincere and serious Christians ; and to lay the foundations of obedience in faith and piety. There are no other ties, which can be relied upon to bind the consciences of men, than those which are supplied by religion ; and if we are deceived and wronged by those, whom we have never taught to respect the only certain inducements to truth

and honesty, a great part of the blame will surely rest upon ourselves." P. 12.

"By family religion, I mean chiefly family prayers; for it is in the exercises of devotion that the religion of a family will shew itself. To prove the expediency, at least, of such a practice, it is not necessary for us to produce an express command of Scripture. It is enough to know, that it is the most effectual means of keeping alive a spirit of piety and consideration in those, who are bound together by ties which the Gospel recognizes: it is enough to know, that the use or the neglect of it may, nay, that it *must* make a very serious difference in the religious knowledge, principles, and habits of our children and servants; not to say of ourselves. It was said by one of the wisest and least enthusiastic of preachers,* speaking of family prayer; 'This is so necessary to keep alive and to maintain a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that where it is neglected, I do not see how any family can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or, indeed, to have any religion at all.' I do not know that I could go so far as this: but of one thing I am certain; that where this duty is neglected in a family, its members are not such good Christians as they *might* be, nor consequently as God requires them to be; neither so well prepared for taking an edifying part in the public worship of the Lord's day, nor for discharging the ordinary duties of life." P. 17.

"I am persuaded that amongst those who now hear me, there is not a single father or master of a family, who does not acknowledge the justice of these remarks; who is not sensible of the advantages which *must* result from the use of family prayer. But I fear there are too many who altogether neglect it. And yet if I were to ask them *why* they neglect it? they could scarcely give me such an answer as would satisfy their own consciences. In many cases, I believe, it proceeds from a false shame; a fear of being supposed to think more about religion than other people; a dread of singularity. Now if this pious practice were as general as it ought to be, these objections, unworthy of a Christian in any case, would cease to exist altogether. It was formerly considered in this country to be a regular branch of religious duty; and God grant that we may see it again estimated and observed as it ought to be.

"Remember what an encouragement we have to the performance of this duty, (and to the Christian such an encouragement carries the weight of a command), in that gracious promise of the Saviour, *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* The spirit of supplication ensures the presence of the Lord Jesus himself; and where He is, there will be wisdom, holiness, and peace. And if into such a family, there should come a stranger, who is wanting in seriousness and devotion, he will, in all

* Archbishop Tillotson. "Let no man," says the Author of the Whole Duty of Man, "that professes himself a Christian, keep so heathenish a family, as not to see that God be daily worshipped in it."

likelihood, be touched to the heart by the piety and good order of its inmates, *and so falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in them of a truth.* But if, after all, the benefits of family devotion should be less striking within the circle of our own experience, than we have reason to expect, we shall at least have the satisfaction of reflecting, that no part of the misconduct of our household will be attributable to our own neglect . . . a reflection which can never be a source of comfort to him, who has omitted this most reasonable and promising of all the methods, by which his children and servants might have been preserved in the faith and fear of God." P. 20.

The sermon preached at Chester, before the mayor and corporation of that city, differs in many particulars from that which we have already considered. It issued from a higher authority, and it takes a wider scope; but the characteristic feature is that distinctness and simplicity of which the reader has already seen such exquisite specimens. The occasion of the discourse is thus stated in the preface:—

"The following discourse was intended, not so much for an elaborate argument, as for an earnest enforcement of the duty of mutual submission, upon a principle peculiar to Christians. Having, during the short period of my residence in this city, witnessed the lamentable prevalence of drunkenness amongst the poorer classes of its inhabitants; the open and scandalous profanation of the Lord's day; the disregard of civil authority; and, on one occasion, the most intemperate, lawless, and tumultuous conduct of thousands of the citizens; I felt it to be my duty to embrace the first opportunity which presented itself, of exhorting both magistrates and people to remember the relation in which they stand to one another, as members of a christian community." Pref. p. i.

"As good citizens, then, and as faithful Christians, let the respectable inhabitants of this place lend their aid to the efforts of the municipal authorities, to check and repress the growth of profaneness and profligacy, too notorious to be denied. Let fathers, and masters of families, exercise a proper control over their children, their apprentices, and servants; and prevent them from converting the streets and public passages of this city, into haunts of idleness and immorality, the schools of sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, and riot. Let them, as far as their opportunities may permit, take care to make their own families so many seminaries of religious principles, of pious and orderly conduct. So will the streams, which are now but too impure, be cleansed and sweetened at the fountain-head, and diffuse peace, and good order, and prosperity, where now are to be seen tumult, and strife, and the progress of decay." Pref. p. iii.

The sermon is written in the same vigorous strain.

"When as Christians we speak of the fear of God, we mean that awful sense of our relation to him, which comprehends a dread of

offending him, a heartfelt sense of his exceeding mercy, and of our own demerits, and an earnest desire to be saved from his wrath: and this, when it has once taken possession of the heart, is so overpowering a sentiment, that it leaves no room for those little feelings of pride and anger which prompt the carnal man to spurn at every salutary restraint. Men who are properly impressed with a sense of their own unworthiness, and of the transcendent importance and difficulty of the work which they have to do, as servants of God and disciples of Jesus Christ, will not be much disposed to think highly of themselves, in comparison with their neighbours; or to be restless and dissatisfied under the rule and authority of those whom the common Lord of all has placed over them in this transitory state."

P. 5.

"It appears then, that if we would effectually inculcate upon the different orders of society the duty of mutual kindness and submission, a foundation must first be laid in the true Christian principle of humility. The external and accidental advantages of rank and power may command the outward tokens of respect; the strong arm of the law may coerce the violence of the ungodly, and enforce a reluctant submission; but the genuine spirit of obedience and subordination can only there subsist, where the spirit of Jesus Christ has prepared the heart to be the habitation of gentle and holy thoughts, and the fountain of meek, and kind, and charitable words and deeds."

P. 11.

"These are the grounds upon which I would enforce the duty of a conscientious and sincere submission to the authority of the civil magistrate; these are the motives which will effectually constrain the genuine disciples of Jesus Christ *to submit themselves one to another in the fear of God*. These too, or such as these, are the reflections which ought frequently to occupy the thoughts of those whom the constitution of their country places in the seat of authority, and invests them with dignity and power, for the purpose of maintaining the good order and quiet of society. Where the Christian principle of quietness is unhappily wanting, it is theirs to enforce obedience by temporal motives. They cannot command the thoughts and affections of men, but they may control the excesses of their conduct: and where the preacher of righteousness is as little attended to as in the days when the flood came upon the earth, the magistrate may speak in the more persuasive language of the law. And what *may* be done, to aid the cause of religion and virtue, by the Christian magistrate *must* be done: he is clothed with a power ordained from above, for the express purpose of restraining ungodly men from the commission of offences, not more injurious to the public than hurtful to their own souls. *He is the minister of God to thee for good. If thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.**

* Rom. xiii. 4.

"A most important, a most awful truth is that, which the Apostle twice repeats, that the magistrate is *the minister of God*; his constituted and responsible minister, in things pertaining to the civil conduct of mankind; as the appointed teachers of the Gospel are in spiritual matters. He is bound, by the very tenure of his office, to repress and chastise unchristian conduct, when it breaks down the fences of the law: and even where it keeps within the strict pale of legal delinquency, and yet offends against the rules of piety and charity, it is still his duty to discourage and restrain it by the authority of his advice and example. It is in his capacity of God's *minister to men for good*, that the Church offers up her solemn prayers in his behalf, and entreats of God, 'That it may please him to bless and keep the magistrates, *giving them grace*, to execute justice, and to maintain truth.'

"Nor can I picture to myself a character more deserving of the esteem and regard of men, than that of the upright and *religious* administrator of the laws, who feels it to be his sacred duty to promote the cause of piety and godliness, both by his own example, and by a diligent and watchful enforcement of those temporal sanctions, which the natural infirmity of man has rendered necessary, in aid of the eternal obligations of religion. Such a person, conscious that he has never, from partiality or fear, or a respect of persons, nor from supineness, nor from that paralyzing spirit of indifference which *careth for none of these things*, abused his sacred trust, nor forgotten his duty as a guardian of the public morals, may take to himself that praise which is interposed in Scripture amongst the commendations of charity, 'I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.' *"

"These reflexions are addressed both to those who govern, and to those who are to be governed, as to members of a christian community, the common disciples of one Lord, the common children of one Father; who must one day stand together before the judgment seat of Christ, to *receive the things done in the body—without respect of persons.*" † P. 14.

This solemn admonition commands an attentive hearing. The preacher does not waste his strength upon trifling or doubtful topics; but recommends devotion, and rebukes wickedness, in terms to which every Christian must assent. No better way can be devised for promoting that great cause in which he is so happily engaged; and while his discourses abound with plain truths upon plain subjects, the Manual of Prayer which he has compiled, may prove essentially serviceable to those who are awakened by his exhortation, or convinced by his reasoning. We conclude by recommending it heartily to our readers.

* Job. xix. 14. † 2 Cor. v. 10.—1 Pet. i. 17.

ART. IX. *A short Extract from the Life of General Mina. Published by Himself.* 8vo. 107 pp. Taylor and Hessey. 1825.

SINCE the decease of the magnanimous Hurlothrumbo, or the no less magnanimous Tom Thumb (two heroes singularly resembling each other in their great qualities, but widely different in the meed by which posterity has repaid them; for the last is well known both to history and the drama, while of the first little is to be told except his name—(*caret quia vate sacro*)—we have met with no one so likely to stand foremost in the records of eternal fame, as the autobiographer of this Memoir. After reading the “Short Extract” before us, it is impossible not to feel that both the Macedonian madman, and the Swede, must hide their diminished heads when General Mina steps forward; that Marlborough is but as a mushroom in comparison with him; and that the immortal glory blazing round the name of Wellington, which we have hitherto fondly believed was the fruit of British genius and valour, must be transferred, as an act of justice, to the parent stock of a Spanish guerilla captain.

General Mina shall tell his own story: although in the outset there is some difficulty in knowing how to tell it at all. In an advertisement prefixed to this little volume, he denounces any reprint without his sanction, and he warns “the delicacy of the Gentlemen Editors of the Public Papers” to “take this notice into consideration.”

Mais essayons. The Spanish government has often solicited General Mina to write the history of his campaigns, but hitherto he has had no leisure; and (strange to say) “neither did its importance stimulate him much.” Some day or other, however, he promises his entire history; “meanwhile,” he adds, until this shall appear, “powerful motives, which I reserve to myself, impel me to give beforehand, the following brief extract.” General Mina was born in 1781. His parents were honest farmers in Navarre. He learned to read and write, and followed the plough till his twenty-sixth year. His patriotism was then roused by Buonaparte’s invasion; and having done all the harm he could to the French in his own village, he entered as a soldier in Doyle’s battalion. A short time after he joined the guerilla of his nephew Xavier Mina; and when this force was disbanded, in consequence of his nephew’s capture, *seven of the men named him their chief*; and from this small stock arose his future greatness.

With this hopeful force he immediately was named *Commander in chief of the Guerilla of Navarre*, by the Junta of Arragon, and received the following appointments from the Regency: *Colonel and Commandant General of the Guerilla of Navarre, independent of any other chief; Commandant General of the Infantry and Cavalry of the division of Volunteers of Navarre, retaining at the same time the command of the First Battalion; Brigadier of Infantry, with the same command. Major General, with the same command; Second General in command of the 7th army, and Commandant General of High Arragon, to the left of the Ebro, independent of the General in Chief of the 1st army, retaining still the former commands.* On receiving his first commission he proceeded to Estfella, arrested, with a much inferior force, a guerilla chief named Echeverria, who assumed the title as a mask for plunder, and instantly shot him and three of his accomplices.

And now begins the overture, all kettle-drums, trumpets, and thunderbolts.

“ During this campaign, I gave battle, or sustained the attack (without reckoning small encounters) in 143 regular or occasional actions, of which the most distinguished are, in alphabetical order, those of Aibár, Añéscar, Arlabán, Ayérbe, between Salinas and Arlabán, Erice, Irurózqui, Lerin and plains of Lodósa, Mañeru, Noáin, Perálta de Alcoléa and Cábo de Sáso, Piedramillera and Monjardín, Plasencia, Rocafórt and Sangüesa, Sangüesa, and Valle de Roncal. And less remarkable, although glorious, those of Acédo and Arquijas, Alcubiérre, Alfáro, Barosoáin, Beriáin, Biúrrun, Boquéte de Embic, the plains of Auza, of Mañeru, of Muruzábal, Canfrán, Carrascál, Castiliscar, Castillo de la Alfajería in Zaragoza, Ciráuqui, Egea de los Caballeros, Estélla, the plains of Zaragoza, Húesca, Jáca, near to Albáina, Lumbiér, Mendigorria, Mendibil, Monreal, Názar, Olcóz, Oyárun, Puente la Réyna, Puéyo, Sada and Lérga, Santa Cruz de Campézo, Saraza, Segúra, Sorlada, Sos, Tafalla, Tarrazóna, Tiébas, Tiérmás and Sangüesa, Tudéla, and Venta de Oyarzun.

“ Of the actions named in the preceding paragraph,—in that of Rocafórt and Sangüesa, with scarcely 3,000 men I routed 5,000, took their artillery, and caused the enemy the loss of between 2,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. In that between Salinas and Arlabán, I completely routed the enemy, killed 700 of his men, took all the convoy they were escorting, and liberated from 600 to 700 Spaniards, whom they were carrying prisoners into France; and in that of Mañeru, I entirely destroyed, with the loss of its artillery, Abbé's division, consisting of 5,000 men, put the greater part of its cavalry to the sword, and followed up the remainder during the night, for the space of five leagues, to the very gates of Pampe-luna. It would be too minute and improper to continue in this extract the details of what occurred in various other actions.

" I kept in check in Navarre 26,000 men for the space of 53 days, who otherwise would have assisted at the battle of Salamanca, as they were on their march to join Marmont's army; and by cutting down the bridges, and breaking up the roads, I prevented the advance of 80 pieces of artillery, which would otherwise have been employed in that battle.

" I contributed to the happy result of the decisive battle of Vittoria; for if by the manœuvres I executed, I had not prevented the junction of the French divisions Claussel and Foi, which consisted of from 27 to 28,000 men, and intercepted their correspondence, the issue would have been very doubtful." P. 17.

It is not by any means necessary to attend to chronology or geography in our recital, since it would be unjust to arrange for General Mina those particulars of time and place which he has not been solicitous to arrange for himself; we shall therefore take his actions even as we find them. Once at Placencia he made 1,200 infantry prisoners, and put the whole of his enemy's cavalry to the sword. Once, at Sangüesa, he took 900 prisoners out of a column called the "Infernal." Once, when 6,000 men *were only three leagues off*, he killed and took prisoners 1,100 more, leaving only the commander and two others to escape. When the French shot and hanged such of his troops as they took prisoners, he shot and hanged in return in an inverse ratio, four for each officer, twenty for each private; a proportion which leads us to believe, that General Mina's privates were five times worth his officers.

" The French generals against whom I conducted this campaign, were: Dorsenne, Claussel, Abbé, Cafarelli, Soullier, Reille, Harispe, Lafourrie, D'Armagnac, D'Agoult, La Coste, Bourgeats, Bison, Dufourg, Cassan, Panetier, Barbot, Roquet, Paris, with many others; and although at one time there were 18 of them, in Navarre, engaged in pursuit of me, still I found means of baffling the endeavours of all.

" I never suffered a surprise. Once, on the 23d April 1812, at break of day, having been sold by the Partizan Malcarado, who had previously made his arrangements with General Panetier, and had withdrawn the advanced guard from before Robres, I saw myself surrounded in the town by 1,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, and was attacked by five hussars at the very door of the house where I lodged: I defended myself from these latter with the bar of the door, the only weapon I had at hand, while my attendant, Louis Gaston, was saddling my horse; and mounting immediately, with his assistance, I sallied forth, charged them, followed them up the street, cut off an arm of one of them at one blow, immediately collected some of my men, charged the enemy several times, rescued many of my soldiers and officers who had been made prisoners, and continued the contest for more than three quarters of an hour, in order that the remainder

might escape. This Louis Gaston I always retain about my person as a friend. The next day I caused Malcarado and his attendant to be shot; while three Alcaldes and a parish priest, likewise concerned in the plot, were hanging." P. 29.

He was several times wounded by musket balls, sabres or lances, and unless he bore "a charmed life," this is by no means surprising. He still has a ball in his thigh, and he has had four horses killed under him in action. During the peace of 1814, he visited Madrid, and had many private audiences of King Ferdinand, during which he "did all in his power to convince him of the mistaken course he had been pursuing ever since his return to Spain, and of the inauspicious character of the persons by whom he was surrounded." These inauspicious persons, as might naturally be expected, lost no time in getting him hastily summoned to his provincial command. Having attempted to seize Pampeluna, in order to proclaim the Constitution and the Cortes, he found it necessary to emigrate to France; there the Spanish ambassador caused him to be imprisoned for 20 hours. On his release, he chose Bar-sur-Aube as his residence, and remained there till the hundred days, during which Buonaparte made him brilliant offers, which he refused without hesitation, and sought an asylum in Switzerland. When the Constitution was proclaimed in 1820, he again entered Spain, and having published it at the head of 20 men, at Villa de Santesteban, Pampeluna immediately opened her gates to him, and he received from the King a commission as *Captain General of the Army and Province of Navarre*. He soon "foresaw all or the greater part of the occurrences which took place;" and, apprehensive of the commotion which afterwards broke out in Navarre, he asked and obtained the *Captainship General of Galicia*. Here he corrected abuses of all sorts, and animated the public spirit. In 1822 he was named *Commander-in-Chief in Catalonia*, an office which he undertook "for the very reason, that it is perilous." At the head of 1,766 infantry and 275 cavalry, he totally demolished the town of Castell-fullit, the destruction of which he immortalized by an inscription on the site of its ruins; he took Balaguer also, and routed the factious at Torá, Artesa, Orcan, Pobla, Beliber, and Puigcerdá, always with one-third, or less, of their force. He blockaded Urgel for 74 days, and on the morning of its evacuation, "600 profligates and robbers taken out of the prisons, who formed the greater part of the faction of the ringleader Romagosa, the defender of the fortresses of Urgel, expiated their crimes on the morning of the evacua-

“tion, by their death upon the field.” We do not know whether these unhappy wretches were killed in action, or summarily executed.

Afterwards we find him dignified with the rank of *Lieutenant General*; *Commandant General of the Seventh Division*; *General-in-Chief of the Army of Operation*, and *Knight Grand Cross of the National and Military Order of St. Ferdinand*. With 6,000 men he kept the field two months and a half against 30,000, under General Moncey. Once he marched without halting, 33 hours, pursued and attacked by ten times his numbers; “nevertheless, by constancy and firmness in the critical emergencies and terrible conjunctures in which I was placed, I surmounted every difficulty.”

By the treaty of 1823, General Mina was permitted to come to England, and he has been received in this country with distinguished hospitality. He has been medically attended by Sir Astley Cooper and Dr. Gaitskell, and has dined with the Duke of Sussex. We wish it were in our power to add, that the hazards to which his life has been so frequently exposed were now terminated: unhappily, while we write, we learn from the newspapers, that, on retiring from his Royal Highness's well-replenished board, on Sunday the 16th instant, General Mina was seized with violent and unequivocal symptoms of colic and indigestion. By the skill of his apothecary, and by the free application of minoratives, eccoprotres and deobstruents, the General's bowels are at length restored to their fitting tone, though not without a prostration of strength, which, at one time, created considerable alarm.

General Mina most assuredly is an extraordinary man. We wish his publishers had prefixed his portrait, as a frontispiece.

MONTHLY LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

DIVINITY.

Hele's Select Offices of Private Devotion: viz.—1. Office of Daily Devotion; with a Supplement. 2. Office for the Lord's Day. 3. Office of Penitence and Humiliation. 4. Office for the Holy Communion. With large Collections out of the Holy Scriptures. New Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

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Five Discourses on the Personal Office of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost; on the Doctrine of the Trinity, on Faith, and on Regeneration; preached at Berwick-upon-Tweed, by the Rev. W. Procter, jun. A.M. Fellow of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Lecturer of Berwick. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

A Reply to the Second Postscript in the Supplement to *Palaeoromaica*. By W. G. Broughton, M.A. Curate of Hartley Wespall, Hants. 8vo. 2s.

An Essay on the Absolving Power of the Church; with especial Reference to the Offices of the Church of England for the ordering of Priests, and the Visitation of the Sick. By the Rev. T. H. Lowe, M.A. Vicar of Grimley, Worcestershire. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

Sermons, Parochial and Domestic. By the Rev. R. S. Barton, Vicar of Alconbury, Hants. 12mo. 4s.

LAW.

A few Practical Observations on making Wills. By W. Weatherby, of Newmarket, Attorney at Law. Small 8vo. 4s. 6d.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Antonio Canova; with a Critical Analysis of his Works, and an Historical View of Modern Sculpture. By J. S. Memes, A.M. 8vo. 15s.

A Short Extract from the Life of General Mina. Published by himself. 8vo. 5s.

Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of the General Police of France. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

Some Account of the late M. Guinaud, and the Important Discovery made by him in the Manufacture of Flint Glass for large Telescopes. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

Memoires, Souvenirs, et Anecdotes, par M. Le Comte de Segur. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. W. Ward, late Baptist Missionary in India; with a few of his early Productions, and a Monody to his Memory. By S. Stennett, 12mo. 6s.

The Annual Biography and Obituary, for the year 1825. vol. 9. 8vo. 15s.

Dernier Momens de Napoleon. Par Le Docteur F. Automarchi. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Spirit of the Age; or Contemporary Portraits. 8vo. 12s.

HISTORY.

A Brief Narrative of an Unsuccessful Attempt to reach Repulse Bay, through the Welcome, in His Majesty's ship Griper, in the year 1824. By Captain Lyon, R.N. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Book of the Roman Catholic Church; in a Series of Letters addressed to Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. on his "Book of the Church." 8vo. 9s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Modern Athens, a Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Kings in the Scotch Capital. By a Modern Greek. Post 8vo. 9s.

Letters on Missions; addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches. By Melvil Horne, formerly Chaplain of Sierra Leone, West Africa. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

On the Science of Agriculture; comprising a Commentary on the Agricultural Chemistry of Mr. Kirwan and Sir H. Davy; the Code of Agriculture of Sir J. Sinclair and others. By J. Hayward. 8vo. 7s.

An Epitome of Paley's Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy; in Question and Answer. By a Member of the University of Cambridge. 12mo. 4s.

West African Sketches; compiled from the Reports of Sir G. R. Collier, Sir C. Macarthy, and other official Sources. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Theatre of the Greeks; containing, in a compendious Form, a great Body of Information relative to the Rise, Progress, and Exhibition of the Greek Drama, with an Account of Dramatic Writers, from Thespis to Menander; to which is added, a Chronology and an Appendix, containing Critical Remarks. By Porson, Elmsley, and others. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Rev. Dr. Russel, of Leith, is preparing for the press, two Octavo Volumes, to fill up the Interval between the Works of Shuckford and Prideaux, on the *Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected*.

THE BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR FEBRUARY, 1825.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.* 4to. 571 pp. 2l. 10s. Murray. 1824.

THIS handsome volume is attributed to Lord John Russell; and the aristocratical appearance of the book, as well as its sensible and gentlemanlike contents, are worthy of the reputed father. The dimensions, both of the paper and the narrative, are too gigantic for our taste: the former will ensure Lord John Russell a niche in the next edition of the "Library Companion;" the latter, devoting nearly six hundred pages to the events of eight years, lead us to apprehend that it will require fifty formidable quartos to complete his Lordship's undertaking. But not to dwell upon this magnificent prospect, we hasten to introduce our readers to the quarto of the day; and if they wish to improve their acquaintance with Louis XIV. and Cardinal Alberoni, if they wish to know a little about Queen Anne, and George the 1st, and a great deal about the Regent Duke of Orleans; if they are desirous of seeing what can be made of modern whiggism in the hands of a well-informed and amiable young nobleman, they cannot do better than apply to the volume before us.

The Introduction is not encouraging. It resembles a dissertation in the Edinburgh Review, or the substance of a speech against the Holy Alliance. It wants originality, and it wants compression. By teaching us what inferences to draw from the history of modern Europe, it gives a political, not to say a partial air, to the whole volume. And if the evil is counteracted by the writer's moderation and good sense, we still could be contented to dispense with the remedy, provided we might also dispense with the disease. There is an evident bias in the noble author's mind; and if it is to his honour as a man, that he avows and defends his predilections, it would have been to his honour as an historian, to renounce them. Take, for example, the accounts of

the French revolution, and the consequences of the monarchical principle, as professed by the continental sovereigns.

“ Unhappily, England joined, though doubtingly and tardily, in this crusade. She was influenced to do so by a great orator and great writer, who was not extremely unlike the apostle of the French revolution. For there are some points of resemblance between Rousseau and Burke. Both were men whose imagination outstripped their judgment; both had the faculty of dressing their thoughts in the most harmonious style ever employed in their respective languages. If Burke is more rich in imagery, Rousseau is more fraught with feeling; if Burke surprises and carries away by his splendid diction, Rousseau seems more natural, and has been more successful in contriving that art which does so much should appear to do nothing. Both Rousseau and Burke exalted the idols of their own fancy; Rousseau painted with brilliant colours an age of savage simplicity which in his sober hours he knew never had existed: Burke took for his favourite illusion the happiness of an age of chivalry, whose best features live only in romance. The one called upon the world in its manhood to regret that period of its infancy when arts were unknown, and the hides of wild beasts were the only covering for the body; the other endeavoured to restore and to preserve the remains of the dark and dismal times of the middle ages, when Europe was barbarous and miserable. Yet both these authors could call to their assistance the soundest maxims of reason; the most profound doctrines of philosophy: Rousseau availed himself of sentiments which nature inspires, and good sense approves; Burke combined with his most extravagant speculations, the most solemn decisions of law, and the practical lessons which a long contest for liberty had taught an enlightened nation. Thus each had a people for his proselytes, I fear I must add his victims. France, seduced by the visions of the Swiss philosopher, sunk into the most abominable vices in attempting to realize an unattainable pitch of virtue: England, rousing at the trumpet of the Irish orator, made war upon a neighbouring country, because their people had become too frantic and too wicked to be amicably treated with. Thus, at the close of the eighteenth century, when the oracles of Delphi were laughed at, the leaves of the Sybil considered fabulous, and our rude ancestors despised for following the call of Peter the Hermit; death and havoc made their harvest in every quarter of the world, because the two most enlightened nations of Europe abandoned themselves to the guidance of two splendid enthusiasts, of whom the one was evidently insane, and the other totally wanting in sound discretion.” P. 53.

“ While the means proposed by the sovereigns are thus inefficient for the purpose of promoting improvement, they are mighty and almost irresistible for the purpose of preventing it. If a people worn out by suffering, at length rise against their rulers, and demand a constitution in the only way it can be demanded with effect, *videlicet*, in arms, the allied monarchs have a million of troops ready

to restore despotic authority. The troops of the three great combined powers are always prepared to march to the assistance of any despotic monarch who may have lost his power by cruelty, or bigotry, or vice.

“ Let us now pass to the consequences that flow from the adoption of principles so absurd and tyrannical. They are, as might have been expected, in contradiction to the maxims of common sense, dangerous to the repose of Europe, hostile to the rights of nations, and lead directly to a general confusion of all interests, laws, principles, and securities. A nation is to be incapable of deciding for itself upon its own grievances and wants. A sovereign at a thousand miles distance is to pronounce an infallible judgment upon them. A congress is to be held in Moravia or Carinthia or Lombardy, to discuss what are the best remedies for the abuses of power at Naples or Madrid. Three absolute sovereigns are to decide infallibly on the various forms and regulations of free government. The cabinets of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, are to be entitled to judge, without appeal, of the real sentiments of the people at Genoa and Cadiz. Armies of Croats and Cossacks are to be marched from the most savage parts of the globe, to reform civilized nations, and put down in all extremities of Europe the example of revolution *effected by military force*. Excommunication, forfeiture, servitude, and proscription, are the penalties to be pronounced against legislative assemblies which do not conform in their political institutions to the standard of Muscovy, Brandenburg, and Bohemia.

“ It is impossible to say how far such a doctrine as this may be carried. The present sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are not immortal. It is quite uncertain whether their successors may not have still more extravagant notions of the omnipotence of legitimate monarchy, and the duty of passive obedience; but with the example of their progenitors before them, they can entertain no doubt of the justice of forcing their opinions on other nations at the point of the bayonet. Nations, on the other hand, desirous of becoming or remaining free, will find that they have no chance of success unless they can excite the subjects of despotic monarchs to ask at the same time for liberal institutions. Their only hope of remaining in peace at home will be to excite insurrection abroad. Thus the whole family of Europe will be engaged in a dreadful species of hostilities, marked with all the calamities of civil war. Blood will flow not only in the field, but on the scaffold, and the victorious party will join the insolence of a foreign enemy, to the rancour of a domestic faction.

“ Such is the melancholy prospect which the mistaken policy of the allies opens to Europe. They are about to renew the scenes of horror with which the bigotry of Philip the IInd and Charles the IXth afflicted mankind during the progress of the Reformation.” P. 60.

-In attributing the revolution to Rousseau, Lord John Russell merely mistakes a part for the whole; but in attributing the revolution-war to Burke alone, in calling the

people of England his victims, and in charging him with an endeavour to restore the remains of the dark and dismal ages, the author commits a graver fault, by indulging party prejudices or family spleen.

The account of the holy alliance is a caricature; and while we praise the caricaturist for speaking of the sovereigns themselves in very different language from that which has disgraced the House of Commons, we have still to regret that he personates an opposition member rather than a well-informed independent thinker. Nobody defends the state papers of the allies. The monarchical principle in the hands of Prince Metternich, is as absurd as the republican principle in the hands of Mr. Bentham; and the consequences of either, legitimate and illegitimate, may be set down as equally mischievous. The Croats and Cossacks are fair game for Mr. Brougham, who delighted his hearers for a whole afternoon, by calling the Emperor of Russia a Calmuck. But the pupil of Mackintosh, and the ally of Lansdowne, ought not to have tarnished an historical treatise by the introduction of such vulgar wit. Lord John Russell might be expected to know, how little the principles of rational liberty are understood, out of Britain. The dislike of the monarchs to Spanish and Neapolitan constitutions, is the natural result of what they have suffered from French constitutions. The Foxes and the Russells of the last generation proclaimed the democracy of jacobin France to be the most glorious work of man. And when the fallacy of such assertions is discovered and admitted, when our Whigs are content to recommend limited monarchies, ought they to expect an immediate and unanimous assent to their proposal? With patience and moderation, we may convince the sovereigns of Europe that English liberty is not the forerunner of revolution. Violence will only tend to confirm the prejudices of the master, and rivet the chains of the slave. The present season of peace should be employed in communicating our wisdom to other nations; and they will not listen to our lessons, or submit to our reprehension, unless due allowance is made for their natural backwardness to learn, and our advice is conveyed in respectful terms. The sarcastic invectives of Brougham, and the dogged insolence of Hobhouse, alienate and disgust the monarchical party on the Continent. Lord John goes to work in a much better spirit, and sets his party an example of temper and dignity which they will do well to follow. But if he expects to instruct foreign princes, he must cease to be a party-man, and think with as much candour and moderation, as he now writes and speaks.

But enough of the Introduction. It would have occupied less attention, had it not enabled us to discover the principles of a writer with whom we are to undertake a long journey. If his principles had been simply bad, they would not have detained us a moment; the mixture of good and evil which we have endeavoured to point out required a more particular notice. The body of the work is less debateable ground. Lord John has studied the French memoir-writers, and engrafted their anecdotes upon the public history of the country with considerable tact. The character and court of Louis XIV. are well pourtrayed, though the abilities of the monarch are decidedly under-rated. He appears before us in his declining years, and fails to substantiate his right to the title even of a vulgar great man. It is true, that he was not really great. His ambition was mean and selfish. He loved power for its own sake, and renounced glory that he might enjoy flattery. His views were narrow, and his virtues and his vices were at a great distance from the sublime. Still, the Prince who so long governed Europe must have possessed a greater capacity than the present Memoirs assign to him; and it would be as fair to judge of Bonaparte by the retreat from Moscow, or the battle of Leipsic, as to overlook the early wars of Louis, and dwell upon the victories which the genius of Marlborough won from the old age of the King of France. We extract some of the concluding remarks upon his reign.

“ If we endeavour to sum up in our minds, the different parts of the government we have gone over, we shall be inclined to draw, as a result from the whole, that Louis the Fourteenth was an industrious, and even a benevolent ruler, but not endowed with genius to direct his industry or wisdom in the application of his benevolence. He excelled in those parts of administration, which are at the same time the least difficult and the least important; in equipping troops, in expending large sums upon magazines of war, in holding magnificent courts, and building sumptuous palaces. He failed in those larger and more lofty functions of sovereign power, which consist in providing for the happiness of a people; in giving equal protection to all classes; in allaying religious dissensions; in extending industry and commerce by liberal principles; in making taxation as light as certain, and as justly proportioned as possible; in laying the foundations of future prosperity to his kingdom, when he himself should be no more. If he augmented the territory of France, it was by destroying the sinews of her internal strength, and leaving his successors embarrassed by the obligations he had contracted. If he maintained domestic peace, he at the same time sowed the seeds of future discord, by augmenting the importance of his plebeian, and preserving at the same time the privileges of his noble subjects.

The manufacturing and commercial classes, who in the course of a long internal tranquillity, acquired riches, intelligence, and knowledge, formed no part of the constitution of the monarchy; they were excluded from the pale of power, and became the natural favourers of those writers, who towards the end of the reign of Louis, were preparing to attack his fame, and ridicule the frame of government he had formed and established. This was a great and very obvious defect in his policy. All his attention had been directed to please, and at the same time depress his nobility; but in so doing, he raised another great body by their side, which he forgot to conciliate by privileges, and could no longer terrify by a display of force and authority.

“There are some measures, certainly, which it would be unjust to blame Louis for not effecting, as they required either the knowledge of a posterior age, or the intuition of a man of genius. But there are others which it is astonishing he should not have effected. He might have established a wise and certain system of taxation, that would have deprived his intendants of the arbitrary power they so much abused. He might, when in the summit of his power, have laid a foundation for taxing the nobles and the clergy, in due proportion to their wealth. He might have abolished the *taille*, the *gabelle*, and the *corvées*, and have subjected his people to the burdens of the state, in proportion, not to their rank, but to their wealth. He might have introduced a more humane code of laws, and assumed to the state the whole administration of justice, abolishing the authority and peculation of the petty lords. He would thus have united all classes in support of the monarchy, and paved the way for the tranquil introduction of those changes, which progressive time, and increased civilization might require.” P. 235.

In the greater part of these observations we heartily concur.

The second book commences with a sketch of the History of England, from the peace of Utrecht to the suppression of the rebellion in 1715. It is a period which requires to be treated with great delicacy by modern Whigs; and Lord John Russell approaches it with due caution. Having presented us with a summary of the reign of Louis, we expected that his Lordship would also furnish an account of the foreign politics of King William and Queen Anne, distinguishing them from the apparently similar course pursued in our own times, and by which his Lordship conceives that England became the victim of Mr. Burke;—but we are disappointed. The condemnation of the Peace of Utrecht may be inferred from several observations, but the war which preceded it is not examined. Another ticklish question, the state of religion, is dismissed in the same way. The factions of the Jesuits and Jansenists are described with minuteness in the Memoirs of Louis; the state of the church and its opponents under Anne and George

is not taken into consideration. The Schism Bill gives occasion for a passing sneer; the clergy are represented as halting between the Stuarts and the Georges, because the former were Catholics, and the latter were suspected of favouring the Dissenters; and a handsome panegyric upon Bishop Burnet is turned into a satire upon the rest of his order: And this is the whole that Lord John Russell knows, or chooses to know, of an age in which more injury was done to religion, than in the fanatical days of Barebones, or the profligate reign of Charles the II^d. But it was done by his own beloved Whigs, and their champion, too honest to deny the fact, contents himself with saying nothing about it.

In fact, he has business enough upon his hands from other quarters. By securing the Protestant succession, the Whigs of the last century performed an essential service; but it is the duty of an historian to state the means by which they performed it: and we compassionate the noble author's distress, when he is obliged to allow, that the Whigs brought in their King against the sense of the nation, and secured him on his throne by proscription and impeachments. The Riot Act and the Septennial Act were necessary, as his Lordship proves, for the preservation of the country; yet it is entertaining to hear the question gravely discussed by a parliamentary reformer, and carried, as a matter of course, in the affirmative. The simple truth is, and the perusal of Lord John Russell's book will render it clearer than before, that the Whigs of Queen Anne, with the exception of their great tendency to infidelity and irreligion, exhibit a very close resemblance to the Tories of King George the IVth. Their continental war, their contempt of mobs, their strong measures for securing domestic tranquillity, and their determination to serve the people without yielding to popular clamour, are the best features of Lord Halifax's administration, as well as of Mr. Pitt's: and the despicable Peace of Utrecht, the love of French alliance, the discordant views of Jacobites, Tories, and placemen, who served under Harley and Bolingbroke, and met the fate which they deserved, may find their counterpart in an opposition, of which some were genuine Whigs, and others radical Jacobins; of which some wanted power, and others wanted place; of which some loved France, either republican or Napoleonised, far better than a limited English monarchy, and which was ready in a body to sacrifice the honour of *Britain* and the independence of Europe, to a tyrant who had no merit, except his ability to do mischief. Lord John Russell's history of the Accession of the House of Hanover redounds to the credit of his party. At the same

time, however, it reminds them of "glory gone," of principles deserted, and of consideration and respect for ever lost.

Some of his reflections upon the occurrences he relates are judicious, and we have much pleasure in submitting them to the reader's attention.

"The events of the few years which we have gone over in this chapter, are of the greatest importance in the history of England. Three great changes may be said to have been made, if not in the constitution, yet in the mode of administering it; changes which some will think equally beneficial, others equally pernicious, but which all tended to the establishment of the kind of government under which we now live.

"The first principle established at this time, is that of conducting the government by one party. During the reign of William the Third, and the greater part of that of Anne, the offices of state were divided between the members of the two parties, with a view to conciliate both, and to exclude the more haughty and presumptuous leaders, from acquiring a dictation over the sovereign. In the middle of the reign of Anne, the Whigs obtained something like exclusive power; and towards the end of that reign the Tories possessed unbalanced authority; but their hesitation and misconduct totally deprived them of the confidence of the new king, and the Whigs found themselves strong enough to keep out their opponents for nearly half a century. From this time we may observe in the ministry of England greater unity of views, a more complete confidence among the members of it, and a more uniform policy towards foreign powers.

"The second change made at this time, was the transfer of the seat of power from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. During the two previous reigns, the House of Commons was still kept in a dependent station, and the great peers of the governing parties, confided to their deputies the management of that assembly. Their complete emancipation from their former bondage, is attributed by Speaker Onslow to the Septennial Bill, which, as I have already said, was calculated to produce this effect. It may be objected, however, that the appearance of Walpole on the stage of politics, at the time when the great men of the reign of Queen Anne were retiring from it, is sufficient to account for the power which the Commons at this period acquired. But had the House of Commons remained what it was, and Walpole obtained an equal ascendancy in the government, there can be little doubt that he would have been made a peer, and governed his party in the House of Lords in the place of the Duke of Newcastle. His continuing a commoner, when at the head of the ministry of England, is the test and proof of the increased consequence of the assembly to which he belonged.

"The greatest change of all, however, was the establishment of a dynasty grounded on a parliamentary title. As long as a Stuart was upon the throne, it seemed not improbable that the crown might revert to the elder branch of the family: the succession of

the House of Hanover closed their prospect for ever. At the time when this great event happened, it is said that two hundred persons, with a preferable hereditary claim, were excluded; nor, when we consider that the Electress Sophia was the youngest daughter of the Elector Palatine, does this calculation appear much exaggerated. The advantage of this revolution to the cause of freedom cannot be too highly estimated. The old doctrine of the Tories always supposed that the king had a property in the prerogatives of the crown, independent of the consent and overbearing the interests of his people. But here was a king who had no other claim to his power, than that created by an act passed by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain. Consequently, the great modern charters of our liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights, were at once lifted out of the debateable ground on which they stood, and placed by the side of the sovereign upon the throne; from this time resting on the same foundation, and exposed to no other dangers than those which equally menaced the existence of the dynasty. With such a protection, the laws which secure the personal freedom of Englishmen had time to take deep root in the country; and when, half a century afterwards, the Tories were restored to power, they found our liberties guarded not only by the zeal of a party, but by the veneration of a people. Nay, in the course of this half century, the ideas of the Tories themselves were changed, and instead of a legitimate king, and an uncurbed prerogative, they became satisfied with a title granted, and a government controlled by parliament." P. 372.

The chapter upon the regency of the Duke of Orleans, and the administration of Cardinal Alberoni, is the best and most entertaining part of the volume. The subject is neither so threadbare as the court of Louis XIV. nor so dry as the Mississippi scheme, nor so fatal to the Whiggism of the writer as the accession of George I. The story, particularly Alberoni's portion of it, is well told, and the summary of his character deserves to be extracted.

"Alberoni was in person of low stature; his features were far from handsome, and his head was too large for his body. His voice was melodious, his look piercing, and he acquired among the Spanish grandees an air of dignity, which suited ill with the original coarseness and vulgarity of his manners. He was proud, hot and revengeful by nature, but extremely skilful in modulating his passions to the key which his interests required. Indefatigable in application, he frequently employed himself in business for nineteen hours out of the twenty-four. He is remarkable for having united the most lofty designs, with a strange degree of low cunning in carrying them into effect; and perhaps merits better than any one the title of Jupiter Scapin, which has been applied to a far greater man of our own day. Although capable of conceiving the most vast and magnificent projects by the vigour of his imagination, he

seems to have been destitute of elevation of soul; and whether cooking Italian dishes, and uttering coarse jokes for she amusement of the Duke of Vendome, or planning the overthrow of the governments of England and France to gratify the passions of Philip, he appears to have been always intent upon his own elevation, at any cost, and by any means.

“ In his foreign policy, Alberoni evidently aimed at gigantic objects, with very inadequate means, or at best with only a slight chance of success. If he must be acquitted of the charge commonly brought against him, of provoking a hopeless contest, he is only so much the more blameable for having wantonly sacrificed the blood and treasure of Spain, and disturbed the peace of Europe, for the sake of preserving his place. Nor does he deserve our pity when, in return for the sacrifice of his own conscientious opinions, we see him abandoned and persecuted by the very sovereigns, to gain whose favour he had swerved from his duty as the minister of a great nation. It cannot be denied, however, that the spirit displayed by Alberoni might, in a better cause, have revived the greatness of Spain.

“ In his government of the interior, Alberoni formed many plans, some of which he carried into execution. He promoted projects for improving the ports of Cadiz and Ferrol, and established new docks and arsenals in those and other ports. In the short period of his administration, fourteen men of war were launched, and as many more were nearly completed. He founded a seminary at Cadiz for five hundred pupils to be instructed in navigation, and revived the foundry of artillery and the manufacture of small arms. With respect to commerce, he destroyed most of the inland custom-houses, abolished the internal duties of Valencia, and dispatched intelligent engineers to the different provinces, to ascertain what improvements could be made in the economical government of the kingdom. With the usual policy of active ministers of those times, he established manufactures of glass, woollens, and linens; and though it must be confessed that his measurers, in this respect, tended to furnish the Spaniards with dear and bad articles, instead of cheap and good ones, it is difficult to blame a minister who governed so short a time, and had not particularly studied the subject, for sharing in the prejudices of the age.

“ Yet it must never be forgotten, that Alberoni, while he seemed to promote commerce and industry, had risen to power by favouring that institution, which is the bane of all commerce, and all active exertion of every description. By taking part against Macanaz, he preserved the privileges of the Inquisition, and with them the source of all the misery and degradation of Spain. Let us not be dazzled, therefore, by the brilliant genius of Alberoni; and while we admire the activity and resources of his mind, let us not give our esteem, or the honours of fair fame, to an unprincipled adventurer, whose momentary power shows only the caprice of fortune, the force of intrigue, and the decline of Spain.” P.453.

This is a fair specimen of the "Memoirs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht." They are not the fruit of first rate talents, either literary or political; but their tone is uniformly sensible. They exhibit a fair portion of diligence, a virtuous and amiable disposition; and where party prejudices do not interfere, considerable powers of discrimination. Lord John Russell's admirers will be dissatisfied with this faint praise; but we cannot advance beyond it. There is a point, however, on which we may conscientiously join his Lordship's warmest admirers, and that is in sincere satisfaction at perceiving a person in his situation resolved to study history. Could we persuade him to be upon his guard against hereditary prejudice, and to keep aloof from party flattery, we should hope not only to see him among the best of modern Whigs, but leading back his followers into the good old path, and contributing to the restoration of that happy state of things in which the Aristocracy was the guide and the friend of the people.

ART. II. *Christian Truth, explained in familiar Letters on the Tenets of the Church of England, and on other Subjects connected with Religion: Addressed to a Friend, and written at his request. By the Rev. C. Powlett. London. 8vo, pp. 326. Booth. 1824.*

WE are informed in the Preface that this volume owes its origin to an earnest request made to the author by a friend, that he would give him such a statement of the Christian doctrines as might put them before him in their clearest form: so that as it seems he had previously entertained doubts on some points, he might thus be enabled to embrace the doctrines of the Church of England with that firmness and sincerity which can arise only from a thorough and satisfactory conviction of their truth and consistency with each other. The author's friend is described as a man of candour; others the author fears may not be so; for their sake therefore he has thought it necessary to dwell more at large on some topics, in order to do away all possibility of misinterpretation.

In the first letter, entitled "the Religion of the Heart," after some very just observations on the prevalence of an outward and careless profession of religion, without any real feeling of its efficacy, the author proceeds to state his object

in these letters, as being that of endeavouring to put in a very familiar light, the principal arguments which may lead those who are incapable of more profound research, to such perception of the reason of the hope that is in them, as may be productive of a real and practical profession of Christianity. He modestly disclaims pretensions to depth or originality of argument; and urges the continual reiteration of old cavils and sneers by infidel writers, as calling for continual vigilance in the guardians of the truth, and rendering every attempt, however humble, in support of the uncorrupted doctrines of revelation, likely to be useful; and to those readers who, as the author expresses it, are not capable of digesting what may be called "strong meats," the lighter food may be in the highest degree beneficial.

The second letter is entitled, "On the Trinity." This, together with the third on the Atonement, involving a discussion of the Divinity of our Lord, occupy a very considerable proportion of the volume before us; and we think very properly, the author observing at the commencement the necessity of laying this deep, firm, and strong foundation, for the superstructure.

It will be obviously impossible for us to enter into a detailed account of the various passages of the Old and New Testament, which the author now proceeds to collect and comment upon. To this part of the work, we think the attention both of the general reader, and especially of the theological student, may be very profitably directed. A large and valuable body of scriptural proofs will be here found amassed, and disposed with considerable effect. So that this important doctrine is made to rest firmly on the secure basis of scriptural evidence; on accumulated support of the testimonies of the divine Spirit, manifested "at sundry times, and in divers manners," by the favoured servants of the Most High. From these, we learn fully to distinguish the shadow from the substance, and to understand all the typical symbols of the ceremonial dispensation, as at once predicting the suffering Messiah, and deriving from his sufferings all their efficacy and force.

In the 4th letter "on Regeneration," the author commences with some very pertinent remarks on the propensity to verbal disputes, which has led to much of the controversy existing on this topic. The following strong and manly statement deserves to be extracted:—

"Such love to 'minister questions rather than godly edifying; which is in faith,' and disregard the injunction of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Charge some that they teach no other doctrine.' That

there is another doctrine taught than that which is taught by the Church of England, is too well known by the confused mass of controversy which has issued from a certain description of the clergy. Those who deny the great doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement will be naturally expected to deny the minor spiritual doctrines; for if the two great doctrines be not true, the minor ones fall to the ground: and their opinions being fundamentally erroneous, can excite no surprize: but those, who not only acknowledge these great truths, but have actually given their assent to all the doctrines of the Church of England, can in no rational or honourable way account for their secession from any part of those doctrines: it cannot therefore but be a circumstance to be lamented, that all 'are not Israel who are of Israel:' they enlist under the banners of the church, accept the emoluments, and then contradict the assent which they had before given, and endeavour to undermine that Christian citadel, which they were bound by their solemn oaths to defend. That regeneration takes place at our baptism, and at no other period, is the doctrine of the Church of England: no one can deny that, who reads our baptismal services, our admirable collects, and indeed every part of the liturgy, where the subject is introduced. That it is the true doctrine, I shall now clearly, I hope, shew." P. 177.

Mr. Powlett then proceeds to comment upon several of the well-known passages of Scripture bearing on the subject, in a very clear and able manner. He gives a paraphrase on our Saviour's discourse to Nicodemus, which we especially recommend to the notice of our readers (p. 189); and ably vindicates our view of baptismal regeneration from the aspersions of those who would maintain, that we rely on the mere *opus operatum* of the sprinkling of water.

The letter concludes with some extracts from the Fathers, clearly shewing the exact accordance of their views on this point with the doctrines of the church of England.

In the next letter, on Predestination, the author, after stating in the most unequivocal terms his abhorrence of the Calvinistic doctrine, as utterly at variance with the divine attributes, proceeds to give a general scriptural view of the divine counsels and dispensations, so far as they are made known to us. He insists strongly on the distinction between "predestination" and "fate," in which we perfectly coincide. The divine decrees are shewn to be general, and apply to the scheme of redemption at large, not to the acts of individuals. His concluding paragraph is very eloquent: he has been speaking of reprobation:—

"Let us turn away then from this 'darkness that may be felt.' Be this black and dismal cloud of error for ever dispelled from the world. May the bright beams of heavenly mercy, which shine

equally on the just and on the unjust, illumine our Christian Sion. Finally, when we elevate our voice in songs of praise and thanksgiving to our Saviour, let us acknowledge the blessed cause of our unbounded gratitude, and say, in the language of our sublime 'Te Deum,' 'For thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to *all* believers.' P. 241.

The author's object in his sixth Letter is to animadvert on indifference to religion; to point out the duty of Christians, whether clergy or laity, not only to declare their own conviction, but to contend by argument against those who are unbelievers of any of the great revealed truths of Christianity. From the remarks on the too prevalent spirit of indifference to religion in general, and in particular to the claims of the church, we must be permitted to extract the following passage:—

"Well knowing the motive which is illiberably attributed to every clergyman who writes in defence of the established church, I shall speak of it but briefly. I consider it as a sacred citadel, not only politically set up, but as absolutely necessary to preserve the spirit of religion in the country. It is a beacon to which the truly wise will look up with respect, and on which both they, and the poorer, and the less educated, will depend for their best hope and consolation. It is a citadel of refuge from worldly troubles and agitations: the bulwarks which are placed around it are merely of a defensive nature: its first principle is toleration, so consistent with the mild doctrines of its blessed Founder, and in a minor degree arising from the freedom of our happy constitution. Reflecting minds are well aware of the blessings which arise from a church establishment. The jealous, the thoughtless, and the indifferent, look with an eagle eye at its imperfections, and aggravate them by their misapprehensions and mis-statements. The establishment, though wise and necessary, is human, and consequently imperfect. But though the serious and the good see the errors as to worldly regulations, errors which it is more easy to see than to amend, yet they look upon them only as spots upon the disk of the sun. Others magnify the spots to such an extent, as if they totally obscured the church's glorious and beneficial influence. This conduct, however to be lamented, would not be so unhappily prejudicial, if it did not tend to mix up in confusion the divine doctrines held by that church, with the unavoidable errors of some parts of its political formation. Worldly combatants attack the doctrines openly, while they secretly mean to undermine the foundations of the citadel, and overthrow the church; they in fact dare to strike at God, when they seem only to attack the errors of man." P. 245.

All this, and more to the same purport, is, we think, well conceived, and strongly expressed; and all sincere members of the church will, we trust, be impressed with a conviction of the justness of such remarks, and the consequent duty of endea-

vouring by all means which may be consistent with their station and ability, to maintain and uphold the purity and authority of that venerable establishment to which they belong. This the author urges in a most impressive manner, and pays a very deserved tribute of praise to those distinguished laymen who have advocated the cause of sound religion by their writings. He shews the incalculable value of such support given to Christianity. The works of such authors he considers to have had a peculiarly beneficial effect in contributing to draw attention to the subject in many who perhaps would not have listened to instruction from another source. He is very liberal in the commendations bestowed upon benevolent Dissenters, whose virtues he contends we may admire, whilst we strongly object to their opinions. The Socinian errors, or rather the tendency to a Socinian spirit, so prevalent in the present day, are combated with great spirit and ability. We agree with our author in fearing, that the general principle upon which the Socinian proceeds, if not his actual doctrines, have but too great an influence among some who outwardly profess reverence to the church, and rank themselves among her members. The principle of reducing every thing to the confined standard of our ideas of congruity and reasonableness, is one which is *a priori* a very fallacious principle as applied to any subject, and becomes doubly dangerous when adopted as the test of religious truth. The author has acutely remarked, that it is not in professedly Socinian works only that their errors are inculcated; the enemy lies in ambush in a variety of publications of different descriptions, which the unwary reader may take up for the sake of instruction or amusement, and thus have his mind corrupted and biassed in its principles of investigating religious truth, almost without being aware of it. The duty of contending for the truth with zeal and discrimination is imperatively urged upon the clergy, and the author points out also the great influence which the laity may exercise, in the encouragement and superintendence of schools, as well as the circulation among the poor of the numerous excellent tracts and small periodical publications, now so abundantly supplied, expressly adapted to their use.

The concluding Letter touches upon a variety of topics; and several passages of considerable length are appropriately introduced from the writings of Horne, Paley, &c. The gradual progress of religious knowledge among the heathen nations is adverted to in connection with the accomplishment of prophecy, as is also the downfall of the Roman Catholic faith. The author speaks of the Dissenters with great charity

and moderation, without the least compromising his own faith. He considers their various errors to be "as demonstrable as a proposition in geometry," yet contends that they must assent voluntarily to that demonstration, or not at all. In this free and enlightened country, he deprecates all persecution or compulsion; the futility of a variety of cavils against the providence of God is clearly pointed out, and a very simple and concise statement given of the introduction of sin by the Fall, by which the attributes of the Deity are shewn to be in no degree contradicted.

ART. III. *Helon's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. A Picture of Judaism in the Century which preceded the Advent of our Saviour. Translated from the German of Frederick Strauss, with Notes and Illustrations, by the Translator. Mawman.*

THE argument for Christianity, which is drawn from the time when Christ came into the world, loses much of its strength with those persons who do not take the trouble to inquire, how far it applies to the Jews. But as the books where the detail of this information is to be found, are little consulted by general readers, and their substance has rarely been compiled, except in works professedly theological, a work which should in a clear and popular light, place before Christians the strength of this testimony to the truth of their faith was a desideratum. The author of this work, as he informs us in the Preface, was long impressed with the importance of supplying this link in the chain of Christian evidence; and no model appeared better calculated for his adoption, than the celebrated tour of Anacharsis, which has collected in an elegant and amusing tale, the information which was formerly sought from lexicons and books of antiquities. On this plan, he had made a general sketch of a work, and even partially filled up the outline, when an accession of occupations compelled him to relinquish his task. Amidst all his employments and avocations, however, he never lost sight of his favourite idea; and at last, finding his leisure insufficient for executing his original design, he has produced the work now before us, from the general recollections which the authors of his study had left in his mind.

In almost all ages of their history, the Jews furnish an impressive commentary on that remarkable expression of our Lord, that those who will not hear Moses and the Prophets,

would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead. They had the very evidences which modern unbelievers proclaim sufficient; they had not only Moses and the Prophets, but they beheld all the miracles wrought by all; they lived under perpetual demonstrations of the power of God, and yet they as perpetually were rebels and idolators, clearly evincing that no evidence whatever can convince a corrupted heart. The idolatries of Egypt, Canaan, Assyria, successively engaged their affections; but as long as the dispensations of a peculiar providence were conspicuous among them, and the prophetic spirit remained, their infidelity never took a systematic or a metaphysical form; it was an obstinate sinning against conviction, but it adopted no arguments, it offered no palliations.

When the warnings of prophecy had ceased to break in on their guilty slumbers, it was not to be expected that their conduct would improve; and besides their natural corruption, there were circumstances which more than ever favoured the national propensity to secession from the law. The Assyrian settlers, who had taken possession of their land during the captivity in Babylon, had engrafted the Levitical law on their own superstitions; and thus prepared the way for heathen corruptions. When the conquests of Alexander had opened a free communication between the East and the Grecian states, the mythology of Greece, and afterwards its philosophy, became generally circulated; and when Antiochus Epiphanes attempted the entire hellenization of the Jews, the attempt was seconded by many of the nation; and from the infection of the Antiochian times Israel never completely recovered. The government of Egypt and Syria were essentially Greek, and it was impossible but the Greek manners should in some degree at least, be found in Palestine.

The general prevalence of the Greek language produced in the different countries to which it extended, a dissatisfaction with the native names. Even Josephus was sensible of the necessity of hellenizing the Jewish names before they could be tolerated by Grecian ears. In their commerce with the Greeks, the Jews found themselves perpetually mortified by being regarded as barbarians, and such of them as, though bred in the Jewish customs, were Greeks in heart, accordingly adopted Grecian names. Hence among Jonathan and Judas, and John, we find Simon, (a Grecism of Simeon), Jason, and Menelaus, which last names were adopted by two brothers severally named Joshua and Oniah. The conduct of these brethren had an important influence on the national character of the Jews. For not only did their authority go

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far towards enforcing their example, but their tyranny gave rise to a circumstance whose effects were of more permanent duration.

The brother of Oniah and Joshua, also named Oniah, who was in his right high priest, on the secession of Antiochus, was supplanted by his brother Joshua, afterwards Jason, who purchased the priesthood of the king. Oniah was afterwards strictly confined to Antioch, where after having been twenty-four years high priest *de jure*, he was put to death by his brother Menelaus, then in possession of the priesthood, for having warmly resisted his sacrilegious conduct. On the death of Menelaus, which occurred some time after, and the succession of Alcimus to the priesthood, the son of Oniah, also called Oniah, disgusted with the injustice of the prevailing faction, retired into Egypt, where he so far ingratiated himself with Ptolemy Philometer, and his Queen Cleopatra, that he obtained permission to build a temple at Leontopolis, in the *nome* of Heliopolis, on the model of the temple of Jerusalem, for the use of the Jews in Egypt, of which he and his descendents were to be high priests, and which he called the Oneion. After the positive declaration of the Jewish law in favour of Jerusalem, it was necessary to propitiate the Jews by some further allegation of Scripture. Accordingly Oniah adduced Isaiah, xix. 18, 19: "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt, speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts: ONE SHALL BE CALLED THE CITY OF DESTRUCTION. In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord." The original words translated, "city of destruction," are עִיר הַתְרוֹס; probably, as Scaliger conjectures, Oniah read עִיר הַחֶרֶס, which slight alteration would make the words signify "city of the Sun," or Heliopolis. The LXX. read: πόλις Ἀσεδὲν, Sc. הַצֶּלֶק "the city of righteousness," which seems to indicate that their translation was made after the erection of this temple to which they wished to do honour. Whether this were the case or not, the scheme of Onias became popular, the very language of the Egyptian Jews was exchanged for Greek, and the king was pleased to find the almost proverbial reserve and moroseness of the Jewish character replaced by Grecian indifference and sociality. The Jews of Egypt having now a rallying point and regular ritual founded on prophecy, and administered by him who was unquestionably hereditary high priest, made a schism with the Aramæans, or those who were still attached to Jerusalem, and thus became still further alienated from the ancient manners and worship, and still

more attached to the people among whom they resided. The mystic character of the Platonic doctrines, borrowed from the East, and partly collected from traces of Revelation, seized on the Alexandrian Jews, and their opinions, as the Apocryphal books of Scripture sufficiently testify, may be described as Scripture impregnated with heathenism.

In the mean time, the Aramæan Jews themselves were split into philosophical sects, in imitation of the Greeks. Philosophy and religion could never be distinct among a people like the Jews; and religious difference accordingly followed. The pure precepts of Antigonius Sochæus, which only taught a disinterested service of God, were converted by his pupil Sadok to a negation of future retribution, and a doctrine always too popular among the vicious, was not without its supporters in the sect of the Sadducees. They were, however, tenacious supporters of the integrity of Scripture, than which they acknowledged no other divine law, although it is difficult to imagine how they could reconcile their tenets with its declarations. The Pharisees, in the meanwhile, opposed the whole discipline and doctrine of the Sadducees, and maintained a cumbersome system of pretended traditions, which, in reality, like the metaphysics of their Alexandrian brethren, were only ill-assorted compilations from the Greek philosophers. With much of the outward demeanour of the stoicks, they "made the word of " God of none effect," through a doctrine principally derived from the Pythagoreans and the more mysterious reveries of Plato.

As regards the Jews, therefore, as well as the Gentiles, it was impossible, even on considerations merely human, that our Saviour could have appeared at a more eligible period for proving the truth of the religion which he came to announce. The prevalence of philosophical error afforded the best opportunity of establishing the truth of the Gospel; for as almost every conceivable perversion of religious truth prevailed at that time, the refutations which our Saviour gave the opinions of the different sects supply the most complete demonstration of the truth of his own doctrine. All the arguments which have been drawn from the contemporary state of the Gentiles apply with still greater force to the Jews: for it was among them that the Gospel was first proclaimed, and it is therefore of greater importance to shew that the public mind was just so circumstanced, that the evidence on which it rested would be necessarily examined. And even the short view which we have been enabled to take of the character of the two principal sects in Judea,

shows that the nation had been reduced to such a state of depravity, that at no time was it more necessary that the voice of God should cry in the wilderness, and call to his wandering people to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

It would be impossible, in this place, to do more than indicate the argument which it is the intention of these volumes to illustrate. Our object is to exhibit its nature and its value : and if we have done this clearly, our readers will perceive that the kind of work from which it would derive most illustration is not an historical account, however elaborate, as Prideaux, for instance, but a work which should enter much more on manners and opinions than on events; a work, in short, like that which our author at first meditated. But we must now see how much the "*Pilgrimage of Helon*" has actually done towards this object. The author shall state his design for himself.

"The plan of the work is the following.—A young Jew, who had been enamoured of the prevailing Grecian philosophy, has returned to the observance of the law of his fathers, at one of those important crises in life which decide the character of succeeding periods. Bent on the fulfilment of the law, which he believes it impossible to accomplish any where but in the place where the altar of Jehovah is fixed, he makes a journey from Alexandria, where he had been brought up, accompanied by his uncle, to Jerusalem, in the spring of the year 109 before the birth of Christ; remains there during the half year which included the principal religious festivals; becomes a priest; enters into the married state; and, by the guidance of Providence, and varied experience, attains to the conviction, that peace of mind is only to be found in believing in Him who has been promised for the consolation of Israel.

"The plan now traced, while it offered an opportunity of delineating the progress of an interesting change in the sentiments of Helon himself, seemed also to present the means of combining with this a living picture of the customs, opinions and laws of the Jewish people. No period of their history seemed so well adapted to the design of this work, as that of John Hyrcanus. It is about this time that the books of the Maccabees close: it is the last era of the freedom and independence of the people, whose character and institutions at the same time were so nearly developed and fixed, that very little change took place between this and the time of our Saviour. It was possible, therefore, to give a picture which, as far as relates to usages and manners, should be applicable to the times of the New Testament."

Nothing can be more judicious than this plan, and had it been minutely pursued, the very desideratum we have been discussing would have been supplied. But the author admits that his leisure would not allow this. We will proceed,

therefore, to inquire whether this imperfect sketch, rather than picture of Judaism, gives us any tolerable idea of the features of the original.

The persons to whom we are first introduced are the mother of Helon, his uncle Elisama, a slave named Sallu, a young Greek named Myron, and some Alexandrian Jewish elders. The mother of Helon is making preparations for her son's journey, and most singular indeed is her method of making them.

"The whole house was in commotion. The camels were receiving their load in the inner court, and drinking before their journey, from the fountain beneath the palm trees. The slaves ran *this way and that way*: in the apartments of the women, the maid-servants were busily preparing the farewell meal for the son of their mistress, who, *while she hurried in different directions, AND ISSUED HER COMMANDS, was repeating the words of the 42nd Psalm.*" (!!!). Vol. I. p. 1.

This beats Cæsar and Napoleon!

A conversation ensues between Elisama and the elders, in which the merits of Leontopolis and Jerusalem are discussed somewhat tumultuously. When they are once fairly on their journey, Myron asks Elisama to give him some account of the Jewish history and philosophy, and the latter has the conscience to recite about 120 octavo pages of the history of the Bible, from Genesis to the 2d book of the Maccabees inclusive. This is a convenient way of filling a volume. Passages of Scripture, especially almost the whole book of Psalms, are quoted without relevancy or moderation; and as most of the quotations are from the poetical parts, they are printed with a happy regard to occupation of paper, in broken sentences. The slightest occasion is sufficient to set our author off with a page or two of Scripture, and sometimes he starts upon none at all. Thus, on Helon's admission to the order of priesthood, after "the old man of the temple" has informed him of that obscure historical fact, that Solomon built the first temple of Jerusalem, he asks, "Dost thou know, Helon, the prayer which he offered at the dedication of the temple?" and Helon, without the least hesitation, trips him off Solomon's prayer, five pages and a half. Elisama congratulates his nephew on his approaching nuptials, and tells him, that as Solomon had said something on the happiness of the marriage state, he could not do better than repeat it; and accordingly come the last 22 verses of the book of Proverbs, duly split into monosticks. We know not how far the Germans may be acquainted with their Bible; but in England,

this is really too much. Scarcely is there in the two volumes a single page, those only excepted which contain the abridgment of the Old Testament, which is not adorned with some of these distorted quotations.

As a sketch of the society and manners of the period which it professes to delineate, this work is certainly defective; there is, indeed, little in it which might not have belonged to any other æra of the Jewish history. Except in the chapter on the Essenes, the reader meets with little information on the state of the Jewish mind with respect to philosophy; a most important defect, if the work be regarded as an attempt to illustrate an argument in favour of Christianity, which has as yet met with small elucidation in a popular way. And although we have every respect for the translator's feelings of compassion and benevolence towards the modern Jews, and cordially share them ourselves, yet we cannot, with him, extend this sentiment to the Jews of our Lord's time; and much less can we justify the perversion of history, in order to conciliate any body of men.

To promote a reciprocity of kindly feeling between Jews and Christians, is, doubtless, an excellent object: but if we understand the object of this work, it is one yet higher. The historical argument for Christianity is annihilated as soon as we depart from history, with whatever intention we depart; and therefore, although Helon's pilgrimage may be an excellent work for conciliating the Jews, and as such may be recommended to the "Jews Conversion Society," it is of small importance in giving illustration to the branch of the Christian argument to which it refers.

The public, however, is not indebted to the translator. He has called the popular attention to a valuable and neglected portion of the Christian evidence, and he has illustrated the work with notes which are worth the whole of the two volumes.

We shall conclude this notice with a passage which will afford a fair specimen of the work, and which proves the author's enthusiastic feeling, and descriptive power. After quoting, according to his custom, two pages and a half from Ecclesiasticus, which describe the high priest Simon, he proceeds:—

"This description had often awakened the enthusiasm of Helon, but now he saw it realized in the most impressive service ever performed in Israel—that of the morning after the Passover. There stood the High Priest, spiritual and temporal sovereign of the people, on the mountain of Jehovah, in sight of his sanctuary, and looked through the lofty portico, full upon the curtain of

the most holy place. On the other side, through all the courts, even to the foot of Mount Moriah, was a countless multitude, all occupied with prayer and praise, all waiting anxiously for his blessing, and expecting to be purified by his offering. Around him were all the priests of Israel, obedient to his nod, ministering to him in the most sacred employment of the people, their appearance before Jehovah. He himself, the man who bore the name of Jehovah on his brow, with every thing that oriental splendour could accumulate, lavished on him, in honour of that name, surrounded by the flames of the altar of burnt offering, which flashed up to Heaven. It was a sight to awaken every sublime religious feeling of such a mind as Helon's.

"The Hallel was sung. The priests, stationed on the pillars near the laver, accompanied the song with the sound of their trumpets, and the Levites on the fifteen steps sung it, with their cymbals, cornets, and flutes. David had appointed four thousand Levites for musicians and singers, and their number was probably not much smaller now.* The multitude responded with its hundred thousand voices, to the song of the choir; and when the Hallelujah, with which the psalms begin and end, was thrice repeated with the united volume of vocal and instrumental sound poured forth at once, a less lively imagination than Helon might have fancied that Jehovah himself appeared in the flames of the altar, to receive the homage of his people. It was here only that one of these psalms, so full of the boldest flights and of the deepest emotion, must be heard to be fully felt. Such a moment had inspired them; such a moment alone could revive that intensity of feeling, which is necessary fully to comprehend them.

"Helon was so absorbed, that the wave of the people had forced him, unconscious of it, far down the extremity of the court. He could only see from a distance the movements of the high priest about the altar. His majestic figure, as he passed to and fro before the flames which arose in the back ground, received from them a strong illumination, which to Helon's fancy gave something solemn and unearthly to the form. When the sacrifice and the Hallel were ended, the people fell on their knees, and bowed their faces to the earth to receive the high priest's blessing. He washed his hands with the usual solemnities, and advanced to the steps of the Levites, praying thus: 'Praised be thou, O Lord our God, thou King of the world, who hast sanctified us with the consecration of Aaron, and commanded us to bless thy people Israel in love.' He then turned, first to the sanctuary, and afterwards to the people; then lifting his arms to the height of his shoulder, and joining his hands together, so as to leave five intervals between the fingers, with eyes cast down on the ground, he laid the name of Jehovah on the people, and said,

" 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee.

* 1 Chron. xiv. 5.

“ ‘ The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee,

“ ‘ The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!’ Num. vi. 24.

“ At every repetition of the word *thee*, he turned to the north and the south. The people replied, ‘ Praised be the name of his kingdom for ever!’

“ They continued awhile when the benediction was concluded, each praying to himself; while the high priest turning to the sanctuary said, ‘ O Lord of the whole world, we have done as thou hast commanded us, and thou wilt do what thou hast promised. Thou wilt behold us from the habitation of thy holiness; thou wilt look down from heaven and bless this people Israel!’”

ART. IV. 1.—*The New Trial of the Witnesses; or, the Resurrection of Jesus considered, on Principles understood and acknowledged equally by Jews and Christians; with an Enquiry into the Origin of the Gospels, and the Authenticity of the Epistles of Paul.* 8vo. 89 pp. John Hunt. 1824.

2.—*Letters to the Editor of the New Trial of the Witnesses, by an Oxford Layman.* 8vo. 107 pp. John Hunt. 1824.

WE notice these publications, first, that we may expose the folly and falsehood of the junta, from whom the *New Trial of the Witnesses* proceeds; secondly, that we may perform an act of justice to the author of the letters, and call the attention of our readers to his able, if not judicious, pamphlet.

If we should be asked who these *New Triers* are, we answer, without hesitation, “ Jeremy Bentham, and his crew.” Their speech betrayeth them. They have taken some pains to disguise it. The phraseology of “ Church of Englandism,” “ Not Paul,” and other Benthamite productions, is dropped. An editor steps forward to lick the cub into shape, but the family mark is distinguishable throughout, and whoever may have brought the precious bantling into the world, its father is lord paramount of the *Westminster Review*, and the child is worthy of its parent. The characteristic hypocrisy has descended from sire to son; and under the mask of a partial belief in Christianity, we are introduced to an outrageous but sneaking infidelity. The writers, be they who they may, have the ignorance of Paine without his

shrewdness, and the vulgarity of Carlisle without his courage. We proceed to substantiate these accusations; and having accomplished our purpose in as few words as possible, we shall take leave of the subject with very little ceremony.

The fifth page furnishes us with the following specimen of what Bentham, in his attack upon St. Paul, terms "simple falsehoods:"

"Be this as it may, I am persuaded that the religion which is founded on truth can sustain no injury from a calm and candid examination; and, as I am desirous of seeing the following arguments fairly met and answered by arguments equally calm and dispassionate, I now, for that purpose, present them to the public. They are the sentiments of an ingenious friend now no more; and although some of them may appear rather fanciful, there are others which I have never been able fully to answer, either to his satisfaction or my own. But one argument more difficult to resist than all the rest, is, what he repeatedly urged, that a fair and full discussion of this subject has never yet been allowed; for, said he, the apprehension of legal interference and the fear of popular odium, operate as effectually, in Britain, towards the suppression of every sentiment which appears in the smallest degree to militate against the prevailing tenets, as the terrors of the inquisition in Spain, or the tortures of the rack in Turkey; and to talk of decent discussion is only a pretext, for nothing is accounted decent which is level to common apprehension, and to appeal to the understandings of men, in plain and intelligible language, is called blasphemy." P. 5.

The childish trifling about a "deceased friend" is Jeremy all over. The friend is still alive and well; and if he does not blush at such assertions as the above, he may continue to favour the world with declarations equally supported by fact.

The real object of the pamphlet is to talk blasphemy; the pretended, is to upset the evidence of the resurrection! Affecting to proceed after a judicial fashion, our 'deceased friend' undertakes to try the witnesses of that crowning miracle. And he discovers that they are totally unworthy of credit, because they do not prove the *Ascension*. Having joined issue upon one fact, he writes a hundred pages of nonsense about another; and with much parade of common law (the judge-made law which the author of the *Book of Fallacies* holds in sovereign contempt); he rambles on with an irregularity and inconsistency which neither judge nor jury would endure. The only point which he presses with common ingenuity is the silence of St. Matthew and St. John respecting the *Ascension* of their Lord. The circumstance has no immediate connection with the trial of the witnesses of the resurrection, and the explanation of it rests upon very different grounds from those which our "deceased friend"

professes to examine. But even here he is a "friend indeed," and supplies, by his blundering honesty, a solution of the difficulty which his art had conjured up. The latter half of the pamphlet is devoted to the praises of St. Paul, and in the course of his encomiums, the writer is stupid enough to remind us, that the Gospels were not written when that apostle commenced his career. Upon the supposition therefore, and it is Jeremy's own supposition, that St. Paul was the first effective preacher of Christianity, and that he had preached and gained credence *before* the publication of the Gospels of Matthew and John, what possible necessity could there exist for their reiterating the declarations of St. Mark and St. Luke, whom Bentham calls the pupils of St. Paul, and whose narratives both Gospels and Acts were already, according to this hypothesis, believed by the Christian world. Nothing need be said about the inaccuracy of the "deceased friend's" assertions. It is as gross and glaring as their inconsistency, and can impose on no one but the author.

But let us attend for an instant to his statements respecting the resurrection. Affecting to believe in the fact of the crucifixion, and the subsequent continuation of our Saviour's life, this impudent dreamer has the folly to affirm, that the facts may be explained, according to the Gospel account of them, without having recourse to a miracle. The resuscitation having been attributed to Nicodemus, and Joseph of Arimathæa, the preternatural occurrences are denied, upon the authority of Mr. Bentham, or explained away by his ingenuity. One instance of the latter shall be adduced in the words of the Oxford layman.

"The truth is, there is no believing, I mean in sound reason, the story of the resurrection by halves. Either you must deny it altogether, and in doing so, reject a mass of evidence, such as, I believe, can be produced for no one fact whatsoever previous to the invention of printing, certainly not for the common events of battles and revolutions which a man would be hooted at for questioning; or you must admit and believe the whole. Let a single point once gain entrance into the mind, and the rest of the wedge is sure to follow; at least nothing then can stop it, but the impenetrable hardness of the material into which it tries to force a way. Even in those few cases, where the supernatural may not appear essential to the event, it is too closely interwoven with the circumstances, or at least with the form of the narrative, to be detached from it without violence and injury to the context. Look for example at the appearance of the angel or 'young man,' who was seen, St. Mark tells us, by the Maries in the sepulchre. Of that appearance your friend says, 'that what Peter and John observed to be the linen clothes, Mary

Magdalene and the other Mary perhaps, it being early and yet dark, took for a young man. *Perhaps* so indeed; a very plausible conjecture; especially as they both went into the sepulchre, and thus had an opportunity of examining its contents or inmate closely. But what say the circumstances of the case to it? That the explanation is inadmissible, unless linen clothes can speak: because what the Maries took for a young man gave them a long message to the disciples. Yes, Sir, a message: you will find it so by turning from Mark, as quoted in the New Trial, where, I allow, no trace of it is discernible, to the older and more genuine Mark, written by St. Mark himself. I will copy the two passages, that all may judge, first, of the probability of the explanation, secondly, of the fairness of the quotation on which it is built.

Mark as quoted in the New Trial, p. 8.

‘And entering into the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the right hand, clothed in a long white garment; and they were afraid, and they went out quickly from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were amazed.’

Mark as written by St. Mark himself, xvi. 5, 6, 7, 8.

‘And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.’ What comes next? a comma? No, Sir, a full stop—‘and they were affrighted. And he (that is, according to your friend, the linen clothes) saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him. But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he said unto you. And they went out quickly,’ &c.

Well may you feel surprise, Sir; for without verifying your friend’s quotation, which it is clear you have not done, you could not have been prepared for such a stroke as this comma. You could not have anticipated, no one indeed could on reading ‘they were afraid and they went quickly,’ that ‘afraid’ was the end of one sentence, that ‘and they went out’ was the beginning of another, that between the two there intervened a passage so important, so destructive of the author’s infranatural explanation. But is such an adaptation (‘garbling’ would be the proper word—can I help its not being a civil one?)—such an adaptation, I say, of sentences, such an arbitrary change of stops—are they quite allowable? quite honest? quite specimens of ‘fair discussion,’ of ‘candid examination,’ of eagerness ‘in the discovery and pursuit of truth?’ If these be specimens of such things, I will tell you, Sir, what is not. To falsify the text of Mosheim, as your friend does in his second section, to quote him as saying that ‘*after* the middle of the second century the greatest part of the books of the New Testament were read in every Christian society;’ when Mosheim, ‘the judicious Mosheim, whose invincible regard to truth is universally acknowledged,’ said and wrote ‘*before* the middle of the second century.’ This falsification of an important passage is neither honest, nor fair,

nor candid, nor allowable, nor, in plain terms, reconcilable with truth. Hereafter I may have occasion of recurring to this passage. At present I leave it gladly to resume my argument." *Oxford Layman*. P. 24.

This is plainly and strongly put. One more instance and we have done. It shall be taken from Bentham himself. Our Lord's address to Mary, in the garden, is thus explained :

" Why then may not the meaning be ? ' touch not my feet, the wounds are yet raw from those cruel nails ! I am going to my father. Go, tell my brethren.' The expression is remarkable ; he says, not my disciples, as they are afterwards called by the historian, ' go, tell my brethren,' probably his natural brethren,—Judas, Simon, James, &c. the sons of Joseph, and shall we say of Mary, that they ' go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.' We have seen that he had just come from Galilee, accompanied by his mother, and several other women, and relatives, and there his father and mother now resided. ' He turned aside into the parts of Galilee, and dwelt in Nazareth.' Thither he was immediately to proceed, and there, with his father and mother, and those affectionate brothers, having escaped the malice of his sanguinary persecutors, he probably awaited in patient tranquillity the happy change which was to fit him for those celestial regions, ' where flesh and blood cannot enter.'

' Hail ! holy light ! thee I revisit safe !
Escap'd the Stygian pool, tho' long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn ; — —
Taught by the Heavenly muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to reascend,
Though hard and rare—thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sov'reign vital lamp.'

Thus, after millions of volumes have been written, and men of the greatest genius and talents have, for almost two thousand years, like a ship without rudder or compass, been tossed in an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, the light of truth at last breaks in upon us, and we rejoice to find that reason and scripture are reconciled." P. 27.

If any thing can be more laughable than this reconciliation, it is the next paragraph, which brings it to a sudden end. The solution of such childish inconsistency is, that Jeremy made the blunder, and one of his devils has attempted to conceal it.

" Since the foregoing remarks were written, Paley's Evidences have been put into my hand, and a passage pointed out, where the subject of the Ascension is adverted to, not indeed as a matter of first rate importance, but merely in an incidental manner ; I observe, however, that I have omitted, but entirely without design, some words which may appear essential to the argument. In John's account of what Jesus said to Mary, ' touch me not, for I am not

yet ascended to my Father,' at the latter clause of the verse it is added, ' But go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend to my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God.'

" This omission was occasioned by the last clause of the verse being separated from the first, by the words ' go tell my brethren, &c.' When my eye caught these words, which seemed to correspond so well with the other Evangelists, ' go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee,' I read no further, concluding it to be the same passage. Now the words, ' I ascend to my Father and *your Father, to my God and your God,*' which, it will be observed, are only to be found here, and which so little accord with the plain literal meaning of the other Evangelists; if we are not allowed to suppose that they have been added by some transcriber who wished to improve upon the original text; cannot, alone be considered evidence of the Ascension, nor, by any means, sufficient to compensate for the total silence of John, upon the important subject to which they seem to refer.

" We have already seen, that Mary was in the greatest trepidation and alarm, the *time*, the *place*, the appearance ' early while it was yet dark,' at the mouth of that very sepulchre where she so lately saw him laid, lifeless, who now appears to her terrified senses; ' And they went out quickly from the sepulchre, for they trembled and were amazed, neither said they any thing to any man for they were afraid: ' under such circumstances, I humbly conceive no great stress can be laid on Mary's report, even although it were confirmed by the other Evangelists, much less when it is in effect contradicted." P. 28.

This confession of a biblical critic, a judge, a trier, " that a word catches his eye, and he reads no farther," must convince the world of his knowledge and impartiality. Should any incredulous Christian continue to doubt, or wish to make assurance double sure, he may learn at page 33, that " *Pilate* dispensed in favour of Jesus with the invariable practice of breaking the criminal's legs;" and at page 35, he may find an able apology for Judas Iscariot.

More can hardly be required. But much more may be found in the Oxonian's able letters, and to them we refer the curious for further information. Their principal fault is a coarseness and levity of language which are applicable enough to Jeremy Bentham, but should not be allowed to approach so closely to the sacred subjects on which the author writes. A minor error is too serious an examination of trash which should be held up to universal scorn. With these exceptions, the letters are worth reading, though we are at a loss to conceive why they have been introduced into the world by the same obstetrical aid, to which Mr. Bentham and his colleagues have recourse. One extract, a comment upon the conclusion of St. Matthew's gospel, will serve as

a specimen of the general style, and with this we take our leave, for the present, of the most dishonest and contemptible set of infidels that the present age can boast.

“ Never since God said *Let there be light*, and there was light, has so much been said in so few words. They declare the sovereignty of Jesus, as vicegerent of God the Father, over the universe; they virtually annul the exclusiveness of Judaism by substituting a scheme of universal revelation; they express a promise to the Christian Church of surviving, whatever may befall, under the countenance of her master, till the world’s end. And here let me ask in passing, has this promise or prophecy, for such in fact it is, been fulfilled so far as we can judge of its fulfilment, up to the present day? You will remember, if uttered by Jesus, it must have been delivered nearly eighteen centuries ago; and at all events it has now been uttered by St. Matthew more than seventeen hundred years. Take it at the lowest date, put it at 1700 years, which however I have not the slightest right to do, nay perhaps am not justified in doing; and even on that supposition, let me again ask, has the prophecy stood the test of those 1700 years? or has it not? Does Christianity still exist, as Jesus so long ago declared it should? or does it not? But time alone is a very insufficient measure of the unforeseeableness of a prophecy. Try it then by the alterations which in the interval have taken place. Try it by the obliteration of Paganism from the memories of all except the book-learned; by the dissolution of the Roman empire; by the effects of those discoveries and mechanical inventions which no one had in those days dreamt of, but which have changed the face of the world politically and intellectually, as much as ten deluges could have changed its physical appearance. But why remind you of such lesser changes? when even the languages of those times are dead, and the races which spake them are extinct, so that the earth is occupied by a new people. And Christianity, how has that fared amid the torrents which have swept down every thing that seemed most firmly rooted round it? It has escaped and gathered strength and spread; from being when planted the least of seeds, it has shot up into a tree so great, that all the liberty, all the knowledge, all the civilization in the world have been reared to vigour and maturity beneath the friendly shelter of its branches. It has escaped, but not alone; the riven trunk of Judaism still sticks, or rather lives, in the earth (for Judaism does live) fronting it. Compare these two survivors from a state of things long since passed away. Contrast the indestructible life, the increasing luxuriance, of the one, with the equally unperishing barrenness and stationary dissolution of the other; and then ask yourself, whether this, their joint escape from the violence of time and circumstances, can be reasonably attributed to chance, which is a word? or to natural causes, which could never have spared both? or to any other source or influence except the favour and will of God?” P. 100.

ART. V.—*High-ways and By-ways; or, Tales of the Roadside, picked up in the French Provinces. By a Walking Gentleman.* Second Series. 3 vols. 12mo. Colburn. 1825.

THIS is an agreeable addition to the second-rate novels of the day. The author has no bad knack at telling a story, and works up some of his scenes with great success. The plots, the most difficult portion of his undertaking, are not powerfully conceived, nor is the general management of them above a respectable mediocrity. The strain of sentiment also is too mawkish for our taste; and probably the writer will be astonished at hearing, that the love scenes, upon which so much of his narrative hinges, are the worst part of his performance. In the three tales now related, two most violent passions are contracted at first sight, and the third, a mutual flame, without any sight at all. This is drawing somewhat too freely upon the credulity of ladies and gentlemen in their teens. There is also throughout the work a diffuseness with which we could readily dispense. But the volumes are entertaining; and to such as would wile away an idle hour in the perusal of an innocent work of imagination, they may be safely recommended.

The first story, Caribert, the bear-hunter, is decidedly the best. The plan and the execution are both good, and there are passages which excite the liveliest interest. The bravest and most skilful sportsman on the Pyrenees has been decoyed from his father and the chase by the charms of a lowland maid. The old man encounters an enormous bear; receives a severe wound, and loses his favourite dog. Caribert returns home, and vows revenge; but a fever, terminating in insanity, prevents the accomplishment of his purpose.

“ Soon after Caribert and his father had quitted their home, the morning, which had only just broke, began to be more than commonly overcast. A snow shower, mixed with rain, assailed them ere they reached the Pic du Midi; and the piercing cold of the air, added to the sleet beating cuttingly into his face, brought on, with Caribert, repeated attacks of violent and alternate fever and shivering. When they arrived at the den of the bear, which was formed of a cavity in the western side of the mountain, close to that terrific precipice which I have already endeavoured to describe, they were both benumbed, and scarcely capable of exertion; but the old man, rousing up all his wrath and courage for the onset, approached the cave, and with loud shouts of defiance, endeavoured to stir up the savage animal's rage. The summons was no sooner heard than answered. A horrible growl sent out from the recess, was followed by the appearance of the bear, which rushed forth as if in conscious

recollection of yesterday's triumph. At the appalling sound and sight, Pero, the faithful and courageous dog, unsupported by his former ally, and having his share of brute remembrance too, of the late rencontre, hung down his head, dropped his tail, and fled yelping down the mountain. Old Larcole grasped his pike firmly, and advanced. The hideous monster reared itself upon its hind legs, stretched out its fore paws, and as, with its jaws yawning wide, its fearful tusks displayed, and growling with horrid energy, it was in the very act of springing forward, the veteran hunter stepped close up, and aimed a thrust with no flinching strength, right at his enemy's heart. He was not far wide of that vital spot. His pike pierced the left breast, and went out clearly at the shoulder. Rendered frantic by the pain, the bear bounded up, flung itself full upon its undaunted assailant, and fell upon him to the earth. The old man, burying his head under the body of his foe, received on the back and shoulders of his doublet its unavailing efforts to penetrate the thick folds of armour with tusks and nails. He tugged at the pike to extricate it from the body, but his position was such that he could not succeed, and every new effort only tended to give issue to the thick stream of blood which flowed from the wound. During this frightful struggle, the yells of the bear were mixed with and smothered by the loud execrations of the old man. The latter, at length, gave up the hope of recovering his pike, but strove fairly next to get rid of his terrific burthen. He succeeded so far as to get one leg clear, and with his nervous grasp, entwined round the body of the brute; he was rising on his knee, and called out, 'Now, Caribert, now! To his heart—to his heart the death blow, now! strike, strike!'—but Caribert struck not! He stood gazing on the scene—panic-struck—fixed to the spot with emotions not fathomable to man,—a terrible but not solitary instance of the perilous risks run by mental courage, as well as by human virtue. I do not inquire into the mystery—but there he stood, its horrible and shuddering illustration!

The old man was now getting clear, but the bear had his hold in turn. His huge paws were fastened with a dreadful force round one of his victim's thighs; and recovering from his sprawling posture, he began to draw him backwards, evidently in the design of regaining his den. The old man's courage rose with his danger, for he alertly drew his knife from his belt, opened the blade, and plunged it repeatedly into the body of the bear. The latter leaped and bounded with agony; and Larcole, recovering his feet once more, succeeded in grasping the savage in his arms. But the trial could not be prolonged. He was drooping under the dreadful gripe.—Breathless and faint, he could only utter some terrific curses against the recreant who had abandoned him; and while Caribert gazed, his brain on fire, his hands outstretched, his tongue cleaving to his mouth, but his limbs trembling, his heart sunk, and his feet rooted to the earth, he saw the white locks of his aged father floating over the neck of his destroyer; while the dying animal, in his blindness, not knowing what he did, had retreated to the very edge of

the precipice, slipping at every backward plunge in the slough formed by the snow and his own heart's blood, by which it was dissolved. The old man, seeing his terrible fate, seemed to acquire for an instant the gigantic energy of despair. Throwing one glance across the horrid space on the border of which he stood, he screamed in a voice of thunder, 'Caribert! Caribert!' The terrible expression conveyed in this hoarse scream, struck on the mind of his son with an electrical shock. Suddenly roused from his stupor, he recovered for an instant all his recollection and his courage. He uttered a cry of corresponding fierceness,—swung his brandished pike—rushed forwards with open arms to seize his father, and snatch him from his destiny,—but it was too late! The monster touched on the extreme edge—lost his footing—plunged instinctively forward—took another backward step,—and just as Caribert believed he had grasped his father in his outstretched arms, both man and bear were lost to his sight, and their groans came mingling in the air, as they went crashing down below. Vol. i. p. 172.

We cannot promise the reader a second passage as good as this; but the adventures of the maniac are well managed, and a magnificent hunting party, which closes his career, is very little inferior to that which we have extracted.

The Priest and the garde du corps, does not particularly please us. The latter falls furiously in love with Maria-Antoinette; guards her through all the perils described by Madame de Stael, Madame Campan, &c. and blows out his brains when he can be of no farther service. The whole is an extravagant burlesque; and we should wish the chivalrous young gentlemen at the *lanterne* or the *guillotine*, were he not introduced to our notice, and accompanied throughout his adventures, by an Irish oddity of the most amusing description. This person's name is Father O'Callogan. Having left his native land at an early age, learned French and divinity at a convent, and practised the latter in the Irish brigade; he is encountered by the author in a Flemish town, and recognising one other as countrymen, they become bosom friends in a moment. The result is that the priest communicates the history of the garde du corps; but there is nothing more worthy of notice in the whole narrative, than the entertainment by which it is ushered in. The comrades are seated in the priest's miserable garret, and thus they feast à l'Irlandois.

"The table was soon arranged by the old priest and this faithful friend and serving woman, who had prepared his frugal meals and attended to his desolate chamber for more than twenty years. Her next entry into the room was with a large earthen pot, called in France a *marmite*, which she deposited by the fire, while she went out again to complete the omelet, for the making of which the said

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marmite was removed from her fire to ours. I knew this was *jour maigre* for the worthy priest, and, as a tureen of onion soup was quickly smoking on the table, I was rather puzzled to divine what were the contents of the pot, until their boiling furiously up against the lid forced it to one side, and I discovered amidst the foam of the agitated water a quantity of large potatoes, dancing in the bubbling element and bursting their skins as if they laughed in concert with the motion.

“ ‘ My good Father,’ cried I, not a little pleased at this plentiful specimen of our national food, ‘ I see you have not lost your Irish taste.’

“ ‘ God forbid that I did !’ replied he ; ‘ no, no, my dear child, there’s no fear of my losing the taste of any thing Irish, for I’ve the smack of the potatoes, and the flavour of the turf just as fresh upon my palate this minute as the day I sailed from the Cove of Cork. Sit over—sit over to the table, my jewel—Madame Genevieve will be after draining the potatoes while we’re aiting our soup.’

“ These operations were duly performed, and when our part was finished the old woman placed her pyramid of *pommes de terre au naturel* in the centre of the table.

“ ‘ Ah, there they are the smilers, smoking and mailey !’ exclaimed the priest. ‘ There they are, just quite as natural as if they came out of my poor ould father’s cabbage garden at the fut of Castle Carbery. Why then doesn’t this put you in mind of Ireland? upon my salvation it warms the heart in my body ; that’s no lie that I tell you. Och ! that’s the real way to dress potatoes—there’s none of your *frites* or *purées*, or *maitres d’hôtel*, but plain honest downright thumpers, bursting out through their skins, and crying ‘ come ait me, come ait me,’ like the little pigs with knives and forks in them.’

“ But I cannot afford more room to a detail of our repast, nor of my host’s discourse. The homeliness of both possessed a considerable relish for me ; and the natural bearing of the priest while I partook of his humble fare, and listened to his coarse phraseology, put me completely at my ease, because it convinced me that he was perfectly at his.

“ When we had finished the soup, the omelet, a bit of salt fish, and the ‘ biggest half of the potatoes,’ as my host expressed it, he stood up and produced from the bottom of a little press in the wall, a bottle covered with dust, and about half full of a colourless liquid. While he proceeded to break off the sealing wax which thickly covered the cork, I saw the tears rush into his eyes, as his countenance became evidently agitated.

“ ‘ Well then,’ cried he, ‘ it’s a thought that suddenly struck me, and sure it isn’t a bad one ;—yes, yes, by my sowl, you shall drink share of it, you shall, and you’re the first man that has as much as smelt it, for two-and-twenty years. There—smell it, what is it do you think? do you know what it is now—Eh?’

“ I smelt it and tasted accordingly, and found that this treasure

was nothing more nor less than some exquisite old whiskey, possessing the fine flavour of the peat smoke with which all the illicit spirits made in Ireland is impregnated.

“ ‘ Ha ! ’ exclaimed I, ‘ this is indeed a treat, How did you come by this, my good father ? ’

“ ‘ Never you mind how I came by it, but make yourself a tumbler—Madame Genevieve will give us hot water and sugar immediately.—How I come by it is a long story—but we’ll drink to the memory of him who gave it to me, any how ; God rest his innocent sowl ! ’

“ There was a tone of deep grief in the utterance of this phrase, and I saw the big tears rolling rapidly down the old man’s cheeks.

“ ‘ Ave, aye, rowl away, rowl away,’ cried he bitterly apostrophising the falling drops, and dashing them off with his hand—‘ it’s right that my ould heart should weep drops of blood if possible, instead of salt water—but even that’s not wanting to keep my sorrow fresh—rowl away, rowl away ! ’

“ My curiosity being powerfully excited by these words, I ventured to ask who had been the lamented friend whose memory caused him such grief.

“ ‘ Why, my jewel, he was nothing but a *garde-du-corps*, what you’d call in English, one of the body guard of unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth.—But he was my friend, and a real gentleman bred and born—of as ancient a family, as pure blood, and as brave a heart as any king in Christendom—that’s what he was ; and the devil such another he left behind him. Here’s long life to him—that is, I main, here’s long life to his memory, which will never die while there’s life in this ould body, any how.’

“ ‘ I pledge your melancholy toast, my dear Sir,’ said I, ‘ without knowing even the name of your lamented friend.’

“ ‘ His name was Cornelius,’—said the priest solemnly, ‘ that is his Christian name : as to the other, it is not convanient nor necessary to expose an ould and honourable family, though he took good care, poor crathur, that his body should be as free after death as his mind was while he lived—the Lord have mercy upon his unfortunate sowl.’ ” P. 46.

We cannot help remarking by the way, that the author, who assures us that he is both individually and genealogically an Irish patriot, describes Father O’Callagan as an inveterate enemy of England and Englishmen. Perhaps it is hardly fair to gather politics by the road-side—but either Mr. Plunkett’s panygeric upon the priesthood is built on a sandy foundation, or our romancing patriot has done them great injustice in his character of O’Callagan.

The *Vouée au blanc* is the concluding story in the series, and contains some humorous descriptions and characters. But we have not room for another extract, and must refer the inquisitive reader to the work itself. If he is disposed

to be pleased—it is, as we have already observed, a work that will please him. And even the fastidious, who throws it down in displeasure, will not be disposed to visit it with any severe condemnation.

ART. VI.—*The Modern Athens: A Dissection of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital. By a Modern Greek.* London, Knight & Lacey. One vol. 8vo. 9s. 1825.

WE know not how long it is since Edinburgh was nick-named the modern Athens, nor can we discover any good reason for such an abuse of language. The projected revival of the Parthenon as the national monument of Scotland, and the situation which has been chosen for it, on an eminence resembling, it is said, the ancient Acropolis, may have suggested to some silly wag the quizzing appellation which constitutes the title-page of the work now before us. Democracy and pure Greek were the distinguishing characteristics of the famed city of Cecrops; neither of which, till very lately, has attracted much regard in the Scottish capital. Nor is there any other feature that we can find out in the “men or things” of Edinburgh, upon which to establish a likeness to the active, brilliant, and impatient spirits of the old Athenians; or to the clear sky and genial climate under which they harangued, and fought, and sung with so much energy and effect.

If there is any thing to distinguish Edinburgh from the other second-rate cities of the empire, we must expect to find it in the employments of the great mass of the people. It has no commerce, and hardly any manufactures. There are no warehouses, nor steam-engines, nor extensive wharfs, nor crowds of artizans. One does not see there the flaming chimneys, nor the pillars of smoke, nor the many-windowed buildings, which, at Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow, denote the various operations of that productive labour upon which the wealth of nations has its chief dependence. Edinburgh is chiefly remarkable as a great school for law, philosophy, and physic, and as the seat of justice for the whole of Scotland. The college brings together every year about two thousand young men, who pursue, in the different classrooms, their respective branches of professional education. At the High School and Academy, which are devoted to the study of the ancient languages, there are from eight hundred to a thousand boys, placed under the tuition of ten or twelve

masters: and it is perhaps worthy of notice, that the rector, or head-master, of the latter institution is a clergyman of the church of England, and a graduate of the university of Oxford. If to these regular establishments we add the private grammar schools, and *lectures* in almost every department of science, it will appear that Edinburgh, as a place of mere instruction and intellectual occupation, is distinguishable from every other town in the united kingdom. In short, the ordinary business pursued in that aspiring place requires the exercise of mind; and even the drudgery of the lowest order of professional men has something in it of a literary cast. Not only the lawyer, the attorney and the solicitor, require the qualification of several years residence at college, but even their clerks and assistants, whose multitude no man can number, must have read Latin, and heard lectures on the Institutes and Pandects.

For these reasons Edinburgh is necessarily a different place from other towns of the same size and population. Instead of being immersed in muslins, sugar and coffee, you find the active portion of the inhabitants occupied with theories of feudal law, with the reasonings of the judges, and the decisions of the courts. Their very labour is among books, and opinions, and precedents; and men who are constantly so employed, one need hardly observe, acquire habits of acuteness and penetration very superior to those which spring from the intercourse of persons whose "talk is of bullocks." From its schools and its occupations, we repeat, Edinburgh is, to a certain extent, a literary place; but it is by no means an Athens, either in point of learning or of genius. It is not the seat of the Muses; and the Graces have not yet found their way so far towards the North. It has, moreover, been too much talked of lately; its pretensions are much too high; and the consequence is, that most people from a distance, who mix with its society, are struck with disappointment, shrug up their shoulders at so much pride and ignorance of the world, and return home laughing at the expense of their hosts.

The author of this "*Dissection of Men and Things in the Scottish Capital*," is obviously a North-countryman himself; and knows more about the "*Modern Athens*" than could have been acquired during one short visit in the year 1822. He shows, indeed, some affection for his native land; but he exhibits also the most convincing proofs, that the sour leaven of disappointment and personal chagrin has fermented in his heart, and that his main pleasure is to abuse those who had not sense to perceive, or generosity to reward the exercise

of his transcendent talents. He has, besides, admitted into his strictures more of political animosity than became a faithful historian of passing events. His whiggery turns the edge of his revilings against good men, whose names he ought to have respected; and among others against Sir Walter Scott, a character not so much admired for his rare genius as he is beloved for his frank, mild, and warm-hearted disposition. The author should have remembered, that the personalities which are only despised in a London newspaper, are apt to excite deeper feelings of disgust and execration, when they appear in a volume which has been two years under the pen or the press.

The gentleman to whom the world owes the *Modern Athens*, is understood to be a reporter for a morning paper in this city, who was sent down to Scotland, at the era of the Royal visit, in the usual discharge of his official occupation. His notes for the newspaper have evidently served, in part, as materials for his book; and the rest he has derived from memory or imagination, without much regard to the actual condition of things. It may be right to mention, at the same time, that the author of this article was likewise in Edinburgh at the period in question; that he saw much of what the reporter describes, and can vouch for his accuracy in many things; but that, as he had neither personal nor political prejudices to combat, he flatters himself that he viewed the array of highlanders and lowlanders with greater impartiality, and is therefore not less likely to appreciate with candour the motives which animated the various actors in that stirring scene.

It was well observed by an Irish labourer, in reply to one of his Scotch companions, who was contrasting the decorum of the Royal procession to Edinburgh with the less regular loyalty which attended his Majesty when he entered into Dublin, that "*We,*" meaning the Irish, "*went out to see the king; but you went out to let the king see you!*" Great pains were indeed taken to prepare the populace of the northern capital to receive the sovereign like a "nation of gentlemen." Sir W. Scott put out a pamphlet, entitled, "*Hints to the People of Edinburgh,*" in which he effectually reached their sense of propriety through the medium of their pride: and the result certainly was very much to the credit of the monitor, as well as of those to whom he addressed his friendly advice. The locality, besides, of the modern Athens affords advantages for the display of royal pageantry which hardly any other place possesses. The inequality of the ground presents a variety of natural platforms from which two or

three hundred thousand people could command a full view of the whole procession, without the slightest rush or confusion. But still the main source of the order and decorum which were observed arose from a very judicious arrangement, by which the populace were themselves converted into guardians of the public peace. The tradesmen of Edinburgh can be reasoned with on most occasions; and it was not difficult to make them understand, that they would have the fullest enjoyment of the splendid scene upon which their hearts were fixed, by preventing all disturbance and unnecessary locomotion. With this view they were marshalled according to their several callings, under the heads of their corporations; dressed in their best clothes, adorned with sashes and ribbands, and had suspended round their necks a glittering medal representing the national order of St. Andrew. In fact, the thing was so well got up, that it is not surprising His Majesty should have asked where the mob had been disposed of. It was altogether a holiday exhibition, prepared and executed with considerable study and research, and in reality bearing such characters upon it as fully to justify the remark of the honest Hibernian, that the Scotch went forth *to shew themselves to the king*,

But such an exhibition could not be repeated. No "hints," nor drilling, nor marshalling, even under the auspices of the Great Unknown, could revive the deep feeling of affection and reverence with which George the Fourth was received in Scotland. He appeared among the people of the North as the heir and representative of their ancient kings; as a son of the Stuarts, to whose memory there is still a strong and lingering attachment; and therefore as a prince who derived his right to the throne from his relationship to the blood-royal of their own land. Since the Union, Scotland has appeared to itself to have sunk down into the rank of a mere province, added to the territory of England, and as no longer thought of in the light of an ancient kingdom, jealous of its rights, and proud of its independence. Its very name is on most occasions passed over; its inhabitants were fast losing their place as a people among European states, and the time seemed at hand when it would be entirely forgotten, that a crown had ever been worn, or a sceptre swayed north of the Tweed. Nearly two hundred years had expired since a reigning monarch touched the soil of Scotland; for which reasons, when our gracious sovereign realized his visit, the people at large seemed to think themselves once more possessed of that rank and consequence, which they sometimes imagine have been bartered away for the more substantial benefits of peace and wealth; and when

they saw the crown, the sceptre and the mace, carried before him in the streets of Edinburgh, they allowed themselves to be satisfied, that though the glory of the land was removed, it had not altogether departed.

Such feelings were necessarily unknown in Ireland, in reference to the royal visit. A sovereign of England could only represent in that country the conquerors and oppressors of the land, which he went to honour; and, even in despite of his kindest intentions, revive recollections and animosities which time only can entirely eradicate. All the associations connected with English royalty, were gall and bitterness to the deepest prejudices of an Irishman: whereas, in Scotland, the national pride was soothed, the love of importance was gratified, and all the ardent fealties of the heart found free exercise and a grateful solace. Like the dance, too, of the French peasant's family, the gratulation of the Scotch had in it something of devotion. It was easy to see that religion mingled in the festivities of the royal landing; every heart seemed lifted up with thanksgiving, that the king should behold so large a portion of his dominions in prosperity, love, and peace.

The author, after mentioning how little a spectator is affected in London by a procession of state carriages and horse guards, "when a crowd, usually formed of the ill-dressed and the idle, run and roar about the cavalcade, the trumpeters play 'God save the King,' the attendants wave their hats and cheer, and the spectacle, having passed through its routine, is no more heeded," informs us, that "with this experience I had prepared myself for being disappointed in that spectacle which had brought Scotland together; and I *was* disappointed. But my disappointment was of a new kind; for the solemnity, the grandeur, and the effect of the scene, were just as much superior to what I had hoped for, as those of any analogous scene that I had witnessed fell below the anticipation. The Scots are unquestionably not a superstitious people; neither do they care for parade. Upon ordinary occasions, too, they are a disputing and quarrelling rather than an united people; and, with the exception of those who are paid, or expect to be paid for it, they are by no means inordinate in their loyalty. But they are a people whose feelings have the depth as well as the placidity of still waters, &c. &c. The operation of those feelings, or prejudices, or call them what you will, produced upon the occasion of which I am speaking a scene, or rather a succession of scenes, of a more intense and powerful interest than any which I had ever witnessed, or

indeed could have pictured to myself in the warmest time and mood of my imagination. I had thought the thronging of the people to Edinburgh a ridiculous waste of time; I had laughed till every rib of me ached, at the fantastic fooleries of the celts and archers, and the grotesque array of the official men; and founding my expectations upon these, I had made up my mind that the whole matter was to be a farce or a failure. But I had taken wrong data: I had formed my opinion of Scotland from the same persons, that, to the injury and the disgrace of Scotland, form the channel through which the British government sees it; and therefore I was not prepared for that solemn and soul-stirring display—that rush of the whole intellect of a reflective, and of the whole heart of a feeling people, adorned and kept in measured order, by that intermixture of moral tact and national pride which was exhibited to the delighted King and the astonished courtiers. It seemed as though hundreds of years of the scroll of memory had been unrolled; and that the people, carrying the civilization, the taste and the science of the present day along with them, had gone back to those years when Scotland stood alone, independent in arms and invincible in spirit.”

Here follows an inflated description of the scenery by which the author was surrounded, whilst he stood on the leads of the palace of Holyrood House; a species of composition in which truth is very often sacrificed to fancy, and the vulgar rage for fine writing. In passing through the apartments of the fair queen of Scotland—the fairest, says he, and all things considered, perhaps the frailest of royal ladies—he found the whole localities of Rizzio’s murder, well preserved both in appearance and tradition. In the second place, he adds with all the delicacy of the *Morning Chronicle*, “I had the pleasure of seeing upon the leads, dressed in the plain tartan of her adopted clan, the fair Lady Glenorchy, who possesses all the charms of Mary, without any of her faults. I am not sure that I ever saw a finer woman; I am sure that I never saw one in whose expression intellect was more blended with sweetness, or spirit softened and enriched by modesty and grace.” Is not this sufficiently bold in a man of his calling?

“I stood thus absorbed till about mid-day, at which time the flash and the report of a solitary gun from the royal yacht caught my eye and my ear, and made me start into recollection. Just then a cloud of the most impenetrable darkness had collected behind, or as it appeared to me, around the castle, which made the Athens appear as if her magnitude stretched on into the impenetrable

gloom of infinitude. But I had no time to pursue the train of feeling to which that would have given rise; for the volleyed cannon,—flash upon flash, and peal upon peal, and the huzzaing people—shout upon shout, and cheer after cheer, made the cliffs and mountains ring around me, and the palace rock under my feet, as though the heavens and the earth had been coming together, and the Athens had been to be dashed to pieces in the maddening of her own joy. The ships in the roads first pealed out the tale, and the blue waters of the Forth were enshrouded in a vesture of silvery smoke. Anon the batteries upon the Calton took up the tidings; and their roar, all powerful as it was, was almost drowned in the voices of the thousands which thronged that romantic hill. In an instant the same deafening sounds, and the same gleaming fires, burst away from the craggs in the left; and the cannon and the cry continued to call and to answer to each other, from the right-hand and from the left, till every atom of the air," &c. &c.

This is succeeded by a tissue of bombast and egotism, which we are glad to pass over. Then comes a little bit of fiction, which may perhaps be believed by some gentle reader, who has given up the reins of his imagination into the author's hands. "Margaret Sibbald, an able-bodied matron of Fisher Row, had been induced, through the compound stimulus of curiosity and loyalty, to leave her home all unbreakfasted, in order to take her place in the Royal procession. Margaret had stored her ample leathern pouch with a pennyworth of parliament cake, in order to support nature through this praise-worthy work; but Margaret's eyes had been so much feasted that Margaret's stomach had been forgotten. Seeing that the King wore a hue which she did not consider as the hue of health, and judging that it might arise from depletion, induced by his rocking upon the waters, she elbowed her way through horsemen, highlandmen, archermen and official men, up to the royal carriage, and drawing forth her only cake, held it up to his Majesty, expressing sorrow that his royal countenance was so pale, and assuring him that if she had had any thing better he would have got it. A forward stripling of the guards charged Margaret sword in hand, to which Margaret replied, 'Ye wearifu thing of a labster! ye hae nae mense, I hae dune mair for the King than ye either do or help to do; I hae borne him sax bonnie seamen as ere hauled a rope or handled a cutlass.' It was however no time for prolonged hostilities, and so Margaret was lost in the crowd, and the guardsman not noticed in the procession."

His Majesty was indeed very much pleased and struck, when, turning the corner of a street, he first came in sight of the Calton hill, on which there were perhaps not fewer than

fifty thousand well dressed persons waiting to salute their Sovereign as he passed. He exclaimed audibly, "How superb!" and appeared to be a good deal moved. The reporter gives a version somewhat different in words, but agreeing in effect with what we have just stated. "The mass of shouting and gestic people who hung upon the whole butting side of the hill, and covered every part of the buildings, came upon him with a shock of joy and a touch of exultation, which made the cold state of the monarch give way to the warm feelings of the man. "My God! that is altogether overpowering!" said he, snatching off his hat and attempting to join in the cheer; but his voice faltered, and tears, which were not tears of sorrow, suffused his eyes and watered his cheeks."

The author is very much out of humour because Sir Walter Scott has omitted to describe the royal visit to Scotland, and to immortalize by the powers of his genius the various incidents of that popular event. To supply this defect, he has himself, very good-naturedly, composed a lengthy chapter on the subject, replete with second-hand jokes, and enriched with a few touches of obsolete merriment. No doubt, the levee and the drawing-room presented many occasions for the exercise of that peculiar talent, which he appears to have cultivated. The company was not very select; and as the resident gentry of the North are not much accustomed to the routine of courts, they could not fail to be guilty of many such breaches of etiquette as would offend the practised eye of a gentleman familiar with the high style of St. James's and Carlton House. The lords and lairds are, of course, fair game to the satyrist, and we have no objection to a few strictures on the poverty and pride of the Highlanders, who, on the occasion alluded to, sported an extent of *tail* (followers) which they are no longer able to maintain. But the ladies are entitled to quarter, whatever may be the amount of their short-comings either in beauty or in manners; for we are certain they always do their best, and make the most of all that nature or art may have conferred upon them. "In their zeal, however, to suit the royal taste in the maturity of the greater part of the muster, they had rather overshot the mark. If the tale of that taste says sooth, the word "forty," which is to be found in every country, and which, in single dignity and desire, is found more abundantly in Scotland, and especially in the Athens than in any country, is preceded by the words "fat and fair," which in that land, and pre-eminently in that city, are among the *desiderata*. Hence there perchance was never collected before a pair of

royal eyes so many tall, gaunt, and ungainly figures, and never offered to the salutation of a pair of royal lips so many sunken and sinewy cheeks.—I could not help being struck with the extreme solemnity of the whole. There was none of that jaunty lightness of step, and that soft and flexible turning of the body, which I have remarked on similar occasions in other places. The whole moved on solemn and erect, as though it had been the Scotch Greys approaching to a charge, or the Forty-second to a crossing of bayonets. Their features expressed intelligence in many instances, and pride in all; but I saw not much that I could call beauty.—The space which could be allotted to each for the doing of a salutation was excessively brief; and what with the solemnity of the ladies and the scowling of the heavens, it had more the air of a funeral procession than of a festive assembly. When it was over, or perhaps a little before, the daughters of Caledonia found out, that though they could be gorgeous at a drawing-room, they could not be gay. They did not, indeed, look like “fishes out of the water;” but they looked like fishes that had never been in it. It was so novel in itself, and they had so exhausted themselves in the preparation, that the parade itself was gloomy; and though it furnished abundant evidence of the existence of high talents and higher pride among them, it also afforded proof, that time and change would neither be idle nor in haste, if they were to be thoroughly prepared for gliding and glittering at court.”

This description, we admit, transgresses more upon kindness than upon truth. Few ladies look well when highly dressed; and it is allowed, on all hands, that the drawing-room at Holyrood palace did not furnish an exception to the general rule. Our attention was drawn to this rather ungallant observation by a young countrywoman of our own, who, after having witnessed the array of northern beauties, declared, that she “had never seen so many plain women in her life.” In the article of female charms, Nature is assuredly very capricious in Scotland. When she fixes on a favourite, she gives to her the spoils of ten; and in order to deck out a Mary with all the captivating charms of her sex, she deprives a hundred of that more desirable portion which in other countries hardly any one is without. But we leave these trifles, in order to devote the few pages set apart for this article, to a consideration of that more general “dissection of men and things” which is set forth in the modern Athens.

On the political state of Scotland we are here presented

with a long tirade, abridged evidently from the speeches of certain orators, whose eloquence is known to claim the largest portion of the parliamentary columns in our more popular newspapers. The statements and arguments are perfectly familiar to all readers. Chapter Seventh treats of Athenian Learning—Causes of its Decline—Professors—Philosophers—University—Patronage—Athenian Parsons, &c. In the course of his remarks the author is very desirous to establish the fact, that the college of Edinburgh is sinking rapidly—that her philosophers are no more—and that her great medical teachers have completely died out without leaving any succession. But these statements are not to be taken literally. The age of metaphysics has indeed passed by, and Dugald Stewart and his works appear to be equally forgotten. Gregory, Munro, and some other names equally great, have, no doubt, disappeared, and their places are filled by men who have still names to gain; but, notwithstanding these vicissitudes, from which no establishment is exempted, the sciences of medicine and law are as well taught as they used to be in brighter days. But our author maintains, that the case is utterly hopeless, and that the “Athenian university, pressed down by the general circumstances of the Athens, and yet more by the peculiar circumstances of its own patronage, has sunk to rise no more.”

But the calamity which has befallen Edinburgh is, it seems, of an epidemic nature, and is advancing with rapid steps to overwhelm our own universities also. If it were not, says this learned dissector of men and things, that “there are fellowships, fat dinners, facilities for juvenile dissipation, church and other livings, a key to certain offices, and general nominal éclat, which in so far serves as a substitute for real information, it is very possible that several halls in Oxford and Cambridge would be abandoned to bats and spiders—that ‘the two eyes of England’ would be left for daws to peck at: and it was pretty plain to me, from the general tenour of the Athenian feeling, as expressed in the Athenian speech, that, if the attendance of certain classes of her university were not required for those who plaster the consciences of Caledonian sinners, and who bring down the tone of the Caledonian pulse, or the Caledonian purse, the learned Thebans would be allowed to deliver their prelections to the storms of the vale and the beam of the timber.”

In other words, if education were not wanted, schools and colleges would become quite unnecessary: and we want no stronger proof to satisfy us that the reporter is very ignorant and stupid, than what is supplied to us by the well-known

fact, that every academical establishment in the kingdom has recently increased very much in number, and particularly the two universities of England. The general illumination of the public mind will never tend to diminish the importance nor lessen the popularity of our colleges. It may be found necessary, perhaps, to modify the system of instruction so as to meet the wants of the age, and to keep pace with the progress of discovery in the physical sciences; but there is not in the nature of things any reason to suppose, that the extension of knowledge among the great body of the people will ever supersede the propriety of a regular and profound education. On the contrary, it will be found, that deep learning is just so much the more necessary in professional men, whensoever the less instructed classes of the community take upon them to speculate and dogmatize in matters of scientific research: and we may illustrate this statement by a reference to the literary history of Edinburgh, as exhibited in the following paragraph:

“ In their philosophical opinions, the Athenians are an absolute pendulum, and when the history of their swingings this way and that way is looked at, they seem to be a pendulum which has no continued stimulus of motion.” (Who, by the by, ever spoke of a pendulum being moved by a *stimulus*?) “ but of which the oscillations, though not fewer in number, gradually become more and more insignificant in range. While David Hume was lord of the ascendant, the Athenians doubted every thing but their own wisdom and importance; under Adam Smith, they considered ‘moral sentiments’ as being valuable only in ‘theory,’ and learned ‘economy’ in their “politics by bringing all their vices and votes to the best market.” (Poor sort of humour all this!) “ Under Robertson, they knew all history; and with Blair, every sentence was taken from the storehouse of the belles lettres, and measured by the gauge of rhetoric. When Reed and Dugald Stewart turned the tables upon the sceptics, the Athenians were entirely composed of intellectual or of active powers, and they were drawn and held by the sweetest cords of association. With Playfair, they attempted to go quietly to the very depth of philosophic systems; and anon, they started to the moon with Dr. Brewster. While Lesslie was new, they burned and sweated with him in all the ardour of radiant caloric; and now they lie upon mossy banks, prepared for them by Brewster, Jamieson, and Sir George, and listen to the tales of Sir Walter or the ghost stories of Dr. Hibbert. So change the phases of the moon, now beamy, anon blank: now pushing her horns eastward, now westward—but still the same dark globe, without light, save that which it has at second hand from another.”

Our learned author takes great pleasure in laughing at the

Athenian savants, and in holding up to ridicule their gravest pursuits. He reserves all his favour and kind words for the *people*, the mechanics and the peasantry; whom he is pleased to elevate to a station higher than their merits, intellectual or moral, will justify, and to describe as being at once the honour and support of the Scottish character. All the great and the good among our northern neighbours spring up from the farm-house or cottage; and nothing, it should seem, disqualifies a Scottish youth so effectually for being either a scholar or a man of sense, as the unfortunate circumstance of having been born in some degree of affluence, and of having lived in comfort and cleanliness the few first years of his life. The following narrative will amuse the reader, and more particularly when he is informed, that the subject of it is the celebrated professor with whom the Athenians are said to have "burned and sweated in all the ardour of radical caloric."

"His father rented a small farm in the kingdom of Fife, and had it not been that accident revealed the genius of the infant philosopher, first to the village parson, next through his advice to the learned professors of St. Andrew's, and, lastly, through the wisdom of that advice, to the world at large, his experiments might have been confined to composts for the fields, instead of compositions for the furtherance of science; and his speculations, instead of grasping the globes of the earth and the heavens, might never have soared above a globe turnip—the future philosopher, as was once the case with nearly all the nascent philosophers of Scotland, divided the year between the study of learning and the observation of nature. When winter had spoiled the fields of their beauty, and driven the shepherds and cowherds into the villages, he went to school; where the Proverbs of Solomon, Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, and Dilworth's Arithmetic, by turns expanded his wisdom or perplexed his ingenuity; and when the fields were again in flower, and the birds in song, he was sent forth to observe the progress of animal and vegetable life, notice the revolutions of suns, and feel the practical philosophy of wind and rain. In order that there might be economy as well as information in his employment during the latter season, he was enjoined to attend to the movements of his father's cows as well as to those of nature; and until he had reached nearly the end of his twelfth year, it remained doubtful whether cattle or causation was to be the future business and glory of his life. In the summer of that year, however, the die was cast, and never was turning up more philosophically fortunate, or more fortunate for philosophy. In one of those village libraries which often contained more rich variety of lore than is to be found among the countless volumes of even an Athenian repository of books, he had found a thumbed and boardless copy of

Simpson's Euclid, which might in its time have perplexed the wits of ten successive classes at St. Andrew's. By that strong intuition which ever characterizes superior genius, even at its earliest dawn, he found out that this was a volume worthy of being read; and throwing aside the Shorter Catechism of the Kirk, as well as the Exploits of George Buchanan, the History of Buchhaven, the exquisite biography of Paddy from Cork, he set fondly and furiously to work upon Simpson's Euclid, preparing his floor and drawing his diagrams in the same manner, though not exactly in the same materials as the philosophers of antiquity. The smooth grassy sod answered all the purposes of the abacus, and the cows generously supplied him with a substitute for the sand. Spreading and smoothing that substitute with his bare foot, he engraved upon it with his finger the mystic lines and letters; and with book in hand, proceeded to establish the elementary principles of geometry, heedless though the cows should, in the mean time, scale the fence, and carry the neighbouring corn by a *coup de la bouche*.

“One day, as he was occupied in this learned work, the parson of the village happened to be on the other side of the hedge, pacing backwards and forwards, and cudgelling his reluctant and retentive brains for as much of the raw material of sermonizing as would serve to put him and his parishioners over the ensuing Sunday. While he paced and pleaded with his sluggish spirit, his ear was assailed by a continual *mumbling* of voice through the hedge, which caught so much stronger a hold of him than he could do of his sermon, that his steps and his study were both brought to a dead stand, and his outward ears perked up in the fondest attitude of listening. Ministers as well as men often remember the words of that of which they were never able to grapple with the meaning; and thus, though the old parson did not exactly comprehend the extent of that proposition, the diagram of which the young philosopher had traced upon his soft abacus, and the demonstration of which he was rehearsing in very solemn tones, yet he remembered that such words had been used by one of the professors in that part of his academic course which he had never understood. The parson was astonished, and, for a moment, he doubted the evidence of those ears upon which he had had to depend through a long life. He tried the one; it caught ‘the angles of the base of an isosceles triangle;’ he tried the other, it continued the enunciation, ‘are equal to one another.’ He poked his head half way through the hedge, and the auxiliary testimony of his eyes and spectacles confirmed that of his ears. He saw the abacus, the book, and the student, and forthwith descended to the village, big and puffing with the tale. A visit from the parson at any other hour than that of dinner, is always an ominous matter to some of the family of a Scotch peasant. If the young folks be children, they dread the catechism. If more advanced, there are occasional terrors of that Scotch tread-mill, which is trodden alone and in presence of the assembled congregation. The mother of the philosopher had nothing to dread upon either of

these grounds, but still she felt all the glow of a woman's curiosity when the parson approached her husband with so hasty steps and so important looks.

" 'Well, Mr. Lascelles,' said the parson, 'you must take care of Sock, and that forthwith, for I am thinking that he is a *genus*.'

" 'I am very sorry to hear it, sir,' replied Mr. Lascelles, lifting his bonnet, but he is very young, and will get steadier as he grows up. Has he been letting the cows eat your corn?'

" 'The Lord forbid either the one thing or the other,' said the parson. 'He is a *genus*, a mathematical *genus*, and will be an honour to the parish when we are both dead and gone.'

"The father now understood that the words which he had at first considered as lamentation were laudatory; the fatted calf was killed, the parson was feasted, the boy taken from the cows, and sent to college—and the result is—a perfect Anak in philosophy."

We can venture on no more than one additional extract, which contains a small portion of truth with a great deal of exaggeration and mis-statement. Speaking of the Modern Athens, he recapitulates his observations as follows:—

"I have said, and I dare themselves to deny it, that her men in office are a trifling and truckling race; I have said, and I dare themselves to deny it, that a great mass of her scribes unite the worst propensities of the Jew with none of the best of the attorney; I have said, and I dare them to deny it, that her schools of philosophy have fallen into the sear and yellow leaf, and that her philosophical societies pursue trifles from which even schoolboys would turn with disdain; and I have said, that her *gentry* have neither the capacity nor the means of encouraging the sciences, literature, and the fine arts: but though I have said thus, and said it from personal—perhaps painful observation, I am bound to add, that in point of intellect, and all matters considered in point of conduct, the populace of the Athens are far superior to any with which I am acquainted. When I visited the public libraries, the men whom I found borrowing the classical and philosophical books wore aprons, while the occasional lady or gentleman that I saw there was satisfied with the romance of the week, or the pamphlet of the day. You find one man laying aside his apron to consult Adam Smith, dispute with Malthus, or rejudge the judges of the Edinburgh Review; another will be found solving mathematical problems, or constructing architectural plans; and all the less proficient will be found attending evening classes, at which they are instructed by able teachers, and for reasonable fees. Society is indeed as it were reversed in the Athens: the men of the law give their evenings to Bacchus; those who are called philosophers give theirs to butterflies: the ladies associate for the purposes of gossiping; and the gentlemen with praiseworthy gallantry assist the ladies; while the artizans pursue literature and study philosophy. Thus, although there be more both of the one and of the other in the Athens than one would at first sight

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suppose, the supposition is excusable, because they are not to be found where one would first and most naturally seek for them."

The eulogy of the Edinburgh populace is finished by the most solemn assurance, on the part of the author, supported by a regular series of historical facts, that the said populace compose the most tremendous mob that is any where to be met with on the face of the earth. They conspire with a degree of secrecy which puts to the blush the antiquated affair of the gunpowder plot, as well as the more modern triumphs of our English radicalism; whilst, in regard to the execution, they break heads and windows in a style so truly scientific and philosophical, that the police look on, as if they were witnessing an experiment in the Institute, and the dragoons are struck into the profoundest awe by the learned exhibition of so much constitutional knowledge. Every shout indicates that the fellows are deeply read in Adam Smith, that they have disputed with Malthus, and written articles in the *Edinburgh Review*; and every crash of lamps and window-glass proves to a demonstration, that the rioters have just risen from Euclid, refreshed their imaginations with the *Mechanique Celeste* of La Place, and studied the laws of projectiles in the volumes of Newton. Is it any longer surprising that the modern Athens should be esteemed one of the wonders of the world, when her inhabitants combine in their characters the widely different talents of mobbing their magistrates, burning down houses, breaking windows, murdering watchmen, and solving mathematical problems! But to do the people justice, we think it right to oppose our experience to that of the reporter, and declare, that the mechanics of Edinburgh, generally speaking, are very like their brethren in other towns; having no decided superiority either in conducting mobs or in pursuing philosophical inquiries. At all events, they have sense enough to discover, that an author who writes about them, like the one now before us, is either very silly or very ignorant; that he either knows them not at all, or has determined, for some reason of his own, to say that which is not true.

In all second-rate places and persons there is usually a good deal of pretence, and sometimes a large portion of self-complacency. Edinburgh, it cannot be denied, has her share of these qualities; still we should hope, she cannot be quite so bad, as not to justify her friends in questioning the likeness which is given of her in the following description, with which we conclude our critique.

“ The Athens boasts of herself as a model of elegance and of taste: I found her a compound of squalour and vulgarity. She boasts of her philosophy; I found it pursuing thistle-down over the wilderness. She boasts of her literary spirit; I found her literature a mere disjointed skeleton, or rather the cast-skin of a toothless serpent. She boasts of her public spirit; I found almost every man pursuing his own petty interests, by the most sinister and contemptible means; and, perchance, the most noisy of her patriots standing open-mouthed, if so that the very smallest fragment of place or pension might drop into them. She boasts of the encouragement that she has given to genius: I looked into the record, and I found that every man of genius, who had depended upon her patronage, had been debauched and starved. She boasts of the purity of her manners: I found the one sex engaged in slander as a trade, and the other in low sensuality as a profession. Under those findings—and they required not to be sought,—I had no alternative for my judgment. When she redeems herself from them, and becomes in reality even something like what she would call herself in name, let her then make comparisons with the Gem of ancient Greece.”

ART. VII.—1. *The Elements of Hydrostatics: with their Application to the Solution of Problems. Designed for the use of Students in the University. By Miles Bland, B.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. Rector of Lilley, Herts, and late Fellow and Tutor of St. John's Coll. Camb.* 1 vol. 8vo.

2.—*An Elementary Treatise on Mechanics. Designed for Students in the University. By W. Whewell, M.A. F.R.S. Fellow of Trinity Coll. Camb.* 1 vol. 8vo.

3.—*A Treatise on Dynamics. By W. Whewell, M.A. F.R.S.* 1 vol. 8vo. Cambridge, Deighton. 1824.

It has been a charge often reiterated against our universities, by northern calumniators and ignorant political economists, that they are content to grow old and fat in the errors and prejudices of former ages, and never manifest any of that spirit of improvement so rigorously and continually exerted in all other places and all other institutions, and which forms the characteristic boast of modern times.

One instance among many which might be adduced of the falsehood of such representations, may be found in the slightest glance at the progressive improvement in mathe-

mathematical studies, and in mathematical writers, which the University of Cambridge has been regularly displaying since the days of Newton. And of this improvement the works just named form part of series of eminent examples. To say any thing here of the importance of these studies in general, and of the particular value of the two branches of mechanics and hydrostatics, as relating to the objects of academical instruction we conceive will be unnecessary. To those who are in any degree acquainted with the sort of intellectual exercise best fitted for promoting the ends of an university education, and of eliciting the faculties, and strengthening the powers of the mind, little need be said in favour of that system, to the efficiency of which the elementary works now before us are intended to contribute.

The progress of discovery in mechanics and hydrostatics, appears in the present age to have arrived at that state of perfection, at which the whole may be combined into a system without much apprehension that any new developement of fundamental truths will compel us to pull it to pieces, and frame another upon new principles. We shall be the better able to judge of the value to be assigned to a system so compiled, if we cast our eyes over the progressive advance in these sciences which former ages have manifested.

Some of the grand principles of mechanical forces were elicited by the profound genius of Archimedes: but, from his time down to a comparatively very recent age, it is remarkable what very little progress was made. It may be safely said, that nothing of importance was added to our knowledge on these subjects till the time of Galileo. The first work of that distinguished philosopher appeared in 1592, and in it he has given the general principle of the mechanical powers. To him we are indebted for many subsequent investigations of considerable importance respecting the theory of motion. He observed the equal velocities of falling bodies when the resistance of the air is taken away. He pointed out the isochronism of the pendulum. He determined the parabolic path of projectiles and the laws of falling bodies. Toricelli, his pupil, added to his researches some new truths respecting the centre of gravity of a system of bodies: and Des Cartes paved the way for the investigation of motion in an orbit, by considering all motion to be naturally rectilinear, and that any deflection from that direction must be owing to some force constantly acting on the body from a central point, and urging it to move in a curve to which its rectilinear motion would be a tangent.

Huyghens, in 1669, laid down the laws of collision and the

principles of the pendulum: but it was reserved for Newton to push these researches into yet more hidden regions. In the *Principia*, considered as a mechanical work, we find this grand distinction, that here, for the first time, the introduction of infinitesimal quantities enables us to trace mechanical effects to their nascent state, and thus deduce many conclusions which could not have been attained by any other method. Here a transition was made from the consideration of forces acting at stated intervals to that of forces acting continually; and from forces constant in quantity and direction to those which converge to a point, and vary as any function of the distance from that point. Hence was the grand system of dynamics deduced.

The Essay of John Bernoulli, in 1724, on the Communication of Motion, gave rise to the controversy which was so long supported by the arguments of several first-rate mathematicians on either side, respecting what was termed the *vis viva* and the *vis mortua*,—a controversy which it is now universally agreed arose solely from the two parties using different terms to mean the same thing; but like many other controversies, it was the means of eliciting many researches of great value. The names of Maclaurin, Jurin, Bernoulli and S'Gravesande, are among those whose labours were most conspicuous during this period; and from the great principles which had now been laid down, it was a more easy task to deduce the further truths of the science, as well as its practical applications. Of the latter, it will be unnecessary here to speak, as they have little connexion with an elementary treatise professedly devoted to the theory of the science. The discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz paved the way for all the more extended and refined investigations which have characterized the more modern age of D'Alembert, La Grange and La Place. The application of the fluxionary or differential calculus to the principles of mechanics, already laid down, enabled those distinguished philosophers to investigate the most refined theorems, and solve the most abstruse problems, which required equations to express the nature of the gradual changes which the supposed conditions would produce. This was in fact precisely the province of the differential calculus, and to this purpose it was most profoundly and assiduously applied. To enumerate the names or particularize the labours of the distinguished mechanicians of the last and the present century would far exceed our limits. We must only briefly advert to the systematic form in which the principles of the science were now drawn up by several eminent persons. The *Mécanique*

Analytique of La Grange has been justly regarded as the most complete standard work on the subject, not to mention several of inferior reputation. In England various treatises, which it is unnecessary here to enumerate, have from time to time appeared. Those by Keill, Gregory, &c. were well known, and justly appreciated. For academical instruction, the work of Dr. Wood is, in clearness and precision, one of the best that our own, or, we believe, any other country has produced. Our continental neighbours have meanwhile been assiduously employed in composing elementary and systematic treatises of a more extensive and elaborate description; and it must be owned, that some more extended system was much wanted by students in this country. The works of M. M. Prony, Poisson, &c. are characterized by all the usual elegance, joined with an excessive diffuseness of writing, which may be considered in some measure characteristic of their nation. English students have of late years imbibed very much of their spirit and taste; a sort of spirit and taste which we think is in many respects deserving the severest animadversions of the critic, while in others it must claim a considerable share of praise. But they have perhaps hitherto been driven by necessity to adopt these foreign instructions, and therefore the proper way to introduce a more correct taste, and check the progress of foreign affectation, would be to provide a good and extensive work in our own language; which should embrace the modern improvements of the French school, and retain the solid qualifications of an English character. This desirable object we conceive to be in a high degree attained in the works on Mechanics, now before us; but these remarks, and the view here sketched of the progress of mechanical science, will also apply to other branches. Very similar in its origin, its progress, and present state, is the kindred science of hydrostatics, which is in fact only mechanics transferred from solid bodies to liquids. The one may in fact be considered as a branch of the other, and their progress has been nearly similar. The observations we have made on the present supply of treatises on the one subject, will, with little alteration, apply to the other also; and the works mentioned together in the title of this article, are very similar both in design and execution. Their authors are both alike men of considerable celebrity and experience in the pursuits of academical tuition; and if to the author of the Mechanics we cannot but justly give the praise of higher distinction in the regions of original philosophic investigation, and as a contributor to the progress of scientific discovery, we must

on the other hand acknowledge the greater experience, joined with the soundest mathematicul knowledge, in the author of the Hydrostatics. A few brief remarks on the progress of the latter science will serve to introduce our observations on the style, manner, and design of the works before use, as applying in a general point of view to both. From the nature of the subjects, it is evident that we cannot enter into any particular details of their respective contents.

The science of Hydrostatics has been cultivated from very remote antiquity: it seems most probable that its origin may be traced up to the ancient Egyptians, who both in securing the advantages and guarding against the evil of the overflow of the Nile, were driven to the invention of various expedients, which an habitual observance of the powers and properties of a body of water would soon suggest. But the earliest instance upon record of any attempt to reduce the subject to philosophical principles, is to be found in the researches of Archimedes. His treatise “*De Insidentibus Humido*,” contains a very definite developement of some of the leading principles of the science, and several inventions which are ascribed to him show the same powers of genius which were displayed in his geometrical speculations. A modern improvement upon this work, entitled, “*Archimedes Promotus*,” by Marinus Ghetaldus, seems to have afforded the principal materials from which the subsequent works of Oughtred, &c. were composed. But the science never assumed any thing like a perfect and experimental form till it was prosecuted by Pascal, who was the first to reduce it to sound principles, founded on experiment, in his “*Traité de l’Equilibre des Liqueurs, et de la Pésanteur de l’Air*.” He was followed by the distinguished M. Mariotte whose work on the Motion of Fluids was published at Paris in 1686. These writers were the first to rescue the science from the mysticism of the schoolmen, and while it remained in those trammels it was not likely to make much progress. It was not to be expected that much advance could be made in our acquaintance with the laws of fluids, when the very nature of their pressure was hardly understood or admitted, and when it was strenuously denied that they possessed the power of gravitating in *proprio loco*. This last question was soon decided by experiments, which to any ordinary apprehension would have been quite conclusive; but such was the force of prejudice, that it was long before those imbued with the subtleties of the schools, would admit that a portion of liquid, in the midst of a mass of the same liquid, was affected by gravity. Not more absurd, nor more inveterate, seems to

have been the belief in the *fuga vacui*, and the mysterious power of suction. When Toricelli, the ingenious disciple of Galileo, performed the famous experiment of filling a sealed glass tube with mercury, and inverting it, the resulting fact was so strikingly beautiful, and so completely decisive of the weight of the atmosphere, that the bare announcement of it ought to have been sufficient to convince any person of common understanding. The supporters of "Nature's horror of a Vacuum," were for a time sadly perplexed; they were indeed unable to reply, but yet determined to maintain their opinion. At length a champion arose, and defying the power of argument, Father Linus gravely asserted, that the mercury was suspended from the top of the barometric tube by invisible threads! It was not till the age of Newton that science and experiment can be said to have completely triumphed over the conceits of scholastic theory. In a portion of the "*Principia*," some of the higher principles of the science are investigated with the usual sagacity and profound mathematical skill of our illustrious philosopher. If in some points succeeding inquirers have maintained the existence of discrepancies between his conclusions and the facts, it must be at the same time admitted, that on such extremely complicated subjects as the theory of waves, &c. it is not surprising that there should be many conditions in the real experimental problem which may not have been sufficiently taken into account, and still more which are probably yet uninvestigated. Euler, Venturi, and D'Alembert, with many other philosophers of eminence, have since contributed to the perfection of the science; and in particular, the modern French writers, as Bossuet and Biot, have furnished us with complete treatises on the subject, as well as several of our countrymen.

The French writers on this, as well as other branches of mathematical science, have hitherto been justly entitled to the praise of a superior degree of elegance and simplicity in their mode of treating the subject. They adopt a more simple and improved form of algebraic expression, which is often of considerable importance in pointing out to the learner the relation between different parts of the subject, and tending to convey a more connected and symmetrical idea of its theories. But with these advantages they generally unite the evils of a most tiresome diffuseness, and unnecessary detail of particulars, which might as well, or indeed much better, have been left to the sagacity of the learner to make out. Again, we often observe in them a departure from the models of geometrical strictness, which tends to obscure the views of

the student in this way: instead of stating distinctly, in the way of separate propositions, the different points to be investigated, they adopt a continuous style of writing, which leaves the learner in doubt as to what he is proving; he goes on without knowing when he has arrived at one point, or when he is proceeding to the next; when he is to consider himself beginning an investigation, or where he is to stop. Some writers of the English school in avoiding these defects have gone into the opposite extreme. They have indeed been sufficiently clear in dividing their subject, and have shown the most consummate judgment in the selection of their materials: but they have not sufficiently consulted either the apprehensions of students, or even the proper powers of language, in the excessive brevity of their enunciations. And this has been especially observable in the more elementary definitions and first principles of the sciences; in laying down which it will be readily admitted the greatest possible degree of caution is requisite; and in which no inconsiderable share of metaphysical precision, in regard to the ensurance of clearness of ideas, is very essential. These important parts are, in some treatises which we could name, hurried over, and the writer seems impatient to get afloat on algebraic symbols and computations; to *measure* and *number* what is as yet very imperfectly understood in its *nature*. Besides these faults displayed by many writers of the English school, there is another which, though of less real importance, is yet not the less deserving of criticism. This is in the form of their algebraic expressions. The language of analysis is as much under the dominion and laws of good taste as ordinary language. In ordinary speech an argument loses nothing of its force from being conveyed in language appropriately chosen, and disposed with an attention to elegance, or at least to the avoiding of harshness and awkwardness; but, on the contrary, will certainly gain in the degree of its impression by such regard to style. Thus, in analytical language we may certainly express an equation with the same precision, although it be composed of terms which have a harsh and unsymmetrical appearance, and which have been deduced from other theorems not given upon any uniform principle of investigation, as if all such considerations were attended to. But, on the other hand, we may consult better taste without losing the least degree of precision or force; and the question is by no means solely one of mere taste. There are no inconsiderable advantages to be gained by the learner, in having the different elementary parts of

a subject laid before him in such a form, that he may afterwards, with the greater facility, view them as combined in new relations, and forming parts in a more general doctrine. But the same laws of good taste apply in a more especial degree to the mode in which an investigation or demonstration is conducted: it is here that the resources of the mathematician are peculiarly called into play; and while his more substantial qualities of sound knowledge and profound combination are exercised, there is, at the same time, the amplest field for the display of tasteful invention, in selecting that line of proof which leads to the conclusion, either by the fewest steps, or by the combination of the simplest and apparently most unconnected data, or in such a way as shall render the whole most symmetrical with some other kindred investigation, or some comprehensive system of propositions.

Too many writers of the English school hitherto, while eminent in the more sound and fundamental requisites, have been very deficient in the less requisite but still desirable qualification of elegance. There is too often a clumsiness and want of arrangement about their mode of proof; and their different demonstrations seem heaped together without apparent connexion with each other. Our continental neighbours have sometimes gone to the opposite excess; and for the sake of symmetry have sought to express the simplest truths as parts of the most general enunciation, thus producing unnecessary amplification.

The authors of both the works before us seem to have kept very nearly in the mean between the opposite extremes just spoken of. They have confessed themselves under considerable obligations, the one to Bossuet and Biot, the other to Poisson and Le Grange, in their treatises on the subject, of which they have made great use; but in doing so, they have been far from mere copyists. They have by no means adopted the French style of treating the subject; they have avoided its faults, and adopted its excellencies; they have retained the brevity of the English school, without its obscurity, and have given to the style of mathematical investigation a considerable portion of the French elegance. And in the descriptive statements, and enunciations of their propositions, they have avoided the vapid diffuseness of some writers of the foreign school, without losing their precision of detail. The mathematical processes are conducted chiefly in the algebraical style, and in a large portion of them the reader will not fail to discover much of that neatness which constitutes the principal claim to attention in the eye of

the critic, and is so peculiarly desirable in reference to the purposes of instruction, and the intellectual exercise of the learner.

The excellencies of such able works as the present will be the more duly appreciated, when we recollect the great want hitherto experienced of good systematic books on these branches of science. The short treatise, by the late Professor Vince, on Hydrostatics, has been justly censured for too great brevity, and a want of clear arrangement. It has on these accounts, we believe, been very little used as a book of instruction in the university from which it emanated, where its place has been much better supplied by the MS. treatises drawn up by the different tutors for the particular use of their respective classes. In the sister university, so far as hydrostatics have been studied at all, it has generally been by the aid of Vince's treatise. The larger work of Parkinson is hardly suited to elementary instruction; and the French treatises are but ill adapted to the taste of the English learner or teacher. The scientific productions of the former nation seem as if intended for the drawing-room: those of our own country have till of late seemed as if designed for the workshop. To produce a work really calculated for the study and the lecture-room, would require something of a medium which, as we have already observed, we think the authors now before us in particular, and the present school of mathematical writers in England, in general, have happily adopted. And (by the way be it observed) this school with all its improvements, borrowed from the most *modern resources*, has originated almost entirely in one of our ancient, monkish, moth-eaten, superannuated universities; which have afforded so wide a field of sage animadversion to the advocates of modern economical improvements. In reference to the treatises on Mechanics, the well-known abilities of Mr. Whewell are such as pre-eminently to qualify him for the task he has undertaken; and they are displayed to the greatest advantage in the work before us, whether we regard it in respect to the style of general explanation, to the form of mathematical investigation, or the selection of subjects. This last is, perhaps, of all others the most important in an elementary treatise. It is a point on which the greatest judgment must be exercised, and which nothing but an habitual acquaintance with the wants and proper objects of learners can enable a writer to accomplish with any degree of success. Mr. W. has extensive experience to aid his abstract knowledge of the subject; and by means of a judicious application of both, he has produced a treatise, which we have no hesitation in say-

ing is superior to any elementary treatise on Mechanics at present in use in this country. The small work of Dr. Wood is the only one which can be put in competition with it; and of this it is to be remarked, that its plan is professedly more contracted than that of Mr. W.'s treatise. As far as it goes, it is deservedly held in the highest esteem as a clear and solid introduction to the science; but the student who is desirous of following up the subject to such an extent as shall introduce him to the modern researches on various points connected with this important branch of natural philosophy, and especially if his views should extend to an acquaintance with physical astronomy, must seek for further information than the mere elements can give him. He must familiarize himself with the refinements which modern analysis has introduced into the higher investigations concerning mechanical forces. In order to attain such views of the subject, he has hitherto had no resource but the treatises of the French philosophers. The author of the works now before us has ably supplied the deficiency; and has afforded the means of conveying the student step by step from the most elementary ideas, up to the most recondite investigations of the science of force and motion.

The treatise on Dynamics was originally designed as a second volume, but subsequently has been made a separate work, and such in fact it is. We think the student ought to have the distinction clearly before him, for unquestionably the science of Dynamics cannot with any propriety be classed under the same head, or under the same common name with that of Mechanics, properly so called. The laws of physical forces, and the motions of bodies acted upon by them, are in their very nature and principle essentially distinct from those involving only the composition and resolution of the force of impact and of pressure; and the powers produced by the resistance of an inflexible body to a force applied to some part of it, and thus communicated to other parts; which in fact are the primary principles of those powers properly called mechanical. Mr. Whewell, in improving upon existing English systems of Mechanics, by adopting much from the French writers, has also in his turn supplied some deficiencies in those writers, which appear of no small importance. He has pointed out with great acuteness, that while they display the utmost ingenuity and refinement in their investigations of many of the more recondite parts of the science, they have built on a defective foundation, in not having rigidly demonstrated some of their first principles. It is, indeed, well known that some of the

first and most elementary truths of mechanics are precisely those which it is most difficult to demonstrate. Nothing of course can be more essential to an elementary treatise, than that those first principles should be all laid down with clearness and precision, both in statement and proof; and we think this is most completely and satisfactorily done in Mr. W.'s work. He has consulted very much the convenience of the student in so arranging his subject, that for understanding all the earlier parts, comprizing the fundamental propositions in statics, no further knowledge of mathematics is required than the elements of geometry, algebra and trigonometry. In the remaining portion a more perfectly analytical style is adopted; and the higher parts of trigonometry, algebra, and the differential calculus, are supposed to be understood.

What we have now mentioned will be sufficient to convey an idea of the nature and character of these works; and we do not conceive it would be of any use to give a list of the contents. We shall therefore merely proceed to a few similar remarks on the design of the other work before us.

With respect to its general plan and character, a very short statement will suffice, as from its nature we cannot enter into any details.

The term *Hydrostatics* is here employed in its comprehensive sense, to signify both the science of non-elastic fluids, with regard to equilibrium, and that which relates to their forces and motion, which has been sometimes called *Hydrodynamics*, as also the investigation of the mechanical properties of elastic fluids, otherwise termed *pneumatics*. To the different subdivisions of each of these subjects, the author's attention is successively directed. The two first sections comprize a very clear explanation of the fundamental principles of the science of fluids, in which we think the learner will neither have to complain of the brevity found in some treatises, nor of the prolix perplexity of others. These general principles lead immediately to the subject of specific gravities. And thence the author proceeds to that most essential branch, the pressure of fluids; this in fact may be justly called the key to the whole science, since it involves the peculiar principle which essentially distinguish fluids from solids, and which renders their action so peculiar, and in some cases apparently so paradoxical. The motion of fluids and the theory of resistances, are the next topics of inquiry; and the last division of the work contains a most able elucidation of the subject of elastic fluids, which is sometimes made to form a distinct science under the name of

Pneumatics. Here the author discusses the expansion of bodies by heat, the theory of the thermometer and barometer, with the application of the latter to the measurement of heights. The theory of pumps is clearly given, and the treatise closes with the very curious and interesting phenomena of capillary action.

The authors of both treatises have taken care to introduce in every part a sufficient supply of problems and examples, which unquestionably form one of the most essential features in any elementary work; by these not only are the truths of the science fixed in the memory of the student, in a manner more indelible than could be effected by any direct instruction alone however excellent, but also by the exercise given to the inventive and reflective powers in the solution of these questions, what is really the principal end of scientific education is promoted and secured.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Book of the Roman Catholic Church; in a Series of Letters addressed to Robt Southey, Esq. LL.D. on his "Book of the Church."* By Charles Butler, Esq. Murray. 8vo. pp. 347. 9s. 6d. 1825.

2.—*Strictures on the Poet Laureate's "Book of the Church."* By John Merlin. Second Edition. London, Keating & Brown; Dublin, R. Coyne. 8vo. pp. 93. 1824.

3.—*An Inquiry into the Nature, Object, and Obligations of the Religion of Christ; with a Comparison of the Ancient and Modern Christianity of England; in Reply to the Archdeacon of Sarum's "Protestant's Companion;" in a Fourth Letter to the Archdeacon of Bath.* By the Rt. Rev. Peter Augustine Baines, D.D. London, Keating & Brown; Bath, Gye. 8vo. pp. 96. 3s.

WE were confident that Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church* would do much good; but the result has exceeded our expectations. The Roman Catholics, perceiving that it opposes a new obstacle to their success, have endeavoured, by every expedient, to remove it out of their way. Dissenters, while they feel grateful for anti-catholic aid, smart under the lash of the new historian of the church; and infidels, who shake hands with superstition and fanaticism, and reserve their venom for genuine Christianity, have assailed the historian in the *Westminster Review*, with an insolence and injustice which defeat their own object. It is evident, therefore, that Mr. Southey's book tells. Adversaries may detect

and exaggerate its faults; lukewarm friends may refuse to pardon them; but the public sentence is pronounced; and neither Dr. Milner, nor Dr. Baines, neither Mr. Butler, nor Mr. Bentham, can procure a reversal of the decree.

Political circumstances have increased the importance of the work. The Roman Catholics, on the point of making an unusual effort, intended to rest their controversial engines upon Lingard's account of the Reformation. They thought that the bold assertions of a Jesuit, backed by an appeal to the writings of his predecessors, and re-echoed by notorious unbelievers, would induce the people of England to forget the history of past ages. They intended, with the assistance of the redoubtable Mr. Cobbett, to convince the world that the Reformation was a curse. They resolved at all events to show, that other churches were as mischievous as the church of Rome, and thus to risque our common christianity out of affection for the representation of St. Peter.

The success of these machinations was defeated by the *Book of the Church*. A popular writer summoned us to reconsider the ecclesiastical history of our country, described the introduction and growth of true religion; pointed out the corruptions which were suffered to deform it, proved, that in spite of particular exceptions, the general result was immensely in favour of Christianity; and lastly, painted the cruelties of expiring Popery, and the frenzy of triumphant Puritanism with an eloquence that excited universal admiration, and a pathos which found its way to every heart. In the glowing narrative of Mr. Southey, the church appeared in her real character, observing the just mean between superstition and fanaticism on the one hand, and a latitudinarian infidelity on the other. Neither a despot nor a democrat, neither a socinian nor a methodist, no friend to field preaching, and no friend to friars, the Protestant episcopal church submitted itself to the examination of every inquirer, asked to be judged by its merits, rallied its supporters and children round a Parent to whom they were so deeply indebted; and if it exasperated a few desperate enemies, took from them at the same time half their power of doing mischief.

Such being the actual state of things as relates to Mr. Southey's history, it is worth while to observe the answers with which he has been favoured. Two out of the three works now before us are direct and avowed replies to the *Book of the Church*; the third relates to a similar subject, and is necessary to complete our view of existing Roman Catholic tactics. The whole form a curious specimen of the unanimity of the infallible church; agreeing with one another

in dislike to the Reformation, and in no other particular whatsoever.

Mr. Butler, the best known, the wisest, and by far the most formidable, may be presumed to speak the language of the Catholic laity; and it is a gentlemanlike and moderate phraseology. *Merlin*, alias Dr. Milner (we should have been sorry if the anagram of the vicar apostolic had proved him to be no conjuror), represents the bigoted popish priesthood, and proves that the spirit of that body is unchanged. While Bishop Baines may afford amusement by his blunders, but not having been thanked by the Catholic Association, must be considered as a coadjutor with whom that body could dispense.

"No person," says Mr. Butler, in his dedication, "admires more than I do the golden sentence of St. Francis of Sales, that a good Christian is never outdone in good manners." In fact, Mr. Butler admires the sentence so much that he quotes it, gilding and all, first to Mr. Blundell, his dedicatee, and secondly to *Dr. Southey*, in the introductory letter. The letter also informs us, that in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants there should be "an equal wish to soothe, to conciliate, to find the real points of difference very few, and to render them still fewer, and an equal unwillingness on each side to say or to write any thing displeasing to the feelings of the other." This is good advice; and we recommend it to the attention of Bishops Milner and Baines. The former commences his 'Strictures' in the following words:—

"A degree of enthusiasm is requisite to constitute the character of a Poet; but no quality is more at variance with it than religious fanaticism. This confuses the imagination, misleads the judgment, and hardens the heart; in so much that a man of real genius and talents for the Muses, on falling into this fanaticism, would be found too dull in his compositions to gain for them a patient reading. Such have been the late aberrations of our Laureate's mind. After writing D'Esperilla's Letters in commendation of the Catholic religion, and Wat Tyler's Drama, to excite popular tumults against government, he has latterly celebrated and recommended the chief and most dangerous schismatics from the establishment, the Wesleys, Whitfields, and their associates; and now, in the frantic style, and with the lying memorials of another such schismatic, John Fox, he raves through the history of many centuries, in abusing and calumniating the common source of Christianity, in order to court the heads of the present establishment, under pretence of vindicating it.

"Mr. Southey, it has been stated, is a Poet; that is, as the original Greek word signifies, a *maker* or *inventor*." P. 3.

This must be very soothing to Mr. Southey. He has a

confused imagination, a misled judgment, and a hard heart. He was once a demagogue; since that he has been a fanatic; and now he is an abusive, raving, frantic, calumniating, flattering liar!! Will St. Francis of Sales intercede for Dr. Milner? But the laureate, it may be said, has given much provocation, and a little personality enlivens controversy. To the great body of the Protestants Dr. Milner is not wanting in conciliation and courtesy. To the proof. Having informed us that Luther “professed to have learned his first and most important change from the Father of Lies,” the Dr. proceeds to detail the rise of the Reformation in this country:—

“If the real truth is to be told, the same account of the rise and progress of Protestantism in this island is to be given, as of the same events on the continent. The important change was devised and carried on by wicked men for the gratification of their passions, not from any motive of religion or reference to revealed truths; but having been once established, and other persons of better principles being engaged to support it, they naturally turned over the inspired pages to draw from them some plausible arguments in favour of their respective systems. It may well be supposed that King Henry’s courtiers, who had participated in all his crimes, were not more virtuous or religious than he himself was.” P. 37.

The heroes of the Reformation are described in the same spirit; the conclusion of the remarks upon Cranmer, will suffice for a specimen of the whole:—

“When it came to his own turn to suffer that cruel death to which he had condemned so many others, and several of them on the same charge, he was very far from imitating their constancy. In a word, he signed six different retractations of Protestantism, each one more express than that which preceded it, within the same number of weeks, and thus continued, till the very hour of his execution, either a sincere Catholic or an unprincipled hypocrite.* Finding, however, that, in spite of these he must suffer, he in a fit of desperate fury retracted them all, and threatened that his hand, which had signed them, should be burnt before the rest of his body, which deed of desperation, in the spirit of Judas Iscariot, he is said to have effected! Is there in ecclesiastical history so unprincipled a prelate as this boasted apostle and Martyr of John Fox and Mr. Southey?” P. 60.

And the ‘well mannered’ Mr. Butler admires this book! says, that “if it had been framed on a more extensive plan, it would have made his or any other answer unnecessary;” and persuades the Catholic Association to thank Dr. Milner

* See Strype’s Mem. Eccl. vol. iii. p. 234, from the Lambeth Records.

for writing it. Of so little real consequence are the Dr.'s Strictures, that nobody had heard of their existence until the publication of Mr. Butler's book. Upon referring to them, they present us immediately with the gentlemanlike paragraphs that have been quoted above, and with sundry other contradictions of Mr. Butler, which will be noticed in their proper place. From first to last they are a tissue of extravagant and unsupported assertion. They teem with ignorance as well as virulence, and may safely be consigned to the ignoble tomb from which Mr. Butler so unluckily endeavoured to snatch them.

Perhaps it will be urged in reply, that the Vicar Apostolic is a person of warm temperament—an exception to the prevalent placidity of the priesthood—a marked man of old for his ultra-catholicism, and no fair example of his order. Let us turn, therefore, to Dr. Baines, a man of the world; a man who mixes in general society, and must have learned from his companions, if not from St. Francis, that good manners are a part of Christianity. The Doctor's present pamphlet (we understand that he intends to publish a new one every month) is written in reply to Archdeacon Daubeny's 'Protestant Companion.' The archdeacon is several years older than Dr. Baines; a misfortune in which Mr. Butler is equally involved; but Mr. Butler has not yet been informed that he is in his second childhood, nor has the circumstance of his having written a long book, which the Protestants cannot answer, been adduced as conclusive evidence of that fact. Bishop Baines, and a very witty bishop he supposes himself to be, explains the appearance of Archdeacon Daubeny's book by the following facetious story:—

“ Some seventy odd years ago, when the venerable Archdeacon of Sarum was yet in *his first childhood*, he had a dream, or vision. But, before I proceed to relate the same, it may be proper to observe that the whole of the penal laws were then in force; and by those laws it was *high treason* for any man, priest or layman, to worship God, even in private, according to Catholic forms. Of course it was an essential qualification, required in every good Protestant nurse, and still more in every Protestant tutor, to be able to inspire, with an early horror of this dreadful treason, their hopeful charge. It was the more easy to do so, as in those days it was no unusual thing to see Catholics arraigned and punished for their religion; and there is nothing which gives the multitude such a horror of crime, real and imaginary, as to see men punished for it. In short, there were many person then living, and perhaps young Master Daubeny's nurse was one, who had with their own eyes, seen Catholic priests, for no other crime than having said mass in some Catholic man's garret, drawn upon a hurdle to the gallows, hanged for a few seconds, cut down

alive, and seeing his own bowels thrown into the fire. How enormous in the eyes of these good nurses must the crime of saying mass have appeared, when the justest government in Europe punished it with this severity, and the most liberal church in Christendom approved, applauded, and abetted the punishment! On many a winter's evening, when sitting by the nursery fire, and before the children said their little prayers, did Master Daubeny's nurse entertain him with these frightful stories, and deep and darksome was the horror by them impressed on his tender and susceptible mind. It was after one of these evenings that the vision appeared; it was a vision of *Popery* (so his nurse called the Christian religion, and so he insists upon calling it still). It was a horrid spectre. It was covered with blood and loaded with chains. It had seven heads, ten horns, and every other horror, which is depicted in the book of Revelations, united in its single person, and one horror which is not there. It opened all its mouths at once, and threatened to eat him, and the whole Protestant church. This was his principal terror at the moment; but the greatest fright always takes place when the ghost is gone. What has ever since inspired him with the liveliest horror, whenever he reflected upon it, was, that the spectre was accompanied with a huge waggon, in which it threatened to carry away all the tithes of the establishment.

"This is the substance of the story. There are various editions of it, differing in points of smaller moment. Thus one account says, that the vision was seen at the University, not in the Nursery, which may be; others, that it was seen at both places, and has been seen at them frequently since. Be this as it may, certain it is, that the worthy archdeacon's imagination has been ever haunted by some frightful spectre ever since, which he calls *Popery*; which he firmly believes to be the real Catholic church, at the head of which he discharged his enormous '*Protestant's Companion*,' and which, he has persuaded Dr. Moysey, has received thereby a mortal wound." P. 7.

What part of this passage will Mr. Butler principally commend or panegyrisé? The first childhood of a respectable gentleman about his own age? The fact, that in the year 1750, there were many persons alive who had witnessed the execution of Catholic priests? Or the episcopal buffoonery by which these gentlemanly assertions are adorned? Bishop Baines proceeds to hope that the vision story is correct, it being the only excuse for Archdeacon Daubeny's statements, "which are so palpably absurd and incredible, that his own sexton or housemaid could not be brought to believe them," and then he returns, with the most admirable consistency, to school the archdeacon for intemperate language. We shall not waste our own time, or our reader's patience, upon such miserable trash. An answer to Archdeacon Daubeny, except in the part already quoted, it does

not affect to be. The bishop flies at higher game. Having called his venerable opponent a few blackguard names, and reprehended him for charging the Catholic religion with absurdity, corruptions, and idolatry; having dispatched all this in fourteen pages, which the reader with some good sense is recommended to skip, the bishop devotes the remainder of his pamphlet to a hackneyed and uninteresting defence of his own church. We content ourselves with noticing one fact, and one argument. In his 68th page Bishop Baines asserts, that "North America is almost wholly Roman Catholic!" This is the fact; now for the argument. In his 31st page the bishop establishes the necessity of an infallible guide, by declaring himself incompetent to ascertain the inspiration or the meaning of the Bible, and infering, *a fortiori*, that others must be in a worse predicament. At page 92 he changes his note, and proves the truth of his own doctrine by saying, "that it has been believed by the whole Catholic church, at all times and in every country," and appealing to the page of history, during the last 1800 years, for a full confirmation of the fact. This is the conclusion of the witty prelate's reasoning, and it unfortunately overturns all that had gone before. The same learning and research which can trace the doctrines of Rome through all histories of all nations, from the first preachers of Christianity to our own times, will suffice to establish the true character of the Bible, and give a tolerable notion of its contents. Dr. Baines refuses us permission to examine the Bible for ourselves. His church is the one unerring interpreter; but to ascertain what that church has taught, we must have recourse to private judgment. The Dr. discovers himself to be a Protestant at heart; and if his pamphlet reaches Rome, he will be excommunicated by the Pope.

But enough of shallow triflers, and vindictive bigots. Mr. Butler, as we have already observed, is neither; and we enter upon a closer consideration of his work with the respect that is due to his character, and the pleasure which is derived from encountering an honourable foe. The reader has heard his reiterated pledge to be guided by St. Francis of Sales; and we trust that the influence of that courteous person may be extended to the critics as well as to the writer of the "*Book of the Roman Catholic Church.*"

The title is not well chosen. Mr. Southey might have selected a more appropriate name for his work upon ecclesiastical history than which now adorns it. And as one fault begets more, the laureate's quaintness bewitches Mr. Butler,

and a series of controversial letters, principally devoted to an attack upon the Reformation, affects to identify itself with the church of Rome. Mr. Butler's readers will be disappointed if they expect a vindication, or even an account of Catholicism. Whatever may have been the intention of the writer, the book is an attack upon Protestants; and even if it demolishes Mr. Southey and the church of England, it still neglects to establish or uphold the Pope. The introduction and the first letter may seem at variance with this remark, since the former contains the creed of Pope Pius IV. and the latter supplies "a geographical view of the Roman Catholic church. But Pope Pius expresses himself in general terms."—"I most firmly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other constitutions and observances of the same church. I also admit the sacred Scriptures according to the sense which the holy mother church has held, and does hold; to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers." Nothing can be ascertained from such a creed as this, except what Bishop Marsh has so clearly established in his Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, that while the former founds its doctrine on Scripture alone, the latter found its doctrine on too equal and independent authorities, Scripture and Tradition. What either doctrine may be, is another question; and that question is not answered, but blinked by Mr. Butler. He contends that "no doctrine should be ascribed to the Roman Catholics as a body, except such as is an article of their faith;" but "the accurate and explicit summary" from which we have quoted, the summary "which non-catholics publicly repeat and testify their assent to on their admission into the Catholic church," requires men to believe in traditions, observances, and interpretations, without stating what they are, or where they may be found. Pope Pius has prescribed a form to which no limit can be assigned. "I believe in the Council of Trent, &c. &c." is the sum and substance of his creed; and while this creed is drawn up in such equivocal terms, Mr. Butler requires us to ascribe no doctrine to the Catholics, except such as is distinctly admitted by them. As the apologist for his communion, the *onus probandi* lies on him. Charging Mr. Southey with false accusation, it is Mr. Butler's part to prove either that the Roman Catholic does not profess the doctrine ascribed to him, or that such doctrine is true. The appeal to the Council of Trent is altogether inadmissible. Mr. Southey describes

the church of Rome as she existed in this country before the Reformation. Mr. Butler replies, that the description is worthless, unless it be supported by decrees and catechisms drawn up after the Reformation. He puts the change upon his reader or upon himself, and virtually acknowledges the existence of the very corruptions which he censures Mr. Southey for condemning.

The first letter, on the extent of the Roman Catholic church, must be considered merely as a flourish, preparatory to the serious encounter. Who disputes the fact, or what is it supposed to prove? The second letter, on the introduction of Christianity into this country, is more to the purpose. It places the knowledge and the temper of Bishop Milner in their true light. The bishop has inflicted the following "Stricture" upon Mr. Southey's account of British conversion:—

"Speaking of the first conversion of this Island to Christianity by the envoys of Pope Eleutherius, under the subordinate British king, Lucius, he says, that 'it rests on legends of doubtful authority,' and yet it is recorded by every writer of character, who treats of the matter, whether British, Saxon, or Roman, whether Protestant or Catholic, from Nennius down to Parker, Godwin, and Usher; nor can any motive be assigned for his affected doubts on the subject, except his unwillingness to ascribe so great a benefit, as the conversion of the Britons. to the see of Rome." P. 5.

We might easily expose this bigotted credulity. But Mr. Butler has done it for us; and while he vindicates Mr. Southey from affecting a doubt respecting stories as fabulous as those of Merlin the conjuror, he gives the vicar apostolic a hint that the infallibility of the Head of the Church does not extend to his English representatives.

"That much in the history of the two first conversions of England is questionable, *cannot be doubted*." Butler, p. 21.

The third letter, on the Anglo-Saxons, opens with a strange blunder. It states, that "they extirpated the Pagan religion of Rome." Rome was at that time professedly Christian, and had introduced Christianity into Britain. The next assertion is still more startling: "Sacred history contains nothing more edifying than the account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons"! One-half of that account is fabulous; the other half is strongly impregnated with superstition. The Anglo-Saxons embraced Christianity because their kings set them the example; and there is nothing in sacred history more edifying than this! A Gibbon or a Hume would have made the same remark.

"In eighty-two years from the arrival of St. Augustine,

this mild, holy, and beneficent religion *which he preached*, was spread in every part of Anglo-Saxon England." P. 27. It was so; but not in consequence of his preaching. Three-fourths of England were converted to Christianity by the Scotch. Northumberland had been visited by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, but he was driven back into Kent, and the Scotch bishop, Aidan, was the founder of the Northumbrian church. The East Saxons, originally converted by Mellitus, relapsed into paganism, and were recovered by *Chad*, a Scot, with the support and encouragement of Oswy, King of Northumberland. The Mercians were converted by missionaries from the same quarter; and *Diuma*, a Scot, the first bishop of that kingdom, fixed his see at Lichfield. These extensive territories derived their Christianity from churches which professed no obedience to Rome; and if Mr. Butler will study Bede with half the pains that he has studied Lingard, his next edition will contain a candid acknowledgment of these facts.

The second-hand source from which he has derived his information, leads Mr. Butler into another gross mistake in this chapter. He asserts, p. 29, that "the doctrines of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors respecting the supremacy of the Pope, the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, the seven sacraments, the invocation of the Virgin Mary, and the other saints, and prayers for the dead, were the same as ours." We flatly deny the first and the second of these assertions. If by the "real presence," Mr. Butler means transubstantiation, we assert, that no such doctrine can be discovered in the records of the primitive Anglo-Saxon church. And so far were our ancestors from acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope, that Gregory the Great, under whose auspices Augustine landed in Kent, was disobeyed by princes, priests and people. His edicts may be seen in his own epistles and in Bede. They contain a scheme for the government of the Anglo-Saxon church; and that scheme was disregarded in every part. The date and the manner of the introduction of the Pope's authority are well known. Wilfred, bishop of York, was the grand promoter of that work. He destroyed the ascendancy of the Scotch prelates, and succeeded to their influence. He first appealed from his metropolitan to Rome. And his life, by Eddius, a work of indisputable authority, shows how firmly that appeal was resisted, and that it never produced the least effect until the crown descended to an infant, whose mother was under Wilfred's controul.

The next section in this letter, is an answer, not to Mr. Southey, but to Dr. Robertson and Mosheim, who appear to

have misrepresented the doctrines taught in Anglo-Saxon monasteries. We could wish that Mr. Butler had adverted to the effect produced (the effect of monkery, not of Christianity), as well as to the lessons inculcated. Bede's account of it is lamentable. His letter to Egbert, Bishop of York, was written about fifty years after the introduction of the Benedictine order into England; and the venerable writer declares, that there are monasteries without number, useless both to God and man; depriving the king of the soldiers who might defend him against the barbarians; and disgracing the the monastic life by their luxury and vices. The nuns are described in similar language; and Boniface, Bishop of Mentz, in his epistles to Ethilbald, king of Mercia, and Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, written about the same time, namely, in the year 745, informs his correspondents, that the goodness, honour and purity of their church, are become little better than a jest; that Satan has corrupted the monks and the nuns; and that the bishops, not content with intoxicating themselves, promote excessive drinking among others. These were awkward facts; the abuses were met by fresh enactments; and one set of new canons, the penitentiary of Archbishop Egbert, acquaints us with the duration and strictness of the fasts by which different crimes may be expiated. It adds, that their duration and intensity may be diminished upon payment of a fine to the church. So much for Anglo-Saxon morality and discipline. The fault of this portion of Mr. Southey's history is, that it under-rates the mischief of the monastic system. On this ground, Mr. Butler might find just cause for censure. But as it is a ground upon which it does not suit him to engage, he ceases firing against the Laureate, and takes a passing shot at Dr. Robertson. Why should the learned apologist travel so far out of the record?

The remainder of the letter is employed in discussing the general controversy upon miracles, with a slight reference to those that are said to have been performed by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. It is the most important and mischievous part of Mr. Butler's work. He commences with a short exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine.

"It is known, that Roman Catholics, relying with entire confidence on the promises of Christ, believe, that *the power of working miracles was given by Christ to his church, and that it never has been, and never will be, withdrawn from her.* Through the prophet Joel,* God announced to the Jews, that 'in the last days he would pour

* Chap. ii. 29, 30.

pour out his spirit on all flesh;’ that ‘their sons and their daughters should prophecy;’ that ‘their young men should see visions, and their old men dream dreams.’ When St. Peter cited this prophecy to the Jews, assembled at the feast of Pentecost, he declared to them, that the promise contained in it, ‘was made to them, to their children, and to all that were afar off, whom the Lord God should call*.” Christ, in his last sermon, after exhorting St. Philip to believe in him as God, equal to his Father; and after appealing to his works, as the testimony given by his Father to this truth, expressed himself in the following solemn terms: ‘Verily, verily! I say unto you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, these shall he do, and greater works than these he shall also do†.’ When, just before his ascension into heaven, Christ took his last leave of his apostles, and gave them his last blessing, he mentioned to them the signs which should follow those who believed: ‘In my name,’ he said, ‘they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and, if they eat any thing deadly, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall be cured‡.”

Here Roman Catholics confidently ask :—Did not Christ promise by these words, that miracles should be wrought in his church? That they should be wrought without limitation of time? That some of these should be greater than his own?

To say that the promise failed would be impiety. Somewhere, therefore, miracles must have been uninterruptedly wrought. Now, the Roman Catholic is the only church, which, from the first propagation of Christianity until the present time, has had a visible and uninterrupted existence: uninterrupted miracles, therefore, could only have existed in the Roman Catholic church. They could not possibly have existed in any church which separated from the see of Rome *at the time of the Reformation*; for, to use an expression of Bossuet, in his controversy with M. Claude, ‘when the church of the reformers first separated from the one, the holy, the Roman Catholic church, their church could not by their own confession enter into communion with a single church in the whole world.’” p. 37.

Can Mr. Butler be serious? Is there in the words which he quotes from Scripture, the slightest intimation, that miracles shall be always wrought in the Church? The Roman Catholics may confidently ask, whether such a promise has been given. Protestants will as confidently answer, that it has not. The conclusion of the argument is worthy of its commencement. For Protestants deny that the Roman Catholic church is the only church that has had a continued existence. The reformation of a corrupt church, is not the formation of a new one. And Mr. Butler’s ingenious sophism

* John xiv. 12, 13.

† Acts, ii. 39.

Mark, xvi. 17, 18.

merely begs the question. The next observation is of greater consequence.

“ The general position, that a constant succession of miracles in a church is a proof of the truth of its religious creed, seems to be universally admitted. ‘ It is,’ says Doctor Middleton in his *Free Enquiry**, ‘ a maxim, which must be allowed by all Christians, that whenever any sacred rite or religious institution becomes the instrument of miracles, we ought to consider that rite as confirmed by divine approbation.’

“ It necessarily follows, that if Roman Catholics prove a constant succession of miracles in their church, they consequently establish the truth of her doctrine.

“ Aware of this inference, the Protestant divines found it incumbent on them to contend, that at some period in the Christian æra, there was a cessation of miracles in the Christian church. Being required to specify this æra, they answered that it was when the corruption of Christianity became general. They were then required to specify the period when this general corruption took place. Here a considerable disagreement was found among them. Some assigned it to the fourth, some to the fifth, some even to the sixth century; but the generality assigned it to the conversion of the emperor Constantine. Then, according to their system, Christianity became the religion of the state; and, being supported by the secular arm, the Christians no longer put their trust in God, and a general corruption of Christianity ensued. From this time, therefore, the Almighty ceased to recognize their church, and withdrew from her the supernatural powers, with which, till then, He had invested her.

“ Such is the account which Protestant writers give of the supposed æra of the corruption of Christianity. It is evident, that whatever may be the period which they assign for it, there must be error in the assignment, if miracles were subsequently wrought in the Catholic church, as it never can be supposed that the Almighty would work miracles in the support of a corrupted church. Now, the Roman Catholics produce a regular chain of miracles, wrought in every subsequent age of Christianity. Then, as the Protestants admit the existence of miracles, in the ages which preceded the æra assigned by them for the corruption of Christianity, it became incumbent upon them to disprove the miracles alleged by the Roman Catholics to have been wrought in the subsequent ages; and this they could only do, by showing that the evidence for them was not so strong as the evidence adduced in support of the miracles wrought in the preceding ages, and allowed and credited by themselves.

“ Here Doctor Middleton intervened. It is, by his account, impossible for Protestants to show, that miracles ceased at any of the æras assigned by them, as the Catholics, in his judgment, can incontrovertibly demonstrate, that the sanctity, the talents, and the discernment of those, on whose testimony the miracles in the sub-

* 3d edition, p. 1. xvi.

sequent ages depended, were not inferior to the sanctity, the talents, and discernment of those whose testimony for the miracles of the preceding ages the Protestants themselves accepted, and pronounced to be sufficient." P. 39.

This is quite true, if Doctor Middleton's "account" can be substantiated. If every miracle rests upon evidence of equal strength, every one must be believed, or every one must be rejected. But whether the evidence be or be not of equal strength, is the question at issue between believers and unbelievers. And neither 'the judgment' of Doctor Middleton nor of any other man can be permitted to decide the dispute. It is a dispute upon which the external evidence for Christianity depends: and the decision of an individual whom Mr. Butler suspects of infidelity, is not worth appealing to. We confess that this disposition to agree with Doctor Middleton, is not very honourable to the Catholic church.

"An host of divines rose in arms again him; and a controversial war ensued. The assailants displayed learning and talent; but, when Doctor Middleton asked the overwhelming question,—What greater right to credit does the testimony admitted by you possess, than the testimony which you reject? it must be admitted that he received no satisfactory answer." P. 43.

Unless therefore Mr. Butler provides us with an answer, the miracles recorded in Scripture must be given up. And what is the answer?

"Such was the result of this celebrated controversy. It produced a great sensation, and made impressions which have not been obliterated.

"In general, Roman Catholics kept aloof from it. They perceived how greatly it served their cause. They thought it clear, that,—when Doctor Middleton proved, against his antagonists, that the evidence brought by them in support of the miracles, which they allowed was not greater than the evidence produced for the miracles which they rejected,—he completely established the Roman Catholic doctrine of the uninterrupted succession of miracles in their church: and that, on the other hand,—when the adversaries of Doctor Middleton proved against him, that the inspiration of the New Testament, and even the authenticity of its text, could only be proved by testimony,—they completely established the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition." P. 45.

To effect the first of these points it must have been shown not merely that one set of miracles was as good as another, but that both sets were genuine,—a conclusion the very reverse of that towards which Middleton's speculations tended. Again, when the Doctor's adversaries proved what no Protestant ever questioned, "they completely established

the Roman Catholic doctrine of tradition"!! That is to say, because historical evidence or history is necessary to prove a matter of fact, therefore tradition or history is a part of revelation. The Roman Catholic places Scripture and tradition on a level, and deduces his creed from both; and Mr. Butler conceives that he is justified in so doing, because external evidence has been handed down to us by our forefathers. Mr. Butler is a subtle disputant; and such subtleties as these are required in the Catholic church. But let us hear him again:

"But,—while the Roman Catholics assert, that it has pleased Almighty God to work in every age, from the first preaching of the Gospel to the present time, many and incontestible miracles in favour of his church and her doctrines, they admit, without qualification, that no *miracles, except those which are related in the Old or the New Testament*, are articles of faith; that a person may disbelieve every other miracle, and may even disbelieve the existence of the persons, through whose intercession they are related to have been wrought, without ceasing to be Roman Catholic. This is equally agreeable to religion and common sense; for all miracles, which are not recorded in Holy Writ, depend on human reasoning. Now, human reasoning being always fallible, all miracles depending on it rest on fallible proof; and, consequently may be untrue. Hence the divines of the Roman Catholic church never impose the belief of particular miracles, either upon the body of the faithful or upon individuals; they only recommend the belief of them. They never recommend the belief of any, the credibility of which does not appear to them to be supported by evidence of the highest nature; and, while they contend that the evidence is of this description, and cannot, therefore, be rationally disbelieved, they admit that it is still no more than human testimony, and therefore liable to error." P. 46.

The result of the whole, therefore, is this:—the Roman Catholic church claims an uninterrupted succession of miracles; and Mr. Butler admits the claim, but is not required to believe the miracles. With the help of a new species of induction, he establishes a general truth, by denying all the particulars of which it consists: "And this is agreeable to religion and common sense," *for* miracles not mentioned in Scripture depend on human reasoning! The Scripture miracles we presume, though Mr. Butler neglects to tell us so, depend upon the church; and the church, what does that depend upon? Upon the succession of miracles. And how is that succession proved? By the liberty to "disbelieve every one of them, without ceasing to be a Roman Catholic." This may be good logic at St. Omers, but it will have no effect in England. "The divines of the Roman Catholic church"

desire to establish their authority by a principle of blind submission to their decisions. But the right to demand such a submission is disputed: and Mr. Butler must prove it, if he proves it at all, not by exposing Christianity to the sneers of unbelief, but by showing that miracles are now wrought in his church. He assures us that they are claimed, and we admit that fact. He believes that they are performed, and we are bound to credit his assertion; but we ask him to adduce an instance, and substantiate it by evidence; and he answers that human testimony is liable to error, and that consequently he is at liberty "to disbelieve the existence of the persons through whose intercession the miracles have been wrought." We are bound to congratulate the Catholic church upon the success of their lay-patron and champion.

But there is another point to which we much advert. Mr. Butler states, that when Dr. Middleton asked what greater right to credit does the testimony admitted by you possess, than the testimony which you reject? it must be admitted that he received no satisfactory answer. If the question had referred to the miracles recorded in Scripture on the one part, and the miracles claimed by the Roman church on the other, a very satisfactory answer might have been given. The case of the Anglo-Saxons, upon which Mr. Butler does not condescend to make a single remark, is directly in point. We have testimony that St. Augustine worked miracles, and we do not believe it, for the following reasons: in the first place, it is not stated either by Bede or Pope Gregory, what those miracles were. In the second place, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons may be accounted for in another manner. The king of Kent married a Christian wife; Augustine came over, according to Gregory's own admission, on her invitation. Her husband embraced Christianity, and his example was followed by others. But after the king's death, his sons relapsed into idolatry, and the work of conversion was to be begun again. This can hardly be attributed to miracles. Again, the Northumbrians made that gradual advance towards Christianity, which is not to be expected from a conviction grounded upon miracles. Bede gives us the arguments adduced by a Northumbrian for listening to the lessons of Paulinus; and they contain no reference to his miracles. The second and more effectual mission from Iona, was unsuccessful at first. The Monks attributed the failure to the austere unconciliating disposition of the missionary; and supplied his place with a man of different character, Aidan, whose virtues are celebrated by Bede with unusual

eloquence ; and to those virtues we may safely ascribe the conversion of the princes, and the gradual extension of the Gospel among their subjects. In the third place, when miracles are described by the Anglo-Saxon writers, they are generally of the most extravagant character. Augustine's are not detailed, but subsequent wonders occur in great plenty. Many of them are merely dreams, many might have been easily pretended, and more are monstrous and absurd. Here therefore we have a conversion which is explicable upon other grounds. The miracles which preceded it are not particularised. But after the establishment of Christianity, there is no end to the marvels which were witnessed ; and there can be no doubt respecting the roguery of the inventors, or the folly of the dupes. Lastly, it is very doubtful whether the miraculous portions of these histories are authentic. For eight hundred years they were in the keeping of the monks. Those monks were the authors of the ludicrous fables recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis, and of others still more childish, ascribed to Geoffry of Monmouth. It is allowable therefore, to suppose that men who invented so largely on their own account, may have embellished the pages of Bede, and other early historians with the marvellous portion of their narratives. And there is no sufficient ground for believing that the Anglo-Saxon church was founded by any preternatural interposition in its favour.

This is our answer to Mr. Butler's question. The testimony for Scripture miracles differs in every point from the testimony for Augustine's miracles. In the former case, the works are distinctly specified ; those works produced conversion ; the persons first converted were not kings or rulers ; the miracles are neither monstrous or childish ; and the record in which they are contained, has not only been under the especial protection of the one true church, but what is much more satisfactory, it has been watched with suspicious care by all other churches and sects, and its authenticity admits of proofs which no other antient writings can obtain.

The same satisfactory distinction may be drawn between all other spurious miracles, and the real miracles upon which Christianity is founded. Let Mr. Butler select a specific instance of supernatural interposition, and state the evidence by which it is established. Let him begin with the wonders of the Apocryphal Gospels, and end with the last cure performed by Prince Hohenlohe, and Protestants will have no difficulty in pointing out the difference between the miracles they adopt, and the miracles they reject. Infidelity will not

be permitted to enjoy the triumph which it anticipates from the Book of the Roman Catholic church. The legendary wonders which have disgraced Christianity will be exposed, and the Church of Rome will lose the credit of those uninterrupted miracles, which Mr. Butler assures us that he believes in the gross, but claims the liberty of disbelieving in detail.

The fifth letter is not important. The sixth defends Dunstan against the charges which have been so frequently brought against him, and of which, in our review of the Book of the Church, we stated our belief that he was not guilty. But the evidence upon which we acquit the great monk, is fatal to the little monks who forged his injustice, and his miracles. And Mr. Butler treats us with the following apology for those rickety links of his uninterrupted chain :—

“ You conclude the present chapter with an account of the miracles ‘at the death of Dunstan.’ You thus express yourself upon them: ‘Whether the miracles at the death of St. Dunstan were actually performed by the monks, or only averred by them as having been wrought, either in their own sight, or in that of their predecessors, there is the same fraudulent purpose, the same audacity of imposture, and the same irrefragable proofs of that system of deceit, which the Romish church carried on every where till the time of the Reformation, and still pursues, wherever it retains its temporal power or influence.’

“ This is a most serious charge :—In reply to it, I beg leave to refer you to what I have already said on the miracles performed in the Roman Catholic church. I must add, that the period in which the miracles attributed to Dunstan, were performed, was the darkest period in the Roman Catholic history. The nation was then suffering grievously from the effects of the Danish ravages. The demolition of monasteries; the slaughter of their unoffending inmates, who were the teachers and scholars of the times; the consequential destruction of books, and of all public and private memorials of literature and art, ‘had occasioned,’ to use your own words, ‘the total loss of learning in the Anglo-Saxon church.’

“ But the Gospel of the Anglo-Saxons still remained, and was still read. It informed them of the miracles wrought by Christ; and of his promises, that, until the end of time, his disciples should perform similar miracles, and even greater: and they knew that the promises of Christ could not fail. Besides,—as Doctor Lingard justly observes, ‘Man is taught by human nature to attribute any event to a particular cause; and when an occurrence cannot be explained by the known laws of the universe, it is assigned, by the illiterate in every age, and in every religion, to the operation of an invisible agent. This principle was not extirpated; it was improved by the knowledge of the Gospel. From the doctrine of a superin-

tendent Providence, the Saxon converts were led to conclude, that God would often interfere in human concerns. To Him they ascribed every unforeseen and unnatural event; and either trusted in His bounty for visible protection from misfortune, or feared from His justice that vengeance which punishes guilt before the general day of retribution. Men, impressed with this notion, would rather expect the appearance of miraculous events. On many occasions, they would be the dupes of their own credulity; and,' (particularly as they had the Divine promises, mentioned by us, in full view,) 'ascribe to the beneficence of the Deity, and the intercession of their patrons, those cures which might have been effected by nature, or the power of the imagination.' Let us add, that, in this temper of mind, it was likely that sometimes, like the Northmen, gifted with second sight, they would see what they did not see, and hear what they did not hear.

"Do not these observations solve the whole difficulty? Do they not account for the abundance of miraculous relations, in the time of which we are writing? Do they not render it unnecessary,—we had almost said inexcusable,—to account for them by imputing fraud, imposture or systematical deceit, as is done by you, to the persons concerned in them?" P. 68.

This is a good defence for the credulity of Dunstan's contemporaries; and it might be applied with equal effect to the Irish or the Spaniards of the present day. But Mr. Southey attacks the church of Rome; and to prove her innocence, Mr. Butler must show, that as the darkness cleared away, she became ashamed of these fictitious wonders, and warned her children against believing them. He has attempted no such thing; and whenever the attempt is made, it will fail. The miracles of the dark ages were not renounced as the light increased. On the contrary, they were multiplied, by the monastic historians, down to the time of Henry III. the marvels in whose reign are thrice as numerous as those in the reign of Alfred, or the Confessor. Do not these observations solve the whole difficulty, by showing that most of the miracles were invented long after their pretended dates?

The seventh and eighth letters upon "Investitures" and Becket, may be considered together. Mr. Butler manages both in a skilful manner. He takes us at once into the middle of the dispute, turns away our eyes from the real object of the fray, and then a few bold queries, fortified with an appeal to Dr. Lingard, suffice to set the business at rest. The point to be decided in the reign of Henry II. was the temporal power of the Pope. The Conqueror renounced allegiance, and forbade appeals to Rome; but by promoting foreigners to the principal stations in the church, he

strengthened the papal influence among his English subjects ; by separating the civil and ecclesiastical courts, he increased the power of his clergy. In the next reign, Anselm was appointed to the archbishoprick of Canterbury by William Rufus, and banished by that tyrant upon no sufficient ground. Anselm repaired to Rome, and Pope Urban was preparing to interfere in his behalf, when the bribes of Rufus found their way to the treasury of St. Peter. The dispute continued under Henry the first, to whom Anselm refused to do homage. The affair was compromised, after much delay, by surrendering the right of investiture to the Pope, and reserving the right of homage, and the nomination to bishopricks and abbies, to the king. Thus were the spoils divided between a civil and a spiritual usurper, and the real privilege of the church overlooked and sacrificed by both. Both were intent upon further success ; and the weak authority of Stephen was favourable to the claims of Rome. Such was the state of affairs when Becket came upon the stage. With many excellent qualities, he was an ambitious, haughty man, and endeavoured to render the church independent of the king. The king resisted and retaliated ; and what followed is thus described by Mr. Butler :—

“ The monarch contended that the clergy should, in future, be tried for felonies in his courts of justice. To obtain a recognition of this claim, he summoned all the prelates of England to Westminster ; and required them to acknowledge the right of his courts to try the clergy. They hesitated. He then asked, whether they would promise to abide by the antient law of the realm ? The archbishop, speaking for himself, and for the other prelates present, replied, that ‘ they were willing to be bound by the antient law of the realm, as far as the honour of God, and the church, and the privileges of their order, permitted.’ The king required the omission of the saving words ; the archbishop insisted on the retention of them. At first, the other prelates adhered to him ; but the king brought them over : and, after much solicitation, the archbishop acquiesced. The monarch, to render the assent of the prelates to his claims the more solemn, summoned the convention of the spiritual and temporal lords of his kingdom to Clarendon, near Salisbury. When they met, the archbishop expressed a wish that the saving words should be retained. He consented, however, afterwards to the omission of them ; requiring, at the same time, that the customs should be defined. This was both prudent and honourable ; for, while the customs should remain undefined, the dispute would invariably continue. Thus there could be no reasonable objection to the request of the prelate. It was acceded to by the king ; and a specification of the customs was accordingly drawn up by a committee, appointed by the convention. It was exhibited in sixteen articles, called by the historians of the times ‘ The Constitutions of Clarendon.’

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“ This brings us to the point :—Did the constitutions exhibit the antient customs of the realm? If they did, the archbishop and the other prelates were bound, by their promise, to recognize and observe them. If they did not, the archbishop and the other prelates were bound to neither; nor could they acknowledge that the constitutions expressed the antient customs of the realm, or bind themselves to the observance of them, as such, without incurring the guilt, both of a solemn untruth, and of treason to the constitution.

“ On this point, therefore, the whole question on the conduct of the archbishop, at the convention at Clarendon, rests altogether. Does it require much investigation to arrive at a proper conclusion upon it?

“ By one of the articles, the custody and revenues of the temporalities of every archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation, was declared to belong, during its vacancy, to the king: this was an absolute innovation.

“ By another, it was provided, that civil and criminal suits, though each or either party to them were a clergyman, should commence in the royal courts; that the justices should decide, whether they ought to be determined there, or in the ecclesiastical courts; that, in the latter case, a civil officer should attend the trial, and report of the proceedings; and that, if the person accused should be convicted, he should forfeit the privileges of his character, and receive judgment accordingly. All this was, perhaps, very proper; but all was contrary to the existing law.

“ Another article declared, that tenants in chief should not be excommunicated without the leave of the king; or, in his absence, of his justiciary. This was in opposition to the law of Christ; and to the law of every christian country. It is even contrary to the present law of England, and to the practice of its courts.

“ Another article forbade appeals to Rome. At this period of our history appeals were allowed in England, and in every other part of the christian world. It is observable, that the monarch himself, during the contest, appealed more than once to the Roman see.

“ Such being the state of the contest, in this stage of it, permit me to say, that it is, with something more than surprise, that I read in your work the following lines: ‘ If these constitutions were in direct opposition to the system of Hildebrand and his successors, and at once removed all those encroachments which the hierarchy had made in this kingdom during Stephen’s contested reign, it should be remembered that *they were not new edicts, enacted in a spirit of hostility to the church, but a declaration and recognition of the existing law.*’

“ By this, I understand you to affirm, that, as the law of England existed in the reign of Henry II. it allowed the monarch to retain the profits of vacant sees for his own benefit; it allowed the clergy to be tried for petit treason, and less crimes, in temporal courts; it exempted tenants in chief from being excommunicated; and it inhibited appeals to Rome. Can any of these positions be supported? In my humble opinion they cannot.

“ Doctor Lingard* thinks with me; and so does our common friend, Mr. Sharon Turner. ‘ In justice to Becket,’ says that learned and discriminating writer, ‘ it must be admitted that these famous articles completely changed the legal and civil state of the clergy; and were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy, so boldly introduced by Gregory VII.:† and then completely received into the civil and ecclesiastical polity and jurisdiction of every European state.” P. 84.

The opinion of Dr. Lingard is of very little consequence. The Pope himself would be a more impartial witness. Mr. Turner uses the words imputed to him, and immediately adds, “ These new constitutions abolished that independence on the legal tribunals of the country, which William had unwarily permitted, and *they again subjected the clergy as in the Anglo-Saxon times, to the common law of the land.*” Did Mr. Butler read these words. If so, can he deny, upon the authority of his learned and discriminating friend, that the constitutions of Clarendon were the ancient customs of the kingdom. That friend speaks of Becket, as ‘ careless of personal honour,’ ‘ faithless,’ ‘ perjured,’ having recourse ‘ to weak evasions,’ and to ‘ conduct too revolting to be beneficial,’ and as ‘ pursuing his opposition to the king with all the pride and vehemence of fierce ambition, and vindictive hostility.’ The discriminating Mr. Butler overlooks these epithets.

We admit, however, that the constitutions were of a doubtful character. But to say that they were the real bone of contention between Henry and Becket is absurd. The quarrel was precisely the same as that which existed in the days of Anselm; and if both the monarchs were in the wrong, which we have no disposition to deny, both the primates were in a similar predicament. Becket proceeded, after his banishment, to Rome, surrendered his archbishoprick into the hands of the Pope, and received it again from that true source of spiritual power. In his correspondence with Henry, preserved in the chronicles of Hoveden, Becket tells his master, that kings derive their authority from the church. Pope Alexander repeats the same assertion; and the evident drift and object of both was, to increase the power of the clergy. To promote it, Becket entered into an alliance with the king of France, defied and deserted his lawful sovereign, leagued himself with the enemies of his king and country, encouraged disaffected and revolting subjects, and returned at last to his

* History of England, vol. 2, p. 64, 65, 66.

† Ibid. vol. i, p. 213.

cathedral, under a hollow pretence of peace, which the very first act of his restored authority, was calculated, if not intended to break. We do not apologise for his murder; but a more turbulent or ambitious subject never disturbed a kingdom, and the triumph which his cause obtained, when Henry II. did penance at his shrine, put the seal to the slavery of Englishmen, and made the Pope our master for three hundred years. These are the simple facts of the case; and the reader of them will probably feel some surprise at Mr. Butler's summing up.

"You must be aware, that the liberties, confirmed to the church by *Magna Charta*, included equally those rights for which Becket contended at Clarendon, and those for which he was murdered at Canterbury." P. 89.

We apprehend that Mr. Southey is not aware of this circumstance; we are sure that Dr. Lingard knows better than to affirm it. "It would have been more satisfactory," he says, vol. ii. 251, "if these liberties had been enumerated and described." Had this satisfactory step been taken, Mr. Butler's assertion might possibly have been maintained; as it is, he is guilty of turning a conjecture into a fact. The disputes with Becket related to the extent of the liberties of the church. *Magna Charta* confirms them in general terms. Who can presume to say, that the barons would have sided with the saint?

We regret our inability to investigate the remainder of the volume at the length which its importance demands. A hasty remark or two upon some striking points is all for which we now have room. They may serve for a specimen of what remains unnoticed; and whoever answers Mr. Butler's letters will have no difficulty in seizing upon many important particulars which our limited space will not permit us to discuss. The letter upon the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church abounds with an error which has been already noticed. It condemns Mr. Southey's account of tenets promulgated before the Reformation, by showing, or attempting to show, that they are not the tenets of Dr. Challoner. Some of the arguments are curious:—

"Cursed is every goddess-worshipper, that believes the blessed Virgin Mary to be any more than a creature; that worships her, or puts his trust in her, more than in God; that believes she is above her Son, or that she can, in any thing, command Him. Amen."

Would not this anathema lead us to believe, that the Virgin may be worshipped or trusted in *as much as* God, and

that she is equal to her Son? With respect to idolatry, and the worship of saints, every Protestant admits that the modern Romish church denies or explains away the practice of them. And so did the philosophers of Greece and Rome. The point in dispute is, how are these things understood by the people. Do they make the subtle distinctions of a Cicero or a Bellarmine? Mr. Butler is much displeased with Mr. Southey for his frequent use of the word *idolatrours*, and assures him, upon the authority of Thorndike and Dr. Johnson, that the church of England acquits the Romish communion of this charge. When the sentiments of that communion are disputed, no one is readier than Mr. Butler to refer us to her public declarations. When he wishes to ascertain the sentiments of our communion, he does not seek them in the homilies against Popery, with which Mr. Southey entirely accords, but in certain private writings, which are opposed to the whole current of ecclesiastical authorities. Is this fair?

The tenth letter, upon the authority of the Pope, is in one respect satisfactory; it assures us, that the power of his Holiness is not in high esteem among the English Catholic laity. But this is not a new discovery. The Roman Catholic nobility and gentry have repeatedly offered to make great concessions upon this head. They offered the *Veto*. They offered the celebrated declaration of 1792, which was negociated between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Bedingfield, and which would probably have produced emancipation; but in both cases the vicars apostolic interfered, the priest-ridden laity gave way, and now they come forward, in the person of Mr. Butler, priding themselves on the liberties of the Gallican church, and hoping to persuade Parliament that English Catholics are equally independent. English, and still more, Irish Catholic priests are probably as devoted slaves of Rome as archbishop Becket. If they are not, let them confirm Mr. Butler's statements, and give the world an authorized explanation of the following canon. It contains, according to Mr. Butler, the doctrine of his church, on the authority of the Pope, and may mean whatever the church and the Pope determine:—

“ Full power was delegated to the bishop of Rome, in the person of St. Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern the universal church, as expressed in the general councils and holy canons.” P. 119.

A more ambiguous canon could not be framed at St. Omers, or at Stoneyhurst.

The eleventh letter, on the rise of the Reformation, the

mendicant orders, and persecution, under the house of Lancaster, endeavours to make Protestants accountable for the Manicheans, the Lollards, and the Albigenses, and is severe upon Wickliffe, and Sir John Oldcastle. Suppose the whole true, what then? Mr. Butler furnishes a ready answer. In the case of his own church, it is unfair to appeal to the errors which dishonoured her in the dark ages. Her uninterrupted chain of miracles, and her Pope, invested by heaven with full power to feed, regulate, and govern the universal church, have not sufficed to preserve her from the grossest corruptions of practice, the most flagitious falsehoods, the most barbarous cruelties. If then the church of England was responsible for Lord Cobham, which every one sees that she is not, how can Mr. Butler reproach her with these time-honoured failings? If she claimed infallibility, the errors of her forefathers might serve to invalidate the claim; but Mr. Butler's church does claim infallibility, and he will not admit that the claim is deranged by her dark-aged errors and infirmities. Surely then *à fortiori*, the church of England, need care little about the misconduct of those whom the author is pleased to designate as the forefathers of the Reformation.

We cannot pass over the following passage without a short remark:—

“ In the beginning of the chapter which contains this sentence, you inform your readers, that ‘ the corruptions, doctrinal and practical, of the Roman church, were studiously kept out of view by the writers who still maintain the infallibility of that church.’

“ Are you, then, acquainted with no writers in the middle ages, who, at the same time that they maintained the infallibility of the Roman Catholic church in matters of faith, exposed, in the strongest terms, and the most unequivocal language, the corruptions which had found their way into her, and even into her sanctuary? Are you ignorant of the discourses published, and of the sermons preached, at the council of Constance, Basil and Pisa?—of the writings of Grossetête, Gersen, d’Ailly, and the many other ecclesiastical personages, whose treatises, exposing the extortions of the Roman see and its officers, and the irregularities of the clergy, fill the two well known volumes of “ *Brown’s Fasciculus*?” Is the letter of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius IV. unknown to you? Does it not announce, in the boldest language, and with the most glowing eloquence, the failings of the Popes and their functionaries, and all the corrupt practices which then existed in the church? Was not this letter transcribed, and read, and admired, in every part of Christendom?” P. 155.

Mr. Southey brings a general charge. Mr. Butler answers by a few exceptions; one of them is unfortunate. Grossetête wrote boldly against the simony of the Pope; for which the

Pope was on the point of excommunicating him, when the cardinals reminded his Holiness that the fact was too notorious to be denied, and that the English bishop was the best man in Christendom. But we wish to mention a remarkable confirmation of Mr. Southey's statement. Dr. Lingard is Mr. Butler's Apollo, and furnishes him avowedly with four-fifths of his facts. Now this excellent Dr. derides and rejects the invaluable history of Matthew Paris, for no conceivable reason, except that it tells too many tales respecting the infamous conduct of the Popes. Mr. Butler speaks highly of Matthew Paris. The 'discriminating' Mr. Turner praises him, and relies upon him. Dr. Lingard calls him a querulous monk, in the vain hope, that by so doing, he may 'keep the corruptions of the Roman church out of sight.' This is not an error of the dark ages. It is a gross modern trick; and Mr. Butler must have the credit of dragging it into notice.

We are now arrived at the Reformation; and having seen Mr. Butler in the character of counsel for the accused, we are henceforth to listen to him as an accuser. He begins with asking, whether England has gained by the Reformation in temporal happiness? And answers in the following passage:—

“Twice did the Roman Catholic religion rescue the inhabitants of England from paganism. She instructed them in the divine truths of the Gospel: introduced civilization among them; was, after the Norman Conquest, their only protection against the oppressions of their conqueror; and, during a long subsequent period, their only defence against the tyranny of the Barons. To her, you owe your *Magna Charta*, the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, and several other statutes, regulations and forms, which are the groundwork and bulwark of your constitution. A numerous clergy administered the rights and blessings of religion; numerous portions, both of men and women, whose institutes were holy, furnished the young with means of education, the old with comfortable retreats, and all with opportunities of serving God in honour and integrity. Throughout England the Roman Catholic religion only was acknowledged, so that the Reformation found the whole nation one flock under one shepherd. Almost every village contained a church, to which the faithful, at stated hours, regularly flocked, for the celebration of the eternal sacrifices, for morning and evening prayer, and for exhortation and instruction. In a multitude of places, the silence of the night was interrupted by pious psalmody. England was covered with edifices raised by the sublimest science, and dedicated to the most noble and most salutary purposes; commerce prospered; agriculture, literature, every useful and ornamental art and science was excellently cultivated, and was in a state of gradual improvement. The monarch was illustrious among the most illustrious

potentates of Europe, and held the balance between its preponderating princes: his court was splendid; the treasury overflowed with wealth; there was no debt; and, (one fourth part of the tithes in every place being set apart for the maintenance of the poor *) there was no poor law.

"Such was the *temporal prosperity* of England when the Reformation arrived. Will it suffer on a comparison of it with the condition of England at any subsequent æra? or even with its present?" P. 168.

Mr. Butler makes frequent complaints of the non-production of Mr. Southey's authorities. It is reasonable therefore to suppose, that his own authorities will be always adduced. In the passage just quoted, he refers to Burn for a fact which is notoriously false, and no other reference is supplied. The remainder of this glowing picture is the work of Mr. Butler's imagination. Instead of resisting the Conqueror's tyranny, the church of Rome, and the Norman princes, played into each others hands, and robbed and enslaved the people between them. To attribute Magna Charta to the priesthood is childish. Mr. Butler knows better; and ought not to impose upon the simplicity of the nineteenth century, by such marvellous day dreams. The commerce, the agriculture, and the literature which flourished under our Edwards and Henrys, will surprise Dr. Lingard himself. They are facts which that great Jesuit never suspected, till he found them in Mr. Butler's book. And if they had been followed up by an encomium upon the liberty of the subject, upon the gentle encounters of the rival roses, of the liberal disposition of Henry VII. and of the just judgments, by which Empson and Dudley made "the treasury to overflow with wealth," the list of Roman Catholic blessings would have been complete. To be serious, can Mr. Butler have imposed upon himself so far as to suppose, that this country enjoyed greater temporal happiness before than since the Reformation. The splendour of Henry's prodigal court, is a very indifferent proof of the happiness of his people. If Mr. Butler really means to maintain the proposition which he insinuates, he must examine the last 600 years of our history, and prove that the former half was more prosperous than the latter. Protestant bigotry will be satisfied with nothing less; but if this point be gained, even Protestants will own themselves vanquished, and give up their Bible, and common sense; give up the Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus, and return with gratitude to those primitive times in which Henry murdered

* Burn's Justice of Peace, title "Poor, sect. L. 1.

his wives according to the provisions of Magna Charta, or levied taxes by his own authority, in spite "of the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*."

One word about tithes. It is true that in early times a fourth part, not of the tithes only, but of church property in general, was set apart for the use of the poor. And how did so good a custom fall into disuse? By the avarice of the *regular* Roman Catholic clergy. They robbed the *seculars*, the parish priests, the working men, of their livelihoods, and *appropriated* the tithe of their livings to the monasteries. When the wealth and corruption of those institutions involved them in one general ruin, the church lands and the appropriated tithes passed into lay hands; and nobody but Cobbett is absurd enough to say, that equity requires the clergy to maintain the poor out of the small remainder of their antient possessions. But Mr. Butler affirms, that immediately before the Reformation one-fourth of the tithe was set apart for that purpose, and refers to Burn's Justice for his authority. We have searched in vain for the passage, and shall be much obliged to any one who will produce it. In the mean time Mr. Butler may rub up his law by consulting Blackstone's Commentaries, which will tell him, Book I. chap. IX. 6. that, "The poor of England, till the time of Henry VIII. subsisted entirely upon private benevolence and the charity of well disposed Christians;" and that though, "by the common law, the poor were to be sustained by parsons, rectors of the church, and the *parishioners*, so that none of them die for default of sustenance," "he finds no compulsory method chalked out for this purpose, but the poor seem to have been left to such relief as the humanity of their neighbours would afford them."

We must request the reader's attention to one more passage. It professes to state the spiritual advantages which England has reaped from the Reformation:—

"Her great gain, in this respect, is asserted by you in every part of 'the Book of the Church:' I shall mention a single fact, then leave yourself to decide on the truth of your own repeated assertion.

"From 'the Book of the Church,' I conclude that you are a sincere believer in the doctrines of the established church of England, as they are expressed in the thirty-nine articles,—the authentic formulary of her faith. You therefore believe all that the Roman Catholic church believes respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement; but are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English clergy? or by the great body of the present English laity? Do not

the former, to use Mr. Gibbon's expression, sign the thirty-nine articles with a sigh, or a smile? Is a sincere and conscientious belief of the doctrines expressed in them, generally considered by the laity to be a condition for salvation?

"Indifference to the thirty-nine articles being thus universal, or at least very general, among those who profess themselves members of the established church, must not you, who deem so highly of them, admit that,—as the Roman Catholic church believes all that is said in the thirty-nine articles respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement,—there existed when the Reformation peered, and all these articles were universally believed, more spiritual wisdom in England than exists in her at this time, with her present scanty creed?

"Thus the balance, in respect both to temporal happiness and spiritual wisdom, *now* stands; but if you look at the period between the first introduction of the Reformation and its present æra, what years of havoc, what disputed successions of the crown, what wars, what legal murders, what demolitions of magnificent edifices, what destructions of manuscripts, of printed books, of sacred and profane monuments of art; what proscriptions, what confiscations, what calumnies, what imaginary plots, and what other grinding oppressions, in every form, have been often found necessary to extirpate the antient creed, and to introduce and establish the Reformation! Surely you will acknowledge, that an infinity, both of public and individual misery would have been spared to England, if the Reformation had not been carried to the extent to which it was carried:—but,

——"Vicisti! et victos tendere palmas

"Ausonii videre!"

VIRGIL.

"The Reformation, and all that is connected with it, are now established by law; and never have a vanquished people more completely submitted to the conquerors, have conducted themselves with greater propriety, or received alleviations of their condition with greater gratitude, than the Roman Catholics have done: none of his Majesty's subjects are more attached to his government. When we think of past grievances, we bless the hands which have removed so many of them; an angry feeling seldom rises, except when, as in 'the Book of the Church,' we find our religion traduced, and our ancestors vilified in such a manner, that we should deservedly be thought either more or less than men, if we did not exert ourselves to repel the unmerited aggression." P. 170.

The grateful and forgiving spirit of modern Roman Catholics commands our admiration; and if they resent our condemnation of their forefathers, we can make great allowance for so natural a feeling. But we do not perceive the propriety of schooling Mr. Southey for his reflections upon defunct Papists in the page which teems with calumnies against living Protestants. Mr. Butler is indignant at the mention of Becket's frailties; heaves a sigh over the

infirmities of Bonner; and 'repels the unmerited aggression' of those who 'vilify' cardinals or popes. And in the very same breath, he accuses 'the great body of the present English clergy' of hypocrisy and unbelief!! The charge is scandalous and false. By preferring it, Mr. Butler descends from the gentlemanly elevation which he had hitherto maintained, and places himself upon a level with Cobbett, Baines, and Milner. But putting the falsehood of the charge out of sight, its impudence is entertaining. Rome, the cradle and nurse of infidelity, Rome, which was formerly reported to contain more atheists than all the rest of Europe, which within our own memory has witnessed the progress of the French revolution, and seen the goddess of reason worshipped by her Catholic children, ventures to tax the church of England with indifference, and to denounce the Reformation as the parent of unbelief! A more flagitious or a more groundless accusation cannot be conceived; it recoils with tenfold weight upon the head of that infatuated communion whose champion has ventured to hurl it, and justifies us in bringing our remarks abruptly to a close, without following Mr. Butler (alas! no longer the pupil of St. Francis of Sales) to the conclusion of his jesuitical volume.

Enough, however, has been said, to give the reader a general idea of the *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*. It is not the repository of new facts, or the result of original research; the ground-work is borrowed from Lingard; Mr. Butler's ingenuity has been principally employed in the introduction of graceful sinuosities, and the removal of rugged obstructions; the surface of the stream is smooth, but there is a deep and turbid under-current which exposes itself here and there to our view, and belies the apparent tranquillity. The letters are not strictly historical, defensive, apologetical, or criminatory; they are skilfully compounded out of all these qualities; and their object is to make an impression favourable to Popery, and unfavourable to Protestantism, without exposing the weak points of the one, or grappling with the strength of the other. From first to last, there is nothing that can be called a comparison between the doctrines of England and Rome; there is no defence, that deserves the name of a defence, for the supremacy of the Pope, the sacrifice of the mass, prayers in an unknown tongue, communion under one kind, or works of supererogation. There is not an attempt to prove that the Gospel sanctions these things. But we are told that Cranmer was guilty of equivocation, that queen Elizabeth persecuted Roman Catholics, and that Titus Oates was a liar. We are told that con-

fiscation was the mother of the Reformation, and that schism and dissension are its offspring. Upon these miserable and shallow pretexts, the English people are required to believe that their dislike to Popery is a prejudice; that its ancient establishment in this country was a blessing; and that it might now be restored with advantage. Mr. Butler conceives that Cranmer's wife was a greater scandal than Wolsey's mistresses and bastards. Mr. Butler reproaches Protestants with robbing the church. He forgets that the unconscionable avarice of Papists was the great cause of confiscation, and that the corruptions of the priesthood were its excuse. He forgets that when once the Reformation was settled, the system of plunder ceased, and that the Restoration of Charles II. was signalized by the restoration of all the property which had been seized under Cromwell and the puritans. Mr. Butler reproaches us with infidelity and schism. It never occurs to him to ask whether his own communion is sound; he has never heard of the infidel bishops and clergy of France before the Revolution; he supposes that transubstantiation is a cure for scepticism, and that the legendary lies of Rome add strength to the evidence of Christianity. With respect to schism he is equally unfortunate. The tyranny and usurpation of the Pope is the root of that evil. The blasphemous title of God's Vicar on earth, the ludicrous claim to the rights and authority of St. Peter, the denial of justification through faith, and the pretended merit of good works; these produced, and in some measure they excuse, the sectarianism and fanaticism of modern times. It was impossible for the Christian world to abjure the corruptions of Rome, without running in some instances into the opposite extreme. But the guilt of such errors does not lie at our door. The Pope is the real author of the mischief; and the church of England, which Papists more especially revile, was enabled, by the blessing of God, and through the instrumentality of her beloved, calumniated and martyred Cranmer, to avoid it; to steer a middle course between the two extremes, and become a leader and a help to all who place themselves under her care.

Lastly, Mr. Butler insinuates that the temporal prosperity of the country has suffered by the Reformation. He does not appeal, in proof of the good effects of Popery, to France, or Italy, or Spain; in each of which nations it has been professed in its purity, and backed by all the power of state. He does not appeal to Ireland, where the countenance of government has been turned away, and it has been left to "an uninterrupted chain of miracles," and Mr. Plunkett's

exemplary priesthood ; but he refers us to the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII. and prays for the return of those halcyon days. He dilates with eloquence upon the Great Rebellion, and attributes it entirely to Luther. But even there he omits to tell us that it was a Popish wife who cost king Charles his head ; that it was a Popish church which absolved his infamous son ; and that it was the infatuated bigotry of our last Popish king which finally established the liberties of England, and paved the way for its present prosperity.

If Mr. Butler wishes to give the best possible specimen of his church, let him direct us to himself and his associates. For the English Roman Catholic laity we entertain a sincere respect. They embrace their creed as an heir-loom from their ancestors, and cherish it with becoming respect. They live in the midst of a Protestant people, and have imbibed no small portion of our sentiments. Let them cast off the chains in which the priesthood still binds them ; let them abjure Dr. Milner, silence Dr. Baines, and read no more of Dr. Lingard ; let them consult their own good sense, and defy their vicars apostolic, and doubtless they will be entitled to as much consideration as any class of seceders from the national church.

ART. IX. *Apology addressed to the Travellers Club ; or, Anecdotes of Monkeys.* 8vo. pp. 183. London. Murray, 5s. 6d.

WE are by no means ashamed to confess that the precise object of this little volume has wholly eluded our sagacity, and that we rise from its perusal with an utter inability to discover the intention of its author in committing it to the press. At the first glance, we imagined it to be a grave piece of irony ; and recollecting Gay's amusing fable of " The Monkey who had seen the World," we formed to ourselves some vague association between that harmless little satire, and the Travellers Club, which we supposed would be more fully developed as we proceeded ; but in this notion we were plainly wrong. The book before us (as its unpunctuated and therefore diversely-to-be-rendered title page holds forth), is no more than " Apology addressed to the Travellers Club or Anecdotes of Monkeys." For *what* it is an apology, or why it is addressed to the Travellers Club, we are at a loss to determine : unless indeed it be that " Travellers (*ut aiunt*) tell strange things," and that as many strange things are told

in these pages, it is on that account thought most decorous and appropriate that they should be dedicated to travellers.

Be this as it may, some of the stories are worth telling again; and moreover they are told with such irresistible simplicity, and meet either with such hearty attestation from their recounter himself, or at least with such a hearty wish that the reader, if ever he in turn recounts them, should afford *his* attestation, that without stopping farther to consider the reasons which have actuated the writer, or to inquire into the foundation of his pretensions to veracity, we shall freely borrow from his narratives as we find them.

The idea of his work, as the author informs us in the outset, was suggested by that most interesting, and, as we believe, in most points well accredited, publication, Bingley's *Animal Biography*. There is also an untranslated French book, *Jocquot*, which in some degree has anticipated his present purpose, but it is wholly different in its details. Jumping at once without longer preliminary, *in medias res*, he proceeds to acquaint us with the habits of monkeys in different relations and circumstances. One of these, on shipboard, had got a sly trick of stealing preserved apricots. The captain, in order to cure him, had plentifully dosed a jar of these sweatmeats with manna. The beast having swallowed the bait, as if aware of the stratagem by which he had suffered, appeared determined upon revenge; and having observed the purpose to which the quarter-galleries were appropriated, he kept his seat in one of them as long as he was under the influence of the drug, and was dislodged only by breaking down the bulk-head. In order to "steady" him, the captain, with whom he was a great favourite, procured him a wife; but their domestic peace scarcely outlasted the honey-moon. One fine day, during a summer cruise, the traitor decoyed his *cara sposa* to the end of the foretop gallant yard, and here pretending to shew her something at sea, he slipped his hand under her tail, and adroitly canted her overboard. The whole crew were horror-struck at this deliberate murder, with the exception of a French captain, then on board as a prisoner, who remarked, with a quiet shrug, "*Parbleu, ce drole-là a beaucoup de caractère!*"

Another monkey, on board ship, used to make an unhappy bear his particular but, twitching out each separate hair which was matted by tar or pitch, and lifting up his eyelids whenever he caught him asleep on deck, as if to ascertain the fact. His favourite position was on the foretop, from which he used to make signals with great energy, chattering loudly whenever any vessel was in sight, and indicating its

direction by intelligible signs. He died from an unlucky effort of imitation: having observed the process by which a sick officer made his tea, and soon after having by accident been left alone in the gun room, he infused a paper of tobacco into the pot, and killed himself by the decoction.

There are other animals besides Geese which merit national gratitude; and if Gibraltar may be considered to England what the Capitoline Hill was to Rome, the *argenteus anser* would not be the only saviour of the State to which a statue has been erected. Even yet we may live to see the monkey receive due honour, and on the strength of the following anecdotes, the day may come on which the public gaze will be diverted from the site of the present bronze Achilles, to that on which

Effigies sacri nitet aurea. CERCOPITHECI.

The author of the book before us, who is clearly an old soldier, speaks of the occurrence which he relates, and which is obscurely alluded to in Drinkwater's narrative of the siege, as falling within his own personal knowledge. A few weeks before the memorable sally, the Spaniards had concerted a surprize upon one of our outposts, which could not have failed of success, if, in their advance, they had not had to pass a party of monkeys, who by their loud screams alarmed our sentinels.

The next anecdote, though on the same scene, draws somewhat more largely on our credulity.

"When Lord Howe came out to our relief he brought with him, amongst other re-inforcements, the twenty-fifth regiment of infantry.

"Shortly after the conclusion of peace, a party of officers belonging to this corps, were amusing themselves with whiting-fishing at the back of the rock; but were disturbed and obliged to shift their ground, from being pelted from above, they did not know by whom. At last, however, they gained a station, where they were left in peace, and where they caught plenty of fish. At this time the drums beat to arms, on some unexpected occasion, and the officers rowed their boat ashore, and left it high and dry upon the beach, hurrying where their duty called them.

"On their return, their surprize was excessive to find their boat beached, not half so high as they had left it, and at some little distance from its former position. Their amazement was increased, on examining their tackle, to find some hooks baited, which had been left bare, and to see the disposition of many things altered. The cause was afterwards explained. An officer of Hanoverian grenadiers, who was amusing himself with a solitary walk, happened to be a close observer of animal and vegetable nature. This man, hearing the chatter of monkeys, stole upon a party of young ones,

who were pelting the fishers from behind some rocks. While they were so employed, arrived two or three old ones who drove the youngsters away, and then remained secretly observing the proceedings of the whiting-fishers.

“The fishers having beached their boat and retired, the monkeys apparently deemed the time was come for turning their observation to account. They accordingly launched the boat, put to sea, baited their hooks and proceeded to work. Their sport was small, as might be anticipated, from the impatient nature of the animals; but what few fish they caught, were hauled up with infinite exultation. When they were tired, they landed, placed the boat (as nearly as they could) in her old position, in the friendly spirit on which I have before remarked, and went up the rock with their game.” P. 29.

Crossing over the straits, we are presented with a story which we think we have before found in other *Facetiæ*.

“A man, who had been a muleteer at Cadiz, and who afterwards established himself as a barber at Gibraltar, in the spirit of restlessness shifted to Ceuta, and having invested a very small capital, of which he was possessed, in the purchase of those woven red caps, which form the crown of the turban throughout Turkey and Africa, set out alone, to seek his fortune, in the interior of the country.

“He was off long before sunrise, and reached a wood before the noon-tide heat became insufferable. This period of the day is, (as is well known,) in hot countries, appropriated to repose. He accordingly opened the valise, which contained the treasure of red caps, put on one of them instead of his hat, and stretched himself under a tree. He slept comfortably till the sun was somewhat low in the horizon, when imagine his horror, at waking, to perceive the boughs of the tree under which he was sleeping covered with monkeys in red caps!

“They had seen the Spaniard put on his, and, as soon as he was asleep, had, one and all, followed his example. The poor Spaniard, with all the gesticulation of his country, cursed his hard fate, stamped with vexation, and cast his red cap on the ground. When—blessed and unexpected result!—all the monkeys did the same, and the happy man repossess himself of his treasure.” P. 39.

Of the circumcision and vaccination of monkeys, far be it from us to express any doubt. We firmly believe in the Italian female monkey who, whenever she was vexed or offended, ran to the chimney, and, out of spite, thrust the end of her tail into the fire. The spirit, if not the letter of this action may be observed every day in animals claiming a far higher rank in the standard of nature than is as yet allotted to monkeys. The Irish monkey, whom we shall next mention, was too wise to burn *himself*.

“He had seen his master and mistress lying in bed with their heads reposing on the pillow, and had treasured the circumstance in

his recollection : he turned it to an odd account. Being present when the bedchamber was prepared for their reception, he secreted himself till the maid was gone, then opened the bed-clothes, laid the two lighted toilette-candles carefully on the bed, with their wicks upon the pillow, and tucked them up in form. The bed furniture was, as may be imagined, soon in a blaze, and the smell of fire and crackling of the flames brought the whole household to the room.

“ Pug seemed to have some notion of the result of his experiment ; for he posted himself near the door, and, on the first irruption of the servants, sprang out ; overturning the first who entered the bed-room in his sally.

“ Another Irish monkey played a trick of something of the same description.

“ This monkey lived in the service of a small milliner in Dublin. In the same room with him, was a basket of kittens, and his mistress had put upon the fire some sort of soup or porridge with mutton chops. The monkey fished out these and ate them, and put the poor kittens in their place.” P. 71.

But monkeys, if all that has been said of them is true, (and who is there shall prove its falsehood?) exercise their superiority of instinct in social intercourse, as well as in acts of solitary intelligence :

Oppida caperunt munire et ponere leges.

A Dane, whose papers were purchased by the late Lord Melville, stated, that having fled from the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of an unjust charge of speculation brought against him by the old Dutch government, he penetrated due North, through the interior of Africa, till he reached the opposite coast. Among other marvels he arrived at a town of monkeys.

“ I regret that I do not recollect time, bearings, or dates, which he was said to have specified with great apparent consistency : but I will give, as accurately as I can, the substance of his narrative.

“ Here again he was arrested, and, to his great surprize, by what he called a swarm of tailless monkeys, inhabiting a sort of wigwam of low hovels. He described the supposed monkeys as communicating amongst each other, in guttural and other indescribable sounds, which were, I suppose, what are denominated palatic. He spoke of them as living on *roasted roots*, as pursuing agriculture, as acquainted with a homely description of architecture, and making use of barrows in their labours, which he (who had probably been a sailor) called small rafts upon wheels.

“ The first act of this people of pigmies was to strip the Dane and his Dutch servant, put a clog upon their legs, and employ them in their works. For this purpose, they were each furnished with two of these flat barrows lashed together, which they were compelled

P

to wheel; their strength being apparently calculated by the inhabitants as double their own.

“After some weeks spent in this melancholy employment, master and man contrived to effect their escape.” P. 99.

The writer of this volume contends, and as we think, on good grounds, for the probability of this narrative, which, it must be admitted, looks at first as if it had been coined in the mint of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto or Sir John Maundeville. We will furnish him with a fresh argument in support of the Dane. If the monkeys were not, in fact, real, original and genuine monkeys, but a horde of Bosjemen, may they not be descendants of the same Lilliputian race, *ἄνδρες μικροί, μετριῶν ἐλάσσονες ἀνδρῶν*, whom the Nasamonians encountered in their trip into the interior of Africa (Herod. ii. 32.) These spoke a language unknown to the maritime tribes, and lived in a city *ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαδος ἴσους*. If the Dane had but mentioned the colour of the complexion of his monkeys, we have little doubt that we should have found, even on this point, the modern discoverer and the Father of History mutually confirming each other's veracity.

Hear what Forbes, in his *Oriental Memoirs*, tells of the forethought of these animals. They seize serpents behind the head, grind their teeth out against a stone, and having thus rendered them harmless, toss them as playthings to their children. Hear Tavernier's relation of the confederacy of monkeys, which nearly wrought him so much ill.

“The famous M. Tavernier tells us that, returning from Agra with the English president to Surat, they passed within four or five leagues of Amenabad, through a little forest of mangoes. ‘We saw here (says he) a vast number of very large apes, male and female, many of the latter having their young in their arms. We were each of us in our coaches, and the English president stopt his, to tell me that he had a very fine new gun, and knowing that I was a good marksman, desired me to try it by shooting one of the apes. One of my servants, who was a native of the country, made a sign to me not to do it; and I did all that was in my power to dissuade the gentleman from his design; but to no purpose: for he immediately levelled his piece and shot a she ape, who fell through the branches of the tree on which she was sitting, her young ones tumbling, at the same time, out of her arms, upon the ground. We presently saw that happen which my servant apprehended, for all the apes, to the number of sixty, came immediately down from the trees and attacked the president's coach with such fury, that they must infallibly have destroyed him, if all who were present had not flown to his relief, and by drawing up the windows, and posting all the servants about the coach, protected him from their resentment. I must confess, I was not a little afraid, though they did

not offer to meddle with me, because they were very large and of incredible strength, and their fury was so great, that they pursued the president's coach for nearly three leagues.' " P. 115.

Hear, in conclusion, an instance of deliberation in the Gibralt'ar monkeys, which is scarcely to be excelled in our own Courts of law.

" Lord Heathfield, then General Elliott, had ordered a very small advanced post to be established on a part of the rock hitherto undisturbed by military operations; and the officer commanding it, had received directions to conceal his little party with the greatest care.

" The post was taken possession of at night, and the men, ambushed in the hollow of an overhanging crag, were the more easily hidden, in that a *Sirocco* had just risen, driving wreaths of mist before it, as thick as those which issue from the mouths of a battery.

" While they were thus lying under cover, a party of monkeys was seen advancing with an old gray-headed baboon, carefully guarded in the centre. They arrived, halted, and detached their prisoner to a small distance; where he remained between two monkeys who had the charge of him. The rest formed a sort of court, before which an advocate evidently accused the prisoner of some offence, he weeping, screaming, and frequently interrupting the attorney-general. Indeed, the proceedings seem to have been altogether irregular; for the officer represented judges, advocate and prisoner, as all chattering together.

" At length, however, an old monkey, who, the soldiers insisted, was the Chief Justice of the woods, screamed louder than the rest, and the prisoner was instantly hurried off and precipitated over a projecting rock.

" Our people were much scandalized at this proceeding, being convinced that the old baboon was too helpless to have deserved his punishment, and that he was sacrificed, under some false accusation, to prevent his being burthensome to his parish!" P. 169.

These anecdotes may be startling to the dignity of human nature: and man, in his pride, may perhaps be more inclined to admit the approaches with which the half-reasoning elephant has sometimes evinced his intellectual superiority, than those of the Pongo and the Marmazet. But the fact, we believe, must nevertheless be received. This is not the first time in which the resemblance has been exhibited, and we must be content, after all, to acknowledge, with Ennius,

Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis.

ART. X.—*Lisbon in the years 1821, 1822, and 1823. By Marianne Baillie. In Two Volumes. London. Murray. 8vo. 15s. 1824.*

IT is with the most unfeigned pleasure that we perceive, and with the most willing readiness that we acknowledge, a great improvement in the fair authoress of these volumes, since her first appearance before the public. On that occasion (*Brit. Critic*, Aug. 1819), we took the liberty (certainly with no ill will, and therefore we hope with no occasion for offence) to point out a few particulars which struck us as demanding notice of disapproval. We are scarcely vain enough to attribute the better taste (and we apply this word to matters of grave and serious import, as well as to the contexture of style), which pervades the present work, to any effect produced by our admonition; and perhaps it may be more fairly assigned to that corrective power which a good mind, for the most part, possesses in itself; which sooner or later is brought into operation, unless it is checked by the obstinacy of pride; and which, if time is happily allowed it, succeeds in the end in making the crooked straight, and the rough places plain. Certain it is that Mrs. Baillie, who appeared in her "*First Impressions*" to be in some danger of becoming an *esprit fort*, and a *liberale*, has now emancipated herself from those ugly prejudices which so often beset very young and very ardent temperaments; and instead of shewing her contempt for the opinions of the good and wise, like Lady Morgan, more and more in every new publication, she now approaches Religious topics with piety, and descants on Politics without anathematizing all established authority.

It is a standing literary maxim, that no published letters should ever have been written for publication. Those of Walsh perhaps are an exception; but these clearly were never committed to the postman, and were indeed addressed to imaginary mistresses. The coquetries of Pope, who wrote to real correspondents of flesh and blood, is well known; and the pious fraud by which, through the medium of a clergyman's gown, and a lawyer's band, he tossed the bait to the avaricious greediness of Curll, was easily detected, in spite of the Poet's subsequent shew of anger. From his time to our own we scarcely recollect any epistolary collection, which accident, the surreptitious arts of some coveting bookseller, or the tender violence of admiring friends, has not forced to the press, much to the discomfiture of the

reluctant (ἐκὼν ἀεχόντι δὲ δύμῳ) and resisting writer. Mrs. Baillie is not to be blamed for continuing in the fashion; and as she says, in her Preface, that "it will be easily perceived" that her Letters were not written for publication, we will not endeavour to take a more difficult view of them.

It was in June 1821, that Mr. and Mrs. Baillie and their infant boy arrived in Lisbon, where Mr. Baillie had an official appointment. Their first abode was in Buenos Ayres, a suburb which is the favourite resort of the English, from its comparative want of filth. Alas! in Lisbon, Jove himself would find no Goddess to "minister with purest hands" to him, and we cannot wonder if the complaints are both loud and numerous which an elegant and delicate Englishwoman is compelled to utter at the indescribable abomination of this most foul of cities. The season at which the travellers commenced their residence, was peculiarly interesting in a political light. The King was expected every moment from the Brazils, and on the 4th of July he landed. The Monarch returned to his European throne, under the protection of two Russian ships, and an English frigate; and the Cortes, as soon as he entered the Tagus, informed him that he could not be permitted to set foot on shore, unless he confirmed and sanctioned their proceedings. To all these demands he gave perhaps an unwilling, but certainly not a tardy consent.

In a few days after the arrival of the King, Mrs. Baillie removed to Cintra. The party travelled in a *sége*, an open two-wheeled carriage, resembling those in the prints to Gil Blas, crazy, ill-contrived, and shabby, and drawn by two horses, one of which was in shafts. The luggage was piled inside, and grated piteously against the flayed and indented shins of the passengers. The wheels were never greased, for their noise is supposed to keep off evil spirits from man and beast. Jangling, shattering and jolting over a rude and narrow *pavè*, under the guidance of a gaunt swarthy postilion, in a loose chamois doublet, and rusty hat, they performed fifteen miles in four hours. Cintra, when reached, proved to be a Paradise; all oranges and lemons, lavender, rosemary and carnations, wood strawberries and red raspberries, palm hedges, lettuces, wild bees, singing birds, and blue sky. Mrs. Baillie is a poetess, and she celebrated her entrance into these delights, by some very pleasing lines, descriptive of the beauties above-mentioned, and many more.

The Portuguese have odd customs; the women wear very scanty petticoats, if any; none wear night caps, and several sleep stark naked: they bring up children on a pap of bread,

water, garlic and rancid oil : they sleep upon boards, and marry their aunts if they please : they eat hot beef steaks and fish for breakfast, to which the ladies add a large thick slice of hot leavened bread, strewed with salt and pepper, soaked in vinegar, seasoned highly with garlic, and swimming in oil. They pick their teeth very much ; two *palitos*, slips of orange or myrtle wood, being set by each persons plate at dinner ; but they pass whole days without washing or shaving ; they keep fowls apparently for little other purpose than to breed fleas. Their chambermaids wear diamond ear-rings when in full dress ; and Mrs. Baillie has seen a huckstress in her booth, with brilliant drops which nearly touched her collar bones. In the palace of the Condeça d'A., a river flows through the middle of the kitchen, from which it is the common practice of the cook to catch such fish as are ordered for dinner, a few moments before they are served up. All husbands go out with their wives in public, and no other male is permitted to enter the carriage, however near his relationship may be.

“ At the house of a nobleman in this neighbourhood, I observed a singular ceremony : every master has an arrangement with his servants relative to the arrival of the guests ;—if a carriage with one gentleman in it appears in the court yard, the porter rings a sonorous bell *once*, the master hears it but perhaps does not rise from his seat, as it announces only the arrival of an individual, who is not considered to be a man of any particular consequence ; if the bell sounds *twice*, he will generally rise, for this means that a grandee is coming ; but when the warning stroke is *thrice* repeated he always leaves the room to meet the visitor at the door of the house, for then it is a lady who arrives.” Vol. II. p. 3.

They build their best sitting rooms immediately over their stables, and crowd them with doors, that in which Mrs. Baillie lived at Buenos Ayres had two windows and six doors, none of which would shut close. The ladies look out of their balconies all morning, and sit cross legged on the floor, and tell stories with their maid servants all evening. Living in the midst of the most nauseating fumes, they dislike all fragrant waters except *eau de cologne*, and particularly object to the smell of a geranium. At the funeral of the Queen dowager, who had been dead six years, and had been brought over from the Brazils, without being embalmed, two of the young Princesses were appointed to dress her corpse. When it was taken out of the coffin for this purpose, one of them fainted twice. The other persevered, and assisted by her ladies, re-clothed the body in a black robe, a dress cap, gloves, shoes and stockings, and some splendid orders on the breast.

The King, though compelled to yield to the Cortes in matters of serious import, would make no surrender of etiquette. On entering one of the state apartments, he observed chairs set there, an unusual circumstance in a royal palace. The attendants answered his inquiries as to their destination, by saying, that they were intended for the use of the Cortes, when they came to pay their duty to his Majesty, "The Cortes," he replied quickly, "take them away instantly! No person shall ever use a chair in my presence." All the Royal family are approached on the knee, and some ladies assured Mrs. Baillie, that the fatigue of a visit to the Queen and Princesses was so great, in consequence of their being obliged to remain kneeling as long as these illustrious personages chuse to prolong the conversation, that they usually went to bed on quitting the Royal presence. In the streets every body of how exalted rank soever, dismounts and salutes them as they pass.

On Mrs. Baillie's return to Buenos Ayres, she was present at a ball given on the 26th of January 1822, to celebrate the first sitting of the Cortes. The Directors ventured upon an experiment hitherto unthought of in Portugal; that of inviting the King and Royal family. His Majesty gave a troublesomely ambiguous answer, *muito obrigado senhores, muito obrigado*; he had never been present before at any public assembly, save an opera and a church feast. His party, the *Corcundas*, were outrageous at the proposed contamination of his dignity; wagers were laid to a large amount, that he would not go; and great pains were taken to prevent his attendance, by anonymous letters threatening a gunpowder treason. Nevertheless he *did* go, and Mrs. Baillie's account of the solemnity is so vividly and strikingly given, that we cannot refrain from extracting the whole of it.

"At seven o'clock, we left our hotel, and arrived safely at the scene of action, having passed through Lisbon, the whole of which was illuminated, (even to the topmost story of each house,) and large bonfires lighted in the principal squares. The population were all abroad, decked in their holiday finery, many of the women in the lower classes treading, as usual, the muddy pavement in white satin slippers; the carriages were flying about in all directions, the horse police steadily arranging every thing according to order, with drawn swords, but civil and conciliatory demeanour, guns firing, and the bells of every convent and church pealing most tremendously; when we entered, the spectacle was really charming; the staircase is particularly fine, and on this evening it appeared like the entrance to an enchanted palace; the ballustrades and pillars were wreathed with the freshest flowers, and costly vases, ranged on each side of every landing place, were filled with the rarest and most beautiful plants;

the pavement of the outer court was also thickly strewed with rosemary, lavender, and other aromatics, newly gathered, which trampled beneath the feet of the horses and servants, diffused a delightful and refreshing odour. High over our heads, in the hall, fronting the entrance gate, was a transparent painting of Justice, holding the balance with an even hand, while a figure of love presented a large volume to the spectators, on which was inscribed "*Constituicao*;" an armed warrior on either side supported this painting; on their shields they bore the words "*Cortes*," and "*Don João Sesto*:" two doors at the top of the staircase led, one to the suite of dancing rooms, the other to the private apartment in which supper was prepared for the King and his family alone; and each was concealed by full curtains of rich crimson velvet. To lady patronesses and directors of fetes in London, all this would have appeared a matter of course, and nothing more than what they were in the habit of seeing every season; but in the eyes of the Portuguese, it was novel as well as elegant; I confess, for my own part, that the effect which the fragrance and brilliancy of the roses and other flowers produced upon my senses, was indescribably exhilarating. I believe I expressed my delight too audibly, which might perhaps have led a London circle to have set me down at once as a country cousin; but I do not envy those persons, who would have viewed the scene with apathy; the English alone, among civilized nations, feel ashamed of expressing their pleasurable feelings. Soft music (from the opera of *la Festa de Rosa*) resounded as the doors opened, and a coup d'œil of dazzling magnificence was discovered; an immense assemblage of persons splendidly dressed, among whom were the six directors, habited in court suits of blue velvet, relieved with white, being the constitutional colours; the latter were indefatigable in their polite attentions to the company, who perpetually arrived in endless succession, so as to render their office no sinecure. One of them immediately advanced, and taking me from under the protection of my husband, led me into an anti-room, where he assigned me a place amidst a crowd of ladies, who were ranged in rows, three and four deep, (the gentlemen all standing,) awaiting the arrival of the King, who was then at the opera, from whence he had arranged to come to the ball. After waiting full two hours, a message arrived from the royal box, which put the directors into a bustle, and all the ladies into a flutter of expectation; "*El Rey, el Rey!*" burst from every lip—but no! it was only a gentleman of the court, who brought tidings that his Majesty intended to stay the ballet at San Carlos. I could perceive an evident though repressed feeling of anxiety and doubt at this information, and one or two of the liberal party who sat near me, began audibly to murmur an indignant apprehension that the King would, after all, delight in disappointing us.

"At length, the noise of his heavy coach was heard, resembling the dull lumbering sound of a hearse; then a thundering roll of the drums, and the loud pealing of bells; and while the musicians in the gallery played up the constitutional hymn, the directors went

forth in a body, to receive the sovereign at the foot of the stairs, from whence they conducted him into an anti-chamber, to rest for a few minutes upon a gold and crimson velvet throne, erected for the purpose. Here the six directors kissed hands, and, after a short interval, Don João, accompanied by his second son, Don Miguel, (the eldest having remained, as you know, as regent in the Brazils,) his married daughter, widow of the late Infante of Spain, the second princess, Donna Isabella, and his little grandson, child of the widowed princess, passed through the anti-room in which we sat, attended by the chamberlains and ladies in waiting. The moment they had placed themselves upon their elevated seats at the top of the ball room, the dancing commenced with great spirit; the ladies, of course, all rose as they passed, and both gentlemen and ladies (at least those who were personally known to them) kissed their hands as they moved through the glittering ranks which opened with difficulty to afford them a passage.

“The king was dressed in a scarlet uniform covered with diamonds, and rendered more ceremonious by a sort of scarf drapery, depending from his shoulder, being the ribbon of the principal orders: we had both seen him before; indeed, my husband had been presented by the English minister only a few days previous, therefore we were aware of the difference in the usual expression of his countenance, and that which appeared this evening. Terror (extreme, evident, but gradually yielding to the encouraging influence of female beauty and the general respectful devotion of manner exhibited by the gentlemen,) was its predominant character. Don Miguel walked next: a thin slight youth, with pale and rather elegant features, from which, however, every ray of intelligence seemed banished: solemn, upright, and immoveable; when once seated, he had the air of a statue or an automaton. The little grandson was, this evening, very tired and sleepy, and as he sat perched up in state by his royal grandfather's side, with his small legs dangling from a very high and uncomfortable seat, I longed to have possessed the power of carrying him off to bed. Six chamberlains stood ranged behind this regal group, dressed in scarlet coats embroidered with gold, with outrageously long waists, which made them appear all back and stomach. Their various orders, stars, and collars really dazzled the eye, and they appeared altogether so loaded with finery, and so stiff with embroidery, that they could hardly turn their heads, or make use of their limbs; perfect specimens of the ancient courtier—stiffened, cramped, confined and unnatural. The dress of the ladies was splendid, and their jewels of incredible beauty and value. The venerable Don Bernardo Paes led me to view the royal supper table, to which, by Portuguese etiquette, no person is admitted but the family of the king. As I leaned on the old man's offered arm, I really paused to admire my supporter, for he is the most perfect specimen of unaffected dignity that Lisbon now affords.

“The royal banquet was not particularly magnificent; and the prettiest appointments of the table were some gold knives and forks,

and a set of alabaster vases crowned, à l'antique, with roses: the apartment was fitted up with white muslin, so as to resemble a tent. We came away early, leaving Don Joao viewing the dancers, and I learnt that every thing concluded amicably and prosperously; the king went quietly to bed, instead of being blown up, and the ultra faction will, I hope, suffer him to retain the tranquillizing conviction, that his life is perfectly safe from the bloody designs of a Constitutional government!—Adieu." Vol. II. p. 33.

To go to Lisbon without witnessing an earthquake, is scarcely worth while. Mrs. Baillie accordingly was present at two. Both, however, were slight; only sufficient to shake the beds, rattle the windows, clap the doors, and knock the candles out of their sockets. But these struggles of Nature were trifling compared with the political convulsions to which this unhappy country was exposed. Mrs. Baillie was still in Lisbon (May 1823) when the young Prince, Don Miguel, disgusted by the faction which surrounded his father, fled from the palace and betook himself to the revolting troops. The king in consequence was immediately declared *Rey Absoluto*, and the *liberals* in their turn were discontented. The Royal family made a grand entry into Lisbon, on the return of the Prince. The Princesses were clothed in the military uniforms of colonels, with a petticoat attached; and the whole party celebrated *Te Deum* at the cathedral.

"The King has had the good policy to enact a farce, called "The Reconciliation," a few days ago. He went in state to the Ramallao, to bring back the Queen in triumph, to hold a drawing-room at the palace of Queluz, and placing her in the same carriage with himself, (a circumstance which has not occurred for the last twenty years,) embraced and kissed her cheek; upon entering the neighbourhood of Queluz, they were met by the whole of a most brilliant court, and an immense concourse of the people. The latter, taking off the horses, drew the royal carriage as far as the gates of the palace, and the former followed *on foot*, in grand procession. Their Majesties, upon alighting, again kissed each other, before all the assembly, and then proceeded, hand in hand, to the audience chamber, where such numerous "beije maos" (kissing of hands upon presentation) took place, that the ceremony was not concluded under six hours. Several ladies, who were present, assured me that they dropped into a deep sleep the instant they entered their carriages, on coming away, completely worn out by fatigue and exhaustion." Vol. II. p. 181.

Balls, fetes and illuminations without end succeeded. Sir Robert Wilson came into the Tagus, was arrested and deprived of his order of the Tower and the Sword. The Queen was "in a terrible state of temper." Sir George Nayler arrived with the Garter, and the King was so impatient for the investiture

that he peremptorily ordered his surgeon to cure a sore leg under which he laboured, several days earlier than they projected; but before this desired ceremony could take place Mrs. Baillie, to the great joy of her heart, once again set sail for England. It is most refreshing to turn from the sickly and unnatural preference which most travellers affect to feel for their foreign abodes, to the simple and affectionate delight with which Mrs. Baillie contemplates her return home.

We have omitted sundry visits to nunneries, and conventual anecdotes, as they are such as may be found abundantly in similar publications. One or two instances of the extent of the prevalent superstition, may, however, be cited; and they are such, be it remembered, as may be expected to exist in every country which professes the Roman Catholic religion. A person who had been urged to pray *directly* to God, instead of indirectly addressing him through the saints, replied as follows:—

“It is proper and right, (said he,) to apply to the saints, when we want any thing; they are in favour with God, and can (if they are pleased with our offerings) obtain for us every good gift. With regard to addressing ourselves to God himself, that would be a very *unwise* method of proceeding: would any prudent person present a request to the king, when he knows that his ear is open only to the persuasions and representations of the fidalgos who surround him? now the saints are *God's* fidalgos and therefore we pray to *them*.” Vol. I. p. 92.

“A woman in the lower class of society, being oppressed by the weight of some family misfortune, went to one of the churches to pray; she was found by this priest upon her knees, pouring out her supplications to that Almighty Redeemer, who alone is able to save! “Why do you pray to Jesus Christ?” said he: “apply rather to such and such *saints*, for they are so powerful in heaven, that they are able to do every thing for you, and may ask *whatever they choose* of Jesus Christ, *who dares not refuse them*!” Vol. I. p. 52.

A discovery of great importance to religion, (if we may so abuse the word), was made during Mrs. Baillie's residence.

“At the distance of a few miles from hence is a certain field, in which a peasant boy was chasing a rabbit; the animal crept into an aperture in the side of a bank, closely followed by a dog; the boy, surprised to find that the latter did not return, determined to ascertain what had happened to prevent it, and, accordingly, groped his way into the bank, through the same narrow entrance; what was his astonishment, upon finding himself in a sort of cave, or hermitage, at the upper end of which he beheld an image of the virgin! The discovery was soon made public, and the miracles affirmed to be worked by this image go on daily increasing; all ranks of persons

are hastening to the spot, and it is asserted, among other popular tales, that when the boy first entered the cave, he found both the rabbit and dog upon their knees in devout adoration of the image." Vol. II. p. 112.

" Every creature in Lisbon and its environs is hastening to pay due adoration at the shrine of the newly discovered virgin, who is about four inches long, and being found, as I before mentioned, in a cave near this place, is consequently denominated " *Nossa Senhora da Barracca*," (our lady of the cave.) Here, every evening, a friar descants upon the miracles said to have been performed by her; and a small book, descriptive of them, has been published by *authority*. The image is already covered with costly ornaments, among which are, a crown set with brilliants, and numerous gold chains; the gifts of those votaries who are able to afford such demonstration of their faith. An aged fidalga, and somewhat fanciful withal, living in this neighbourhood, and who has been bed-ridden for years past, has caused herself to be carried to the cave, and has in consequence, (as she declares,) recovered the use of her limbs; the circumstance being well authenticated, affords additional proof of the extraordinary power of the imagination in nervous and hypochondriac complaints. The Queen goes in grand state this evening, and makes an offering of a silver lamp. The field resembles an immense fair, and restaurateurs regularly attend in their booths, to provide for the refreshment of the company. Last night, there were no less than thirty carriages upon the ground, and it is common to see more than a thousand of the peasantry and townspeople upon their knees, at one time, surrounding the mouth of the cave. The friars have thought proper to declare, that a balsamic fragrance flows constantly from the image; and though there is always a strong smell of garlic and oil in the grotto, it is the fashion, upon entering, to exclaim, " What a delicious odour!" I ought to tell you, that the Senhora is not very easy of access, as the entrance of her cave is so narrow, that persons are under the necessity of squeezing themselves in, creeping upon the hands and knees, and the heat of the interior is so insupportable, that several women have fainted." Vol. II. p. 128.

The king, queen and royal family, accompanied by the minister of state, went in solemn procession to the cave, and there paid their devotions to the newly found image, expressing a grateful belief that the recent political change was owing to her benign influence.

One other story is almost too *piquant* for our pages; we give it, however, to show the extent of profaneness to which superstition united with pride may lead its votaries. It is only necessary to premise, that *puritana* is not a religious *soubriquet*, but is applied to those families whose blood has never been contaminated by any plebeian alliance.

" Once on a time then, it happened, that a knot of puritana dames

were discussing the subject of who was, or who was not, properly qualified for the high honour of their acquaintance. 'If the Virgin Mary were alive,' said one, 'we could not visit her, you know, on account of her plebeian rank in life.' 'I can hardly decide,' replied another—'she is entitled to our adoration dead or alive.' At length the matter was settled to the satisfaction of everybody, by the fiat of an ancient Marqueza, the oracle of the party.—'Yes,' said she, 'we *might* visit the Virgin, on account of her being so *highly connected*; she is, you know, 'the Mother of G—d!'" Vol. II. p. 232.

Mrs. Baillie for the most part writes feelingly and intelligibly, and it is only now and then that some mistaken tawdriness or sublimities deform her style. She should not tell us, that "the pale demon of consumption may here plume her spectral wings, and grin a ghastly smile of complacence;" nor, that "these iron times are chilled by the freezy influence of the sneering demon of ultra refinement." In justice, however, we must add, that these flights are few, and that the general matter and manner of her volumes is such as we must be indeed fastidious if we did not approve.

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The History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, By the Rev. *J. Holmes*, is in the Press.

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Dr. P. M. Latham has in the Press, *An Account of the Disease lately prevalent at the General Penitentiary*.

A Work, by the Author of *Self-Advancement*, is in the Press. It is entitled *Triumphs of Genius and Perseverance*; and presents an interesting picture of the difficulties that may be surmounted by men of science and literature bent on attaining eminence in their pursuits.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,

FOR MARCH, 1825.

ART. I.—*The Evidence of Christianity, derived from its Nature and Reception.* By J. B. Sumner, M.A. Prebendary of Durham; Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon; and late Fellow of Eton College. 8vo. 429 pp. 10s. 6d. Hatchard; Rivingtons. 1824.

AN author, when he comes before the public, is in some respects in the situation of an actor. Except on the supposition of a certain quantum of talent, he ought not to appear upon the stage at all; but whatever his talent may be, the public have a right to expect that he shall do his best to please them: and if he is able to perform much better than others, not content himself with merely doing as well. Now, if this canon were introduced in the criminal law of criticism, we think that, as impartial judges, we should be fairly authorized in condemning the work now before us. The book itself contains many things that are useful; it is very pleasingly written, and in a spirit of unaffected piety. Had it been the production of an unknown author, we believe that we should have praised it highly. But either the character which Mr. Sumner bears in the world for theological learning and ability is very considerably overstated, or he is capable, if he would, of producing something very much better in every respect than we can conscientiously allow this work to be. The perusal of it, we are free to say, has much disappointed our expectation; and we are the less reserved in expressing our disappointment, because it affords us an opportunity at once of expressing the high estimation in which we are willing to hold the talents of Mr. Sumner, at the same time, that we regret the little permanent benefit which the church seems likely to reap from his exertion of them.

Often have we wished that writers, and more particularly theological writers, could be persuaded to adopt that wise

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regulation of the college of physicians at Memphis, which assigned a specific disorder to each separate practitioner; and forbad him to study the treatment of any disease, except that which he was allowed to cure by law. In imitation of this admirable provision, we should be glad if no divine were allowed, by the canons of the church, to devote himself to the investigation of more than one department of his science; or even were forbidden to appear more than once in the course of his life before the public, in the character of an author. For want of some such enactment, it is quite grievous to see how the press teems with publications on divinity; and at the same time to notice how few of them are calculated, or even seem intended, to survive the season in which, and for which, they are brought out. In ordinary cases this does not much matter; but it is a subject of serious regret, when we find men, such as Mr. Sumner is thought to be, lending themselves to this vulgar scramble for reputation.

There may have been a time, when the literature of the country was in its infancy, in which some apology might be offered, for the publication of works hastily composed. While every subject was new, and every path untrodden, allowance perhaps was due to the eagerness with which men communicated what was no less eagerly sought. But all the high roads of learning have now been trodden down and beaten; and nothing valuable, on any important subject, can at present be added to the general store of knowledge, except at the expense of a degree of labour which was not heretofore required. In theology, this is more particularly the case. Here every path has been explored, every nook and dingle has been surveyed. All that seems now wanting to complete the science, is some such general map of the country, or of particular provinces in it, as would bring the bearings of all the different parts in one view before the eye. The theological student, at present, is overwhelmed with the vast mass of materials that are before him; and we really think, that every work, by an author of reputation, that does not add very materially to the truths already known, or at least place them in some clearer and more philosophical arrangement, is in the nature of a positive grievance.

We are perfectly willing to do justice to the merits both of this and of the preceding publications of Mr. Sumner. Considering them merely as new publications, no doubt they are entitled to rank high in the popular divinity of the day. But if our author's ambition is satisfied by this kind of praise, we confess that our expectations are not. Mr. Sum-

ner possesses a degree of reputation, and especially among his friends, which is very evidently not fully warranted by any thing which he has hitherto atchieved, allowing to his productions all the excellence to which they can possibly pretend. They are written uniformly with much beauty of style; often much eloquence of manner. They display acuteness; are not deficient in learning. There is, we are free to confess, a want of terseness, and of that masculine consciousness of ability, which stamps the writings of our great divines; but still there is sufficient in them to enable us to understand the grounds of the deference which we have heard expressed for his opinions; and it is because we wish to participate in this feeling, that we are now expressing ourselves with so much frankness. We wish to see Mr. Sumner not as a competitor for fame among the fashionable divines of the day, but as a competitor among the standard writers of his country. And it is because we are willing to believe that he is able to take this high place, that we have thought it our duty to make these remarks, which have been extorted from us by a perusal of the work before us.

We have seldom met with a book of any considerable pretension, such as is implied in the very name and title of this to which we are now directing our remarks, apparently composed with fewer marks of labour and study; or where so many topics were handled, and so few pursued to any full conclusion. Instead of carrying his reader straight onward to the point, which he sets out by proposing to prove, in the manner of a person who, having been over the ground before, knows precisely in which direction his object lies, Mr. Sumner compels his readers to accompany him round and round the field, backwards and forwards, merely following the scent of his subject, if we may be allowed so violent a metaphor; and then, as soon as he has put up his quarry, he seems to be content. As to persevering in the pursuit, until, in sportsman's phrase, he has fairly *bagged* his game, this is a labour which he rarely undergoes.

Now, there can be no doubt that such is partly the way in which all truths are for the most part discovered and demonstrated, in the first instance, by the author himself. Every conclusion, that is of importance, must be traced and detected in this method of analytical research. But, as is well known, the method in which truths are to be taught, is precisely the reverse method of that in which they are discovered; and every good writer in matters of reasoning has experienced, that the great difficulty, the irksome part of

philosophical composition, consists precisely in this very task; we mean, that of reversing the original order of our ideas, and giving them that synthetical arrangement, upon the perfection of which the whole beauty of a philosophical work depends, considering it as a composition. If, indeed, a writer has any new truths to communicate, if he has made discoveries in his science, and brought to light principles that had never before been known, no doubt, in this case, he might use the freedom of dispensing with what could otherwise be considered as indispensable. But there are no pretensions to any thing of this kind in Mr. Sumner's work. It was not to be expected, upon a subject so often and so ably handled, as that of the Evidences has been, that any new truths of importance could be communicated. In the groundwork and substance of the work before us, Mr. S. has very properly followed the path which others before him had prescribed; and we may be allowed to add, that it is in those portions of his work, where he was merely going over established ground, that we think the best passages of it are to be found. In those parts of the volume in which Mr. Sumner aims at throwing *new* light upon the subject of the Evidences, and the value of which was doubtless the reason which engaged him to write his book, we do frankly confess, that we cannot equally trace the hand of the master; sometimes even we doubted, whether we did not miss the knowledge of the sound theologian.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters, of which the last is chiefly a recapitulation of what had gone before. Of these, the two first chapters are very much the best, and undoubtedly display much talent. The subject of them is, the 'Origin of the Christian Religion,' and the 'Opposition of Christianity to the Opinions prevailing among the Jews.' In the first of them, Mr. Sumner points out briefly, but very pointedly, the many difficult suppositions, in matter of fact, which are involved in the denial of the Evangelical History. In the second, he marks with a very nice and discriminating hand, the wonderful way in which Christianity was grafted upon the Jewish stock, at the same time that the whole conception of its doctrine, excludes even the possibility of its having been a Jewish invention. We cannot do justice to the merits of this chapter by a mere extract; but the following passage will exemplify what we consider one of the peculiar merits of Mr. Sumner's writings: we mean the clear and perspicuous manner in which he expresses himself, whenever he has to reason upon matters of fact.

"There is no doubt, that at the time when Jesus appeared,

the Jews were expecting a prophet, or a king, or a deliverer, known from their ancient writings under the title of the Messiah. This expectation had even extended through other parts of the East. Such a belief is implied in the inquiry of the Magi who came to Jerusalem to pay homage, asking, 'Where is he that is born King of the Jews?' We read, too, of 'devout men,' who were 'waiting for the consolation of Israel.' All were desiring 'one who should come.' He was anticipated, moreover, under the very title which Jesus assumed. The Samaritan woman spoke the general opinion, when she said, I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things. And the impression produced by the appearance of Jesus is represented as this; 'Come, see a man which told me all that ever I did: is not *this the Christ?* When Christ cometh, will he do greater things than these?'

"Now, suppose the case assumed: that a person, with no divine commission, resolved to claim to himself the character of the expected Messiah. He would lay hold of the popular hope of such an appearance, as the most reasonable chance of his success. Such an expectation would be likely to go far towards accomplishing the event to which it referred.* Therefore he would ascertain what sort of deliverer his nation anticipated, and assimilate himself as nearly as possible to that character.

"But it happens very unaccountably, that the actual character of Jesus was decidedly opposed to the expected character of the Messias. They looked for a conqueror, a temporal king; and had been accustomed to interpret in this sense all the prophecies which foretold his coming. And whether we suppose Jesus to have been impostor or enthusiast, this is the character which he would naturally assume. If he were an enthusiast, his mind would have been filled with the popular belief, and his imagination fired with the national ideas of victory and glory. If he were an impostor, the general expectation would coincide with the only motive to which his conduct can be attributed, ambition, and the desire of personal aggrandizement.

"How, then, can we explain his rejecting from the first, and throughout his whole career, all the advantage which he might have derived from the previous expectation of the people, and even his turning it against himself and his cause? Why should he, as a Jew, have interpreted the prophetic Scriptures differently from all other Jews? Why should he, as an impostor, have deprived himself of all personal benefit from his design?" P. 24.

In chapter III. Mr. Sumner extends the line of reasoning which he had been following with respect to the Jews; and endeavours to show, that Christianity bears upon its face the

* Volney treats this as so certain and important, that he thinks little else necessary in order to account for the origin of Christianity, than to be able to assert, that a mediator or deliverer was expected, who should relieve the nation from its present calamities.

same stamp of originality in its relation to other prevailing or merely probable opinions. Speaking of the Koran, he says,

“ When I subject Christianity to a similar test, no such result appears. I cannot account for its fundamental doctrines. They are agreeable, indeed, to experience and observation: they explain appearances which are and always have been universal throughout the world: they suit the character and meet the necessities of mankind; but they are so far from being on that account ‘as old as the creation,’ that a moment’s reflection on what the tenets of the Gospel really are, will show them to be in the strictest sense original. Like the theory of attraction, they explain phenomena long observed and every where observable; but like that theory, the explanation was perfectly novel. It is difficult to suppose that unauthorized men, of any rank, education, or country, could ever have undertaken to promulgate such doctrines.”

The remark which is here made, is true and important; and the proposition which it lays down, forms, in fact, the real subject of the book itself. The argument, however, by which the proof of it is to be established, is one of extraordinary nicety and difficulty, and which would well repay the labour of any time or talents devoted to the simple object of demonstrating this one truth. But neither Mr. Sumner nor any man living can manage this argument off hand; or without long and cautious deliberation, both as to the matter of proof, and as to the manner in which that proof is to be presented. We have little doubt, but that the volume before us, originally formed the subject of some of Mr. Sumner’s sermons. And had it appeared in that shape before the public, he would have avoided considerable trouble. Because a book of sermons is professedly for *believers* in the great doctrines of Christianity; whereas when a writer puts forth a book upon the ‘Evidences,’ it is professedly for *unbelievers*; and with these last to urge the *difficulty* and *originality* of any part of Christianity, as a proof of its *divine authority*, is a very tender ground of argument indeed. On the face of it, it would appear to involve an evident *petitio principii*; but it is not necessarily that, although perilously near to it. Let, however, this argument be pushed one single step beyond the true point at which it properly stops, and we at once fall into the principle of Tertullian: *credo quia impossibile est*. Of all the doctrines of the Gospel, what most shocks the prejudices of the philosophical unbeliever, are those of the original corruption of our nature by Adam’s sin, and the remission, through the blood of Christ, of the penalty incurred. To lead mankind to a belief in these great truths, as connected with the divinity of

Christ, was the object of all the miracles of the New Testament, of all the prophecies and revelations of the Old. But to turn sharply round upon a man who, with the Greeks, thinks all this "the foolishness of preaching," by telling him that you mean to show, that the very *originality* of these truths, and which he calls their *improbability*, is when properly considered a substantive part of the very Evidences themselves, on which the proof of the truths in question depends, is plainly giving a very unexpected turn to the argument; and requires very delicate and cautious management in the handling. As part of a sermon, to a congregation of pious believers, nothing can be better; but in a book of the *Evidences*, unless the matter is managed with extraordinary prudence, we confess that we had much rather that such ground had been left alone.

To say, that we think Mr. Sumner has managed the argument with peculiar skill or felicity, is a declaration which with all our respect for his talents, we are not prepared to make without some qualifications. It is not our business to take up the opposite part, in a question upon the Evidences of Christianity; but were we disposed to perform in the character of the 'Minute Philosopher,' we doubt whether we could not put some objections into the mouth of Alciphron, which Euphranor would have some difficulty in answering. Our own opinion coincides indeed with Mr. Sumner's; but that is not to the purpose. A book upon the Evidences is written for those who doubt the truths of Christianity. By these the proposition with which the fourth chapter concludes, will not be immediately admitted: and most certainly the conclusion is too broadly stated.

"But if this argument is set aside; if it is thought that the anomalies of human nature make it impossible always to determine, from any ordinary rules of conduct, what enterprise men may or may not take in hand: then I look to another test, to the religion itself, instead of the persons who introduced it. And I argue, that the main doctrines of Christianity—the condemnation of mankind as corrupt in the sight of God, and the atonement made upon the cross by Jesus as a Mediator between the offenders and their Judge,—are doctrines which we cannot, on any rational or probable grounds, attribute to imposture. Taking them as maintained by the Apostles, with all their attending circumstances of the resurrection of the dead, the future judgment, the final punishment of the wicked, and the eternal happiness of the redeemed, we cannot trace their origin to any known or accessible source in the belief of those times and countries. Neither can we account for their reception. There was nothing in the doctrines themselves to allure or conciliate; and the minds, both of Jews and Gentiles, were utterly unprepared to em-

brace a religion which had nothing in common with their former opinions, and directly opposed some of their strongest prejudices." P. 101.

In chapter the fourth, the same line of reasoning is pursued; and in order to carry on his proof of the impossibility of doctrines such as those of the Gospel, being merely fictions of the human imagination, he proceeds to take a new position, though still on the same ground. Most of our theological readers are probably aware, that the manner in which the Socinians endeavour to account for the origin of the doctrine of the atonement, is by supposing the whole to have been merely an accommodation to Jewish prejudices and forms of speaking. The whole language of the Christian mysteries was borrowed, they tell us, from the Jewish law; in-somuch, that had the service of the Temple never existed, such notions as those, which Christians now believe concerning the sacrifice and atonement of Christ, would never have entered into the minds of men. Now it is plain, that if an orthodox believer should be able to prove that, the service of the Temple was instituted by God, expressly with this very design, that is, of familiarizing the minds of men to the connexion of ideas, which is implied in a propitiatory sacrifice, and to the language and phrases in which such a notion was to be expressed, we should at once be put in possession of a *demonstration* of the truth of this great doctrine of Christianity. Instead of the doctrine of the atonement being merely a figure borrowed from the Jewish ceremonial, the Jewish ceremonial will be a figure foretelling the doctrine of the atonement; and the whole will rest upon that, which, if *properly authenticated*, is the most immoveable of all bases; that of prophecy.

That this is the *theory* of the connection of the Old and New Testament, will not, we think, be called in question, by any sound theologian. The difficulty, however, in the instance of the types, to establish this hypothesis to the satisfaction of reasoners in the present day, is by no means small. When the subject of the prophecy is a matter of fact, the fulfilment is easily brought to an intelligible criterion; but when the subject, as in the case of the typical prophecies, is not matter of *fact*, but matter of *doctrine*, it is extremely difficult to bring the proof into the form of a sound argument. Until we have established, to the conviction of those with whom we reason, that the types were actually in the nature of prophecies, by arguments antecedent to the question of the truth of Christianity, we can make no progress whatever; for unless this point be admitted, the mere naked cir-

cumstance of the coincidence between the Christian doctrines and the Jewish rites, falls in, at least, as aptly with the Socinian hypothesis as with the orthodox belief. Because, supposing the orthodox belief to be, what the former assert, no doubt, such a coincidence will afford an intelligible explanation, so far as it goes, of the existence of opinions, for which otherwise it might be difficult to account.

We shall not enter upon this wide field of argument, more than we can help; but we must observe, that there is one condition, which we really think indispensable to the supposition of the prophetic character of the Jewish ceremonial law; which is, that this supposed character, should not be an *after-thought* of the Christians. If the theory of types was unknown to the Jews, and only introduced after the revelation of Christianity, we are free to confess, that we do not see our way very clearly in the argument which is to be built upon it. It may furnish a useful and elevating topic, in a discourse from the pulpit; but it affords a very doubtful kind of topic, in a book upon the Evidences.

Surely it was therefore somewhat inexpedient, to say the least of it, in Mr. Sumner to assert, in broad and positive terms, that the Jews had no knowledge or suspicion, that the service of their Temple was only figurative and prophetic; nor do we think that the reasons which he produces to be such as fairly warrant so startling an opinion. He tells us,

“It was before mentioned, that no expectation of any such fulfilment of the law existed among the Jews. They observed the type, without looking towards the antitype. They considered their law to be perfect in itself; and it does not appear that they generally interpreted it in a figurative point of view. Jesus was not understood, when he made allusions to the historical types, and applied them to himself. And the Apostle, who explains, in an elaborate treatise, the prophetic institutions of the law, and their fulfilment in what Jesus had done and suffered, thinks it necessary to prove the agreement point by point, as if he was laying before his countrymen a novel and unexpected interpretation.” P. 108.

Now, we cannot but think that a little more consideration of the very Epistle which Mr. Sumner quotes, will afford the best possible contradiction to the conclusion which he has drawn from it. The Apostle indeed “explains,” as Mr. S. justly remarks, in an elaborate treatise, “the prophetic institutions of the law;” just as in other places he explains the true scope of the prophecies. But unless we suppose that the Jews believed in the prophetic character of their institutions *generally*, his argument has no consistency whatever. Had the Jews “observed the type,

without looking towards the antitype," the Apostle ought to have prefaced his reasoning with arguments to explain and establish the general doctrine. But the very assumption of this first principle, the absence of so much as an allusion to any doubt or difference of opinion, as to the premises from which he is evidently reasoning, establish the fact of the Jewish belief in the general doctrine, much more unambiguously, according to our opinion, than we can hope to do, on the strength of any direct Jewish authority. If this last, however, is thought necessary, the proof is ready at hand; for, in fact, the whole of the writings of the Jewish doctors furnish an evidence of the strong hold which, the doctrine of types must have taken upon the imagination of that nation. It is almost the single important fact, which can be deduced from their Talmudical interpretations of Scripture; which appear to have proceeded upon a supposition, that not only the rites and institutions of their law possessed a prophetic meaning, concealed under the literal, but that even the very words and letters of it were types and symbols. The extravagant dreams into which the doctrine of types appears to have the Rabbinical commentators, were probably of an age posterior to Christianity. But for the doctrine itself, we have better authority than that of these writers; for we have the authority of writers who were contemporary with the very age of the Apostles. In proof of this, we would refer to the seventh section of the third book of the Jewish Antiquities, in which Josephus rebuts the ridicule which, as he says, had been cast against the Jews, by the enemies of his nation, on the subject of their worship. His answer is, that the things which were derided, in their institutions, were all of them intended to signify and prefigure certain important truths, which he proceeds to name: ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν, are his words. In Philo, the same things are called παραδείγματα τῶν μελλόντων σωμάτων; and in other places τύπης τῆ παραδείματος, and ἀπεικονισμὸς τῶν νοητῶν. He tells us, that the recesses of the tabernacle were only to be understood symbolically: τὰ ἄδυστα τῆς σκηνῆς εἶναι συμβολικῶς νοητά. But in order to set this question at rest, we think it will be sufficient to extract the following passage from the same writer, in which it will at once be seen with what justice Mr. Sumner so broadly asserts, that "the Jews observed the type without looking to the antitype;* and that they considered their law to be

* Mr. Sumner seems to suppose that type is opposed to antitype. But we have always understood type and antitype to mean nearly, if not quite, the same thing.

perfect in itself." In the third book of the life of Moses, p. 146, Ed. Mangay, we have these words: Σκηπὴν ἂν ἔργον ἱερῶτατον, διμυθεγεῖν ἔδοξεν, ἧς τὴν κατασκευὴν, θεοφάτοις λόγοις, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει Μωϋσῆς ἀνεδιδάσκετο, τῶν μελλόντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι σωμάτων ἀσμάτων ἰδίας τῇ ψυχῇ θεωρῶν, πρὸς ἃς ἔδει, καθάπερ ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου γράφῃς καὶ ποιεῖν παραδείγματων αἰσθητὰ μιμήματα ἀπεικονισθῆναι. *Ergo tabernaculi sanctissimum opus ædificari placuit, cujus constructionem, divinis oraculis Moses in monte edocebatur, rerum corporearum species corporis expertes animo intuens, ad quas oporteret, tanquam archetypæ imaginis et exemplarium quæ intelligentia perciperentur, imitationis sub sensum cadentis effingi.*

We trust that the importance of this subject will excuse the length to which our remarks have been drawn out. A proposition, which comes before our readers upon the authority of a person with Mr. Sumner's character, must not be passed over lightly, if there be any reason to doubt its truth. It is evident, we think, from what we have said, that the types of the Old Testament follow, as exactly as the difference of the subjects would admit, the analogy of the prophecies in general: at least, of those prophecies which regarded our Saviour. These, like the types, were known to possess a meaning, the exact import of which was concealed from the Jews until the moment of fulfilment, when a key was to be put into their hands by which the true sense was to be opened. But we have every reason to think that they as fully understood that their *law* was typical "of good things to come," *σκιὰς τῶν μελλόντων αγαθῶν*, as St. Paul expresses it, as we have for supposing that they regarded the *prophecies* in this light. And, indeed, unless we believe this, we do not very clearly see what use can be made of them in a work upon the Evidences; for, as we before said, the coincidences of many facts in the Old, with others in the New Testament, is by itself an argument with two edges. But if once we can establish the truth of the general doctrine of types, *upon testimony independent of Christianity*, it then takes the same place in the evidences of the *doctrines* of the Gospel, as is occupied by the other prophecies in relation to the general facts. The same place which the latter holds in the proof of the divine mission of our Saviour, is held by the former in the proof of his mediatorial office. When the Jew compared the birth, and life, and death of our Saviour, with the predictions of the prophets, he could not but be forcibly struck with the exact, though unexpected, manner in which they had been fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. And when he compared the doctrines which the Apostles taught with the rites and institutions of their law, he could not but

be equally struck with the coincidence between these also. This is well put by Mr. Sumner.

“ When the teachers of the Gospel first claimed his attention, the Jew should have reasoned thus with himself. Do they say that Jesus died for our redemption? So did the paschal lamb die to redeem our whole nation in Egypt. Did he ascend afterwards into heaven? So did our high priest go yearly into the most holy place, carrying thither the blood of a sacrifice slain in the worldly sanctuary. Is there no remission of sins without shedding of blood? There was certainly none under the law. Has Jesus appointed a baptism with water? So had our law its purifications for the washing away of uncleanness. Numberless other questions might be asked, which would bring their own answers with them out of the law of Moses; and such was the use which the Jew ought to have made of it.* ” P. 116.

Now, in order to understand the importance of the proposition which we have here been endeavouring to establish: that the Jews, as well as the Christians, admitted the general principle, which is the ground work of the Apostle's argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews: we have only to consider in our minds, what would be the difference in the force of the above reasoning on the mind of a Jew, in the case of his believing *antecedently* in the prophetic character of the law, and in that of his only hearing this doctrine, for the first time, from the mouth of an adversary. In the one case the explanation of the Apostle would break like a new light upon his understanding; in the other, he would probably reply like the modern Socinian, that Christianity was a plagiarism from the law, not a fulfilment of it. And although this answer is altogether preposterous in the mouth of the Socinian, who pretends to believe in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and in the inspiration of his Apostles, yet in the mouth of a Jew who denied these facts, or in that of any one in the present day, who requires to be convinced of them, it is an answer which places the advocate of Christianity upon ground which it is very troublesome to make good, even though we are willing to believe it possible.

In the next chapter, which is the fifth, Mr. Sumner argues, that the same originality which is observable in the doctrines which the Apostles taught, is also to be traced in the language which they used. The words, ‘carnal,’ ‘grace,’ ‘saved,’ ‘faith,’ ‘righteousness,’ have all of them a technical meaning in the Gospel. Mr. Sumner argues, that this ‘is exactly

* Jones on Figurative Language of Scripture.

what we should expect, if the religion were divine.' But the same thing would probably, or might probably have occurred, if the religion be supposed to be merely new and remote from the prevailing apprehensions of mankind. There is a *congruity*, however, though it is nothing more, between the hypothesis of Christianity and the fact here noticed, which was deserving of mention.

Chap. VI. is on the "argument of the Christian Scriptures with subsequent experience." The general object of this part of his volume, is stated with great force and eloquence by Mr. Sumner, and we cannot do better than give it to our readers in the author's own language.

"Without assuming the truth of the Gospel, we may acknowledge that wherever it is received, whether justly or not, as of divine authority, it has placed men in a new situation: by discovering to them relations not before apprehended, by opening to them prospects not before known, by awakening faculties not before exercised. But the Gospel displays, within itself, a prophetic insight into the behaviour of men under these new relations and in this untried condition. And, more remarkably still, that insight is commonly shown by allusions and hints not fully developed, but manifesting in the original author of them a perfect acquaintance with circumstances and cases which should arise hereafter. Declarations, warnings, descriptions occur, which require a key. The characters or circumstances which the Gospel has produced, supply that key. But could such men as first set out to preach the Gospel, have possessed this fore-knowledge? Could any men have possessed it? If they had ventured to conjecture at all upon a subject so uncertain as human conduct in a case so delicate as religion, would their conjectures have been verified by the subsequent experience of eighteen hundred years? What would have been thought of Columbus, if, instead of merely persevering till he reached a country of whose existence he was assured, he had undertaken to describe the rivers, mountains, or inhabitants which it contained, and the reception he should meet with there? And if he had hazarded such a prophecy, and the event had turned out according to his predictions, we should look upon him as something more than an enterprising adventurer.

"The discourses, however, of Jesus, are full of anticipatory warnings and precepts, which show that the whole map of the future proceedings of his disciples was laid as it were open to his view. And many of these presumed on consequences from the doctrines to be promulgated, some of which would not have seemed probable beforehand to human expectations, and others would not have been openly declared by an imposture, if they had been foreseen."

P. 149.

The first instance adduced by Mr. Sumner, in illustration of this proposition, savours, we fear, of a particular school in theology; the example he selects, is that of the frequent

warnings which our Saviour appears to have given his disciples, of the persecution, to which they would thereafter be exposed. "It is clearly intimated," we are told, "that the persecution of the Christians should be *for righteousness sake*;" and our author proceeds to say, that even to the present hour, the crime of too much religion is held in a degree of dread and dislike, which is not easily accounted for. "For, although there have been victims of fanaticism, yet let all of these, from the times of the Apostles to the present day, be summed up together, they would not appear by a hundredth part, the number of the victims of libertinism. Mischief may have been done by false views or impressions of religion. But if the whole of the mischief could be brought before us, it would not amount to a thousandth part of that which has arisen from the want of any religion." Mr. Sumner goes on immediately after to say, that this dread with which people, even of "irreproachable moral character," are haunted, lest those in whom they are interested, should be guilty "of the crime of too much religion," which they "think worse than the extreme of vanity or extravagance;" all this, he tells us is a fact, which "could not have been foreseen by human intelligence;" that "silent piety, conscientious temperance, and unresisting patience, should be treated as contemptible, and opposed as pernicious," this is a "new case," as he justly remarks, though it is "one which was clearly foreseen by the authors of the Gospel."

Now, as we like openness and frankness, and are no friends to hints and insinuations in others, we will not pretend to conceal what we conceive to be the secret allusion in Mr. Sumner's mind, in the above passages. We understand then, and whether he meant it or not, we are certain most of his readers will understand, that by "those persons of irreproachable moral character," who are afraid lest those in whom they are interested should become "too religious," and who oppose "silent piety, conscientious temperance, and unresisting patience," as "contemptible and pernicious," Mr. Sumner means generally to describe those who are called regular church people in this country. The objects of this unhappy persecution, are to be sought among the evangelical clergy and their followers.

In the days of the Apostles, "silent piety, conscientious temperance, unresisting patience," "humility," "moderation," and "purity," were the weapons by which Christians were instructed to *disarm* their Heathen persecutors, whose hostility, we may remark, was otherwise very naturally provoked by the manner in which their vices and errors were attacked. But the *High Church* persecutors of true religion,

are worse than Heathens; for the very conduct by which St. Peter instructs the early converts to make those "who accused them falsely" to be "ashamed," now, it seems, provokes only hatred and malice, and all uncharitableness.

To say that we are not mortified by the conclusion which is here forced upon us, would, perhaps, be consistent with the supposed pride of our High Church feelings, but not at all consistent with the respect which we entertain for the talents and character of Mr. Sumner. The best refutation, however, which we can give of his unfavourable opinion of so large a portion of his brethren, is a practical refutation; and, so far as we are individually concerned, it is complete. Mr. Sumner will, we trust, believe us, when we assure him, that we do most sincerely rejoice in the knowledge that his unaffected piety and unquestionable zeal for religion, have at least not stood in *his way in life*. As he is a *splendid* exception to the general rule of *persecution for righteousness sake*, according to his peculiar interpretation of the words, so, after this declaration of ours, we trust he will allow that the conductors of the British Critic, are also exceptions to it in an opposite sense. If, however, he should decline to release us from the application of his rule, we can only further reply by "unresisting patience;" which is in reality no great effort on our part. For although we do not think that this part of Mr. Sumner's volume is the very best portion of his book, as some, no doubt, will judge it to be, yet we are certain he meant to wound no feelings, nor to create any hostility, by what he has said; and we can very truly say, that it has been in our office of critics and judges, that we have said any thing on this part of his book, rather than as parties concerned. This part of the work is by no means one which displays much discrimination: to defend fanaticism, because it has not done so much mischief in the world as atheism and irreligion, is really saying nothing at all. Mr. Sumner cannot doubt but that it is the schismatical spirit, the arrogant pretensions, and the many unsound opinions, both as regards faith and practice, which the church opposes, and not the *virtues* of the sectaries. He must indeed be blinded by the prejudices of party, if he does not admit this. The church may be wrong in her estimate; but at the most it is an error of judgment: the error in charity, lies with those who can seriously suppose, that any class of Christians, that are any thing more than Christians in name, should be found to persecute their brethren, because they are *too religious*.

The next example which Mr. Sumner selects in prosecution of the line of argument, here taken by him, is less objectionably

chosen : and except, that in this instance also, he is afterwards guilty of the same fault, which in fact pervades his book, of stating the conclusion in terms much more general and comprehensive, than the particular nature of his premises will warrant, we should praise the passage which we are about to extract, very highly. After noticing the language in which our Saviour foretold the success which his religion would meet with in the world, under the similitude "of a grain of mustard seed," Mr. Sumner then adverts to the different manner in which the reception of the Gospel, by different classes of men, would be marked.

"The parable of *the sower* is remarkable on this ground. "Behold there went out a sower to sow ; and it came to pass, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of the air came and devoured it up. And some fell on stony ground, where it had not much earth ; and immediately it sprang up, because it had no depth of earth ; but when the sun was up, it was scorched ; and because it had no root, it withered away. And some fell among thorns ; and the thorns grew up, and choked it, and it yielded no fruit. And other fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased ; and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty, and some an hundred.

"The sower who goes out to sow his seed, that seed being the word of God, is a just and lively representation of the manner in which the Gospel was originally taught, and is still maintained and disseminated throughout the world. The sower resembles Jesus and his Apostles, and the Christian teachers, ministers, and missionaries which have succeeded them : and if any one were now describing the office of these various labourers as it has been exercised since the introduction of Christianity, the comparison would be no less obvious than it is apt and natural. But nothing similar had been seen in practice when this parable was delivered, The sower had no prototype in the commentators of the law, the Scribes or Pharisees : nor even in the occasional exhortations and warnings of the prophets : still less among the various priests and hierophants of heathen superstition.

"The application of the parable is still more original and extraordinary. It describes, with a sort of graphical illustration, the different reception which was to be expected for the "Word of God." The Gospel claimed this title ; and there are four distinct ways, and no more, in which a doctrine professing this claim may be treated.

"It may be at once rejected. It may be admitted for a while into the heart, and be afterwards excluded by rival interests. It may be admitted and retained there, but exercise no active influence over the conduct ; or it may be made the ruling principle of a man's sentiments, desires, pursuits, and actions.

"Every modification of faith and of unbelief falls naturally into one of these four classes ; and all these classes have existed wherever the Gospel has been generally made known. None of them, however,

had existed at the time when the parable was uttered. The Jewish law was so different in its nature, and so differently taught, that it produced none of those marked effects which have always attended the promulgation of the Gospel. Therefore the parable was at the time unintelligible to those who heard it. The characters which should hereafter appear, existed only in the mind of the Author of the religion under which they were to spring: as the forms and lineaments of the future world are supposed by the philosopher to have been present in the mind of its divine Architect, though the lapse of time was required to unfold and exhibit them. The parable, when first pronounced, was as much a *prophecy* as the declaration which foretold the destruction of Jerusalem. P. 172.

We approve of every part of the above passage, except the conclusion which Mr. Sumner draws, that the parable "was as much a *prophecy*, as the declaration which foretold the destruction of Jerusalem." Surely this is very loose and inconsiderate; at all events, it is a very *untheological* way of speaking. It is lowering the evidence of prophecy in general, in order to exalt a particular argument. If Mr. Sumner would only consider for a moment, and define to himself what it is which is meant by *prophecy*, he will at once perceive, that this way of confounding the perfect wisdom of our Saviour's character and instructions, with the miraculous evidence on which the proof of his divine authority rests, can be productive of no possible advantage; it only gives a handle to unbelievers for questioning the judgment of divines in matters of theological reasoning. Instances of this kind of carelessness are so numerous in the work before us, that even upon ourselves an impression has been made, that Mr. Sumner is a writer upon whose conclusions a reader cannot implicitly rely without a careful examination of his argument.

We have expatiated at so much length upon this and other topics, that we have left ourselves but little space for any remarks upon the remaining part of the volume. And as the subject of the concluding chapters of the work leads us along a path that has been already beaten by writers upon the evidences, the haste in which we must run to the conclusion of our review, needs the less to be regretted. The subjects of the remaining chapters are, the "wisdom manifested in the Christian Scriptures,"—the "Originality of the Christian Character,"—the "Reasonableness of the Christian Doctrine,"—the "First Promulgation of Christianity,"—its "First Reception;" and its "Effects." Except in the chapter on the "Originality of the Christian Character," in which we cannot help thinking that Mr. Sumner lays a somewhat more *exclusive* stress upon the doctrine of human corruption, than is warranted by the example of St. Paul, or than seems either expe-

dient or profitable in itself, we do not remember any remarks which have struck us as requiring comment. We have to complain of desultoriness and want of method in this part of the work; but this fault is compensated by many detached passages, which, if they do not display any very extraordinary powers of mind, as connected with theology, are yet often striking in themselves, and are almost always expressed with elegance. There is, indeed, an ease and fluency in Mr. Sumner's style, which whenever it does not spread into diffuseness, are singularly attractive; and must always ensure to him a high place among the popular writers of his own day. Whether he will continue to occupy the same place in the days of our children, depends, perhaps, upon himself: but we do not think the work before us, to be one which will then be considered as a manual. It has many merits even as a whole: very great merit in parts: but neither in parts nor as a whole, are its pretensions great, if regarded as a work upon the evidences. Its merit at all events is not of a high and difficult kind; since with whatever advantage it may be studied by those who believe beforehand in all the facts and all the truths which are here explained and confirmed, we doubt whether it would make any serious impression upon the mind of an acute unbeliever. Mr. Sumner often argues with much acuteness; but we doubt whether he can be considered in the comprehensive sense of the word, a good reasoner. Neither would he have been thought a good systematic divine in the days when there were giants in the world; but οἷς νυν βρώτοι εἰσιν he is a very considerable writer.

ART. II. *The Crisis; or, an Attempt to shew from Prophecy, illustrated by the Signs of the Times, the Prospects and the Duties of the Church of Christ at the present period. With an Inquiry into the probable Destiny of England during the predicted Desolations of the Papal Kingdoms. By the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hamstall Ridware, &c. Cadell. 1825. pp. 253.*

WE have always been disposed to regard Mr. Cooper as one of the most useful and judicious writers of that school to which he belongs; for though his writings are tinged with the peculiar phraseology of his party, yet there is a vein of practical good sense mingled with his piety, which generally keeps him from becoming fanciful or enthusiastic. His sermons, if not distinguished by much depth of thought or originality of manner, are very useful and respectable dis-

courses on the most important topics of faith and morality, and, as such, they have obtained a very wide circulation amongst the clergy and laity of our church; and, though we could here and there wish an expression altered, yet we have no hesitation in saying, that, taken as a whole, they are fully deserving of the esteem and popularity which they possess.

With such feelings of respect and gratitude to this author, it was really with no little alarm and disappointment that we took up the big and bowwow title of his present publication. We had vainly hoped that we had outlived the time when the din of wars and rumours of wars could raise every author on the tiptoe of expectation, and when "the Crisis," "the Alarm," or "the Tocsin," were the ordinary sounds which ushered in every pamphlet. We had vainly hoped, that Mr. Faber no longer expected to meet with the name of Buonaparte in the Revelations, and that Messrs. Brothers and Bickers had ceased to alarm the timorous by foretelling the end of the world; but we have been premature, it seems, in our expectations, and here comes Mr. Cooper with his "Crisis" and his "Prophetical Chart," by which every event from the period B. C. 603, down to the Millennium, may be accurately known and calculated.

We have long beheld in sober sadness this restless irritability for accommodating passing events to the predictions of Inspiration. We have seen the endless conjectures of mortals piled upon the obscurities of prophecy, till even the evidences of Christianity seemed to suffer in public estimation. In former days, such researches might occasionally employ the learning of a Mede, or the genius of Sir Isaac Newton, but now every scribbler who writes in "the Christian Observer," or the "Evangelical Magazine," has some new interpretation to propose; and scarcely has the folly of one been demonstrated, ere another comes forward with a fresh host of absurdities. Though this spectacle may present the appearance of "many who shall run to and fro," yet we cannot think it completes the prophecy, "that knowledge shall be increased."

Whilst the French Revolution, with all its train of wonderful events, was going forward, there was some apology for this restless expectation of marvels and mysteries. The human mind was incessantly racked by strange intelligence, and still stranger forebodings; but we think it betokens a very weak and puerile taste to continue harping on a string which is no longer in unison with the public feelings; to be predicting scenes of carnage and desolation when every one is desirous of peace, and is looking for prolonged prosperity;

and all this on no better nor stronger grounds, than that Mr. Faber and some writers in the *Christian Observer*, are pleased to suppose we are standing on the verge of the period which is introductory to the Millenium.

As conscientious believers in Christianity, we enter our decided protest against this spurious and apocryphal kind of theology; a theology which we are persuaded has already done infinite harm to the evidences of our religion amongst many sound and considerate persons. Supposing even there was far greater probability in such interpretations than we can bring ourselves to admit, yet we should deprecate this continually bringing them before the public mind, as tending to draw off our attention from what is useful and practical to that which is chiefly speculative and theoretical; but in the way that they are now usually advanced, they appear to us fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the cause of sound faith, and of Christian morality. The events are generally spoken of as certain and indisputable. Thus Mr. Cooper:—

“What, then, is the conclusion which these testimonies warrant us to draw? According to Christ, the 1260 years are expired; and, consequently, the period during which ‘the distress of nations with perplexity’ was to occur, is arrived. According to St. John, the vial of preparation is pouring out; and, therefore, ‘the great earthquake’ may be anticipated as fast approaching. According to Daniel, ‘the king’ having come to his end, Michael has stood up; and, consequently, ‘the time of trouble, such as never was,’ is at hand.” P. 96.

And this is the usual language in which these things are described; language which appears to us far too strong and authoritative for any but an inspired interpreter to use.

For our parts, though we cannot expect to live to the year 1867, when, according to Mr. Cooper’s Chart, “the saints of the Most High shall possess the kingdom, and when the sanctuary shall be cleansed;” yet we must confess, that we feel some little anxiety for our children who may be living at that period, lest their faith should be shaken if none of these wonderful things then come to pass. We do not think that any man has a right to trifle with the word of God, as if it were a book of riddles, for the purpose of guess and conjecture, much less to propose his conjectures as matters little short of truth and certainty; and, least of all, to praise or to blame his contemporaries, as they may seem to help forward or withstand his expectations. And we are sorry to say, that in all these respects Mr. Cooper seems to us to have exceeded his just limits; and, as the charge is grave,

we think ourselves in duty bound to substantiate it by proper evidence.

The first object of the 'Crisis' is to shew that the person described by the prophet Daniel, chap. xi. 36—45, was Napoleon Buonaparte. We extract the passage, with Mr. Cooper's comment :—

“ The 30th verse having introduced the Roman empire into the prophecy,

“ The 31st predicts the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

“ The 32d and 33d foretell the Pagan persecutions of the primitive Christians.

“ The 34th alludes to the conversion of the empire under Constantine.

“ The 35th introduces the papal persecution of the saints and witnesses, continued during the period of 1,260 years, “ *even to the time of the end*, because it is yet for a time appointed.”

In the next verse “ the king,” who, with the circumstances connected with him, is a principal subject of this essay, appears upon the scene of action, “ the king who shall do according to his will,” and whose extraordinary character and proceedings are thus detailed by the angel :

36. And the king shall do according to his will ; and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods ; and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished ; for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god : for
37. he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces : and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones,
38. and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge, *and* increase with glory : and he shall cause them to rule over many, and
39. divide the land for gain. And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him : and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships ; and he shall enter into the
40. countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many *countries* shall be overthrown ; but these shall escape out of his hand, *even* Edom,
41. and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries ; and the land of
42. Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt : and the Lybians and the Ethiopians *shall be* at his
43. steps. But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him : therefore he shall go forth with great fury to
44. destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain ; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

Such is the prophetic description of this extraordinary person; a description which, in the opinion of the writer of this essay, formed after much and long deliberation on the subject, was intended to predict Napoleon Buonaparte, the late Emperor of the French. The grounds on which this opinion is formed he will now proceed to state; and aware of the very important results to which this interpretation of the prophecy, if it should prove to be correct, will lead, he will arrange his proofs, for the greater convenience of considering them, under four separate heads, corresponding to the following particulars in the description of the predicted king; viz.

I. The Time of his Appearance.

II. His Character.

III. His Exploits.

IV. His End." P. 18.

The leap from Constantine, in the 34th verse, to Buonaparte, in the 36th, is the boldest leap upon record. The interpretation which ensues is equally courageous; and, for proofs of its accuracy, we refer the reader to Mr. Cooper's volume. That, "after much and long deliberation," Mr. Cooper, or any other person, should discover Buonaparte in the prophecy of Daniel, is a matter of no slight astonishment. But all Mr. Cooper's friends assure him, "that he has made out a strong case," p. x.; and "most of them recommended the publication of it." His friends, we doubt not, are very sincere; but we venture to ask, are they very judicious?

As to the time of Buonaparte's appearance, unless it can be shewn that the period of 1260 years expired in 1792, the whole of the argument falls to the ground. Mr. Cooper contents himself with telling us, "that, according to his views, the 1260 years expired in 1792," and refers us, for the proof, to Cuninghame's Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets. On this most unsatisfactory foundation, he rears a corresponding superstructure.

The proof which Mr. C. adduces of the identity of Buonaparte's character to that of "the king" mentioned by Daniel, is extremely slight. As to his "wilfulness and impiety," they are features common to most who run a career of conquest and ambition; his allusions to "fate and destiny," whilst addressing the Greeks (p. 32), are such as would be used by any artful impostor who was speaking to *Mahometans*. It was wittily said of him, that he was "an honorary member of all religions;" but this "renegade hypocrisy," though strongly characteristic of the individual, is by no means sufficient to point him out, as "the king who regarded not any god, but magnified himself above all."

Nor "is he proved to be" the king "from his exploits." His expedition to Egypt is the only part of his career

which gives any semblance to the application; but his very short possession of that country, takes away the momentary likeness, and notwithstanding all the ingenuity of Mr. C. we do not think that this "disastrous expedition" at all corresponds to the glorious events which are mentioned by Daniel.

Still less is "Napoleon proved to be the king from his end." (p. 43.) "He shall come to his end, and none shall help him." These are expressions which by no means point out the end of Buonaparte; an end so remarkable, that if he had been designated by the prophecy, we can hardly think that his exile would not have been alluded to. And yet Mr. Cooper is resolved to make up for this deficiency by the solemnity of his reflections. "Like other wilful and infidel conquerors who had preceded him, he was in his defeat and degradation to read a moral lesson to mankind; whilst in this very act he should yet subserve the particular and specific purpose, which according to the view here taken of this vision, he was ordained to fulfill." P. 46.

Writers who have a favourite hypothesis to support, find the strongest proofs where other men behold nothing but vague imaginations. Thus Mr. C. interprets the expression, "the king of the south pushed at him," to mean the "Peninsular war," by which Napoleon was "pushed" from the shores of the Atlantic, p. 50. And in like manner "the king of the north," he tells us, intimates "England," though we suppose that the Emperor of all the Russias, would think that he had as a good a title to the claim. In short, strong assertions and weak testimonies, go to make up the whole of this whimsical interpretation, which we regard as little better "than trifling with the word of God, as though it were a book of riddles." The style in which these uncertainties are proposed, is far too positive and dogmatical. Napoleon is always "proved" to be king; the correspondences are said to be "precise and circumstantial," and the subject is thus summed up by its propounder.

"Such, then, are the arguments on which the interpretation here proposed is founded. In all these particulars predicted respecting 'the king who should do according to his will,' as they relate to the time of his appearance, to his character, to his exploits, and to his end. Napoleon appears to have exhibited so full a correspondence, so clear and striking a resemblance, as seems to justify the conclusion, that he was in fact the very identical individual, whom it was the design of the Holy Spirit in this remarkable vision to designate; but respecting whom the book was to be sealed, and the designation to be unperceived, till he should have fulfilled the office assigned to him, and have 'come to his end' in the manner predicted." P. 55.

But we must still more loudly protest against the spirit of many observations in this work, in which it is more than hinted, that they who differ from these prophetic interpretations, are amongst those who hearing will not hear, and seeing will not perceive, p. 132. Nor can we approve of his denouncing all the continental thrones as "tottering at their basis," p. 28; nor of the revolutionary sentiments at p. 200, by which the people are encouraged to rebel against their rulers, as though they were fighting "the battles of the Lord." See ch. xix. Whatever may be our opinions respecting the conduct of foreign potentates, we consider that language like the following, should find no place in such a work as that before us.

"Witness, in support of these conclusions, the principles of despotism so openly avowed, so unblushingly recorded, and so practically developed in the unjustifiable invasions of Naples and Spain. Witness the systematic opposition, in most of the Papal countries, and especially in the dominions of Austria, to the free circulation of the word of God. Witness the revival, by Papal authority, of the order of Jesuits, the most experienced and indefatigable emissaries of the church of Rome; their restoration to all their former privileges; and the renewed and recognised acceptance of their services by the Holy See. Witness the Papal bulls, repeatedly issued against the principle and the objects of Bible Societies, and conveying their animadversions in language little differing from that of profaneness and blasphemy. Witness the revived sufferings and difficulties of the Vaudois churches, struggling anew in the vallies of Piedmont, with Roman Catholic oppression and tyranny. Witness in every town of Italy the idolatries and abominations of Popery universally practised, and exclusively supported, to the extinction of pure religion and worship. Witness the intolerance and bigotry of Spain and Portugal; who, in their new modelled conceptions and codes of liberty, and of the rights of man, could find no place for religious freedom, nor could grant to any others, than to Papists, the right of serving God according to their conscience. Witness in France the restless and unceasing endeavours of the court to revive the spirit of Popery, and to re-establish the follies and pageantries of the Roman Catholic church. Witness in that country (as in every other country of the beast) the allowed habitual desecration of the Lord's day, and the profane application of it to purposes far less congenial with its instituted design than even worldly labour and secular occupations. Witness in that country the continuance of the licensed abominations of the Palais Royal, and the moral degradation of the capital. Witness in that country the monstrous iniquity of the slave trade, revived and pursued with renovated vigour, under circumstances of very aggravated guilt, in the face of a direct recognition of its enormity, in a defiance of national engagements, in a violation of national honour. Other testimonies of a similar kind might be adduced, and observation will abundantly supply them. But these are sufficient for the purpose of supporting the conclusions

before us. Let us only bear in mind the additional weight which these testimonies derive from the consideration of *the time* in which these things are doing, and of *the situation of the parties* who are doing them. It is in the nineteenth century of the Christian era : it is when the full blaze of pure Christianity is illuminating the mists of Papal darkness, and even in some places, notwithstanding every precaution to the contrary, is penetrating the dense and obscure mass, and pouring its light and heat into the very centre of it ;—it is at such a time that these things are perpetrated by those very nations and governments which have recently experienced, in the most signal manner, the severity and the goodness of the Lord ; which having for a season been visited with some of the heaviest dispensations of his providence, were suddenly, by his interposition, delivered from the calamity of war, and blessed with returning tranquillity and peace ; but which, now, forgetful alike of their mercies and their judgments, are “ thus requiring the Lord, a foolish people and unwise.” In the contemplation of these things are we not warranted, are we not compelled to conclude, that these nations and governments are rapidly filling up the measure of their sin, and at this moment are but little short of that dimension of guilt, which, when once attained, will expose them, without delay or remedy, to all those unprecedented judgments, which the word of truth so awfully predicts ?” P. 213.

There is also in our opinion, far too much said about “ the beast,” and the “ scarlet beast,” as applied to the Papal power ; but the application of the principles of “ infidelity, despotism and popery,” with “ *frogs* coming out of the mouth of the dragon, the beast and the false prophet,” p. 92, is so ludicrous, that we think no one can read it without a smile upon his visage.

Nor can we be brought to pardon this kind of theology, on account of its predicting such glorious fortune to our own country. The fleets of England, it seems, are to convey the Jews back to the promised land, and we presume that Lord Gambier is to be appointed commander-in-chief. Michael, is now, we are told, actually “ standing up for the Jews ;” but we are afraid that the success of the Jewish Society does not give much evidence in favour of the assertion. The Bible Society, and the Missionary Societies, are bringing in the fulness of the Gentiles, and the throne of every Papal prince will be subverted. We protest against this grotesque mixture of politics and prophecy. It is as absurd, though happily not so mischievous as Pastorini. The manner in which the state of England is commented on, p. 179, puts us in mind of the wildest reveries of Brothers and Johanna Southcot, and is calculated, we are persuaded, only to feed the delusions of zealots, or to make sport for unbelievers. Wesley and Whitfield, are alluded to as the great *regenerators* of the clergy. And Mr. Cooper’s associates and friends are

employed in consolidating the work. We conjure him not to turn his Bible into a subject for wit and drollery; to remember that "the beginning and the end of all things," cannot be descried from the lattice of his rectory; that it is one thing to beat up for recruits to a party, and another to unite for the Christian church; and though he is neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, we shall thank him for another volume of "Practical and Familiar Sermons for Parochial and Domestic Instruction."

ART. III. *A respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops, of the United Church of England and Ireland, respecting the necessity of Morning and Afternoon Service, on Sunday, in every Parish Church in His Majesty's Dominions; with a few Thoughts concerning the Residence of the Clergy. By a Churchman.* Rivingtons. 8vo. pp. 32. 1825.

THE principal object of this pamphlet is good, and if the writer had confined himself within the bounds prescribed in his title page, and strengthened his argument by a detailed examination of facts, he would have been entitled to our best thanks. Unfortunately he prefers saying a little about every thing, to saying enough upon a single subject; and the consequence is, that when we look for information respecting afternoon service, he hurries off to discuss public patronage, and to find fault with the accumulation of *dignities* upon a few favoured individuals. The abuses under these heads are over stated; and no acknowledgment is made of the great improvement which has been introduced of late years. We could wish, therefore, that the subject had been entirely passed over, or reserved for a separate and more equitable consideration. At present it only serves to distract the attention both of the writer and reader, from a very important practical question.

We shall state it in the words of the author:—

"The opinion of the writer, founded on extensive observation, and very mature reflection, is, that separation is promoted, the reputation of the church injured, and the influence of her ministers diminished, by the custom of divine service being performed, on Sunday, once only, in many parts of the kingdom.

"This custom, however the motives, on which it rests, may appear, in any *particular* case, to justify it, will excite suspicions of general indolence or neglect, injurious to the character of the clergy, and hurtful to the church.

“ But, let not the clergy be condemned by any friend of the church, and of the cause, in which they have the honour to be engaged, by *unqualified* reference of the custom of single service, to indolence or neglect. The custom will be found to have arisen, often, neither from indolence, nor neglect; but from an idea that, when two churches are so situated as to suit, equally, or nearly equally, the population of two adjoining parishes, an alternation of service, once in each church, morning and afternoon, answers the purposes of two services in both. It may, too, be added, that, in some cases, where the population of both parishes is so small, as not to afford two full congregations, in both churches, on both parts of the day, and when the distance of the majority of inhabitants from each church is nearly the same, the advantages of a full congregation, animating devotion, have been considered as more than counterbalancing the omission of divine service, on one part of the day, in each church.

“ They who are acquainted with country situations, will admit that this may, *sometimes*, be the fact;* but the cases are, comparatively, very few, where both morning and afternoon service, in each church, would not be of great public advantage, in the comfort afforded to some pious persons, residing near to the church, whether it be their own parish church or not, whose age or infirmities, or other circumstances, may prevent their attending at a greater distance. Morning and afternoon service, would, also, assist arrangement for *some portion* of the family to attend church, certainly, *once a day*. When local or other impediments, exist against such arrangement, (and where single duty, only, is performed, *impediments*, often, *will* exist,) habits of neglect are either formed, as to attendance on *any* public service, or the greater facilities afforded by places of worship, not in connection with the establishment, detach persons from the church, who might, otherwise, have continued among her most valuable members.

“ In addition to these inconveniences, public scandal has arisen to the church from the hurry with which the service is, sometimes, necessarily, performed, when the clergyman is engaged in the care of more churches than one; and from his inability, often, when distantly engaged, to attend to pressing calls to sick persons, which calls may be, particularly, expected on the Lord's day, when the sick and their friends are most at leisure to profit from the solemn

* There are parishes, in some parts of the kingdom, so situated, that, if we carry not our ideas beyond them, very little or no additional benefit could be expected from two services; parishes, in which two services having been tried, advantages so trifling have been experienced, that, after trial, single duty only has been performed in them. Sometimes, too, a clergyman's sphere of usefulness may have been enlarged, by his accepting, or joining in, the care of a neighbouring parish. Still, a good and reflecting person will dismiss *particular consideration*; and the *positive* benefit that would result to the community from two services being, *universally*, introduced, would amply compensate the conscientious clergyman for application, however comparatively unprofitable, of a *generally salutary rule*, to his own *particular case*. Uninfluenced by *private* or *peculiar considerations*, he would, *most willingly*, co-operate with it.

visitation. These are inconveniences, great in themselves, and greater in the mischief of their operation; and they would not exist, if the offices of the clergyman were fixed to one church, and to the devout performance therein, of morning and afternoon service." P. 1.

Agreeing entirely with the sentiments thus expressed, we have only to regret, that they are not fortified as they might have been in the following pages. The writer ought to have been aware, that the evil of which he complains is not general; that there are dioceses in which single services are hardly known; that they have given way in many instances to the existing law, or rather perhaps to the good feeling of the incumbents, excited and directed by the admonition of their bishops; that the same result may be obtained in every instance by the exercise of a little zeal and discretion; and that consequently there is no need for the interference of the legislature.

ART. IV.—1.—*The Book of Psalms in an English Metrical Version, founded on the Basis of the authorized Bible-Translation, and compared with the original Hebrew: with Notes, critical and illustrative. By the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D. D. M. R. I. A. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. Oxford, Parker; London, Rivingtons. 1824.*

2.—*Songs of Solyma; or, a new Version of the Psalms of David; the long ones being compressed, in general, into two Parts or Portions of Psalmody, comprising their prophetic Evidence and principal Beauties. By Baptist Noel Turner, M. A. some time Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge, Rector of Denton, in Lincolnshire, and Wing, in Rutland. 1824.*

3.—*Irad and Adah; a Tale of the Flood—Poems—Specimens of a new Translation of the Psalms. By Thomas Dale, of Bene't College, Cambridge.*

OF the three works now on our table, the two which we have placed first have these laudable objects in view; an improvement on the former versions of the Psalms as compositions, and the *rationalization*, if we may so speak, of our Church psalmody. The name of Bishop Mant is sufficient alone to command attention and respect; it is a name which has ever appeared in conjunction with some public advantage; and therefore, while we generally state, that we do not consider the Bishop entirely to have attained

his object, we state it with every applause of his motive, every appreciation of his industry, and every admiration of his talents and learning. We think the Bishop has been unsuccessful, principally because he has not adhered to the excellent principle laid down in his title-page; that of taking the authorized version as the basis of his translation, no less in phraseology than interpretation. Like all his predecessors, he fails through his redundancy; a cause which weakens all translations, and those of the Psalms more especially, whose beauty would less frequently be diminished by the subtraction than by the addition of an expression or idea. Still is he very superior to Brady and Tate; and the version is such as might be used with real devotional feeling in our churches, which great part of the other cannot. Perhaps we are too fastidious; our standard of perfection in metrical versions of the Psalms is certainly very high; but we shall not be satisfied till we meet with a version which is altogether worthy of the Liturgy with which it is to be connected; and of this, difficult as its production may be, we do not altogether despair.

The "Songs of Solyma" are intended for church worship only: they are only extracts from the Psalms, of a convenient length for singing, and a good deal adapted and spiritualized. If in preferring selections to an entire version, Mr. Turner has been judicious, he falls in one respect infinitely below Bishop Mant, inasmuch as he purposely deserts the authorized version, and gives into all the verbose nothingness of Brady and Tate. Mr. T. professes to have begun his work when an octogenarian; every praise, therefore, is due to his zeal and industry: but the version strongly partakes of that character of poetry which was popular in his youth, and which least of any school merits the name.

Mr. Dale's work we only notice in this article on account of the Psalms at the end. As we are a good deal interested in the subject of Psalmody, we were anxious to see what had been done towards its improvement by a gentleman of known poetical powers. We unhesitatingly say, that if Mr. Dale will produce a version of equal excellence with the Psalms which he has translated in this volume, he will approach nearer the standard of excellence in this respect than any author we know. Still he is far too negligent of the style of the prose version, and nothing but a considerable share of poetic genius could, with this negligence, have enabled him to attain the success which he actually has achieved. His metres, too, are often not adapted to those simple

melodies commonly used in our churches, and which might give adequate expression to the highest conceivable degree of poetical excellence. The metres in common use ought at all events to be retained, as they are by far the best suited to the expression of beauties whose very essence is simplicity.

We shall conclude this article by giving from each of the works before us a version of the CXXXVIIth Psalm; which will be found a fair specimen of the rest, as the beauties of this Psalm are of a kind to exhibit the peculiar excellencies and failings of those who undertake to give it a metrical form.

BISHOP MANT.

- “ By Babel’s streams we sat, and wept ;
 Our thoughts, O Zion, dwelt on thee ;
 Meanwhile our harps, in silence, slept
 Aloft on many a willow tree.
- “ For they who led us far away,
 With taunts inflam’d our bitter wrongs ;
 ‘ Come, sing,’ they cried, ‘ a mirthful lay ;
 Come, sing us one of Zion’s songs.’
- “ Remote from Zion’s holy hill,
 And slaves beneath a stranger king ;
 How shall we show our tuneful skill,
 And how Jehovah’s anthem sing ?
- “ O Salem, lovely Salem, thee
 If e’er my heart forget to love ;
 Then may my hand forgotten be,
 That wont the warbling strings to move ;
- “ And may my tongue its utterance cease,
 If I omit thee in my joy ;
 Or other theme than Salem’s peace
 My rapture’s loftiest strains employ.
- “ Remember, Lord, on Edom’s race,
 The wrongs of Salem’s fatal day :
 ‘ Down, down,’ they shouted ; ‘ from the base,
 Down, down to earth, her glories lay !’
- “ Proud child of Babel ! blest is he,
 Who quits thee for thy ruthless wound ;
 Blest, who shall seize, by God’s decree,
 And dash thy infants on the ground.

MR. TURNER’S ADAPTATION, FROM MR. BULLEN.

- “ Proud Babylon’s waters among,
 We grieved, lovely Sion, for thee ;
 Our harps on the willow trees hung,
 As sad and as silent as we.

- “ Then they who occasion'd our wrongs,
And still would our sorrows affront,
Bade us sing one of Solyma's songs,
As late, in her courts, we were wont.
- “ Our voices how can we prepare,
Jehovah's great acts to proclaim?
His mercy and truth to declare,
'Mongst strangers who know not His Name?
- “ Yes, Solyma, thee have I loved;
If I love not thy palaces still,
May my tongue in my mouth be unmoved,
My right hand be bereft of its skill.”

MR. DALE.

- “ By Babylon's proud stream we sate,
And tears gushed quick from every eye;
When our own Zion's fallen state,
Came rushing on our memory;
And there, the willow groves among,
Sorrowing our silent harps we hung.
- “ For there our tyrants in their pride
Bade Judah raise th' exulting strain;
And our remorseless spoilers cried,
' Come breathe your native hymns again ;'
Oh how, in stranger-climes can we
Pour forth Jehovah's melody?
- “ When thou, loved Zion, art forgot,
Let this unworthy hand decay!
When Salem is remembered not,
Mute be these guilty lips for aye!
Yea ! if in transport's liveliest thrill
Thou, Zion, art not dearer still?
- “ Think, Lord ! on Edom, and repay
Her cruel hate with equal woes ;
Think, how on Zion's fatal day,
Her ruthless sons invoked our foes ;
Haste ! haste ! the lordly towers o'erthrow,
And lay proud Salem's bulwarks low.
- “ Daughter of Babel ! doomed ere long
The retributive hour to mourn ;
Blest be the man, who Zion's wrong
Shall on thy guilty head return ;
Blest he, who grasps thy serpent-brood,
And dies the rocks with infant-blood.”

ART. V. *The Pleasures of Society; a Poem.* 8vo. 60 pp.
Rivingtons. 1824.

WE are not aware that the world is in very particular want of the lesson which this poem is intended to convey. The eremitical life has few votaries among us; and our anonymous author gains an easy, if not a glorious victory, over the admirers of silence and solitude. His object, however, is evidently a good one—to expose misanthropy, and to encourage contentment. And as far as this can be done in a desultory semi-didactic poem of fifty pages, his performance is entitled to commendation. The thoughts are more remarkable for simplicity than strength; but the versification is always easy, and occasionally vigorous. The lines to Freedom, which justly claims a place among the Pleasures of Society, give a fair specimen of the author's manner:

“Hence too fair Freedom waves her golden wings
O'er the wide earth, and kindred feeling brings,
Proclaims her sacred cause to all around,
And distant nations hail the welcome sound
Of justice, which unites in one accord
King and the priest, the peasant and the lord;
The social compact, which in union binds
The struggling chaos of contending minds;
In even course man's rival passions run,
As circling planets round the ruling sun;
Checked by firm equity and righteous sway,
The tyrant's ruthless march or people's lawless way.

She to loved Albion's fair and sea-girt isle,
Gave the first token of her earliest smile;
From her white cliffs commenced her glorious flight,
In all the splendour of celestial light;
Shook the stern tyrant from his blood-stained throne,
Bade him man's rights, and equal justice own;
Took from the slave Oppression's galling chain,
And made his bosom feel the manly thought again.” P. 15.

It would be wrong to hold out the flattering prospect of popularity to the writer of this little poem; this work must take its chance among the countless trifles of the day, and the chance is not much in his favour. His just and unaffected sentiments would produce as much, if not more effect in prose than in poetry. The fury for rhyme has had its day, and is gone; and it may be doubted, whether even the following pretty verses, with which we take leave of our Pleasures, will obtain half the admiration which is bestowed upon Mrs. Sherwood's Nursery Tales, or Sir Walterish Novels of Mr. Galt.

“ Oft from the social scene we turn aside,
 For calmer thoughts, at pensive even-tide ;
 To hazel copse or flower-bespangled vale,
 And catch the fragrance of the whispering gale ;
 Whilst o'er the tranquil mind reflection steals,
 And every sense the soothing pleasure feels ;
 We pause and think how good the Power above,
 How vast the mercy of redeeming love.
 Each flower that glitters to the charmed eye,
 Each cloud that passes in the golden sky,
 The leaf that quivers to the murmuring breeze,
 The hum of insect 'mid the vernal trees,
 And that rich melody of warbled song,
 By blackbird poured the echoing vale along,
 O'er the rapt soul a sweet enjoyment cast,
 And calm remembrance of affliction past.” P. 21.

ART. VI. *Sermons on Faith and other Subjects.* By Robert Nares, M. A. F. R. S. &c. Archdeacon of Stafford, Canon Residentiary of Litchfield, and Rector of Allhallows, London Wall. 2 Vols. 8vo. 360 pp. Rivingtons. 1825.

THE first seven Sermons in the volume before us are on the subject of Faith. The author has fully illustrated its nature and character; has shewn how essential a constant stability without wavering, is, to a true faith: the meaning and necessity of walking by faith, so as to display its practical fruits; and its power, as exhibited in a strong influence over the mind, affording a support in the greatest trials and temptations. Such is the outline of his subject, and it appears that the chief object in view was to maintain the practical nature of a true and saving faith, in opposition to the idea of its being a mere speculative belief. In a portion of the valuable notes appended to the volume, Mr. Nares comments upon the doctrine of Rotheram's Essay, which he contends would make faith consist in a mere speculative belief. The question is obviously one of terms, it being beyond dispute, that the same word is used in some passages of Scripture to signify a mere assent of the understanding; and in others, to comprehend the lively and practical influence of that assent. However, the author was led to take up the subject, conceiving that the true principle of Christian faith, as laid down by the venerable founders of our church, was too little recollected or understood at the present day. How far this may be the case among his own hearers, we do not know; but we

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own we should not have selected such a charge as generally applicable to the present time.

But, however this may be, the discourses are in themselves extremely sound and instructive; there is not any pretension to great originality, nor (as we have often had occasion to remark) is originality on such a subject an essential qualification: many of the arguments, however, are put in a very clear and forcible manner. In the first Sermon it occurs to us, that a doubt may be entertained of the interpretation given to the passage Habb. ii. 4. which the author makes out to have a practical force, by putting it in this way;—"It is the *just* who are to live by faith; not all kinds of persons, just or unjust." Hooker's admirable sermon on this passage, is not a little at variance with this interpretation. The Scriptural instances of the efficacy of faith, are forcibly urged, and well illustrated, and we think the following passage will afford at once a good specimen of our author's manner, and a clear statement of the grounds of faith, and its practical efficacy.

"We see then how ignorant, as well as malicious, those persons have been, who at any time have censured the Christian grace of faith, as if it meant no more than mere credulity or easiness of belief; a quality which it must be owned, is often found to reside in persons of the weakest intellect. The foundation of Scriptural faith on the contrary, is always supposed to be placed on sound and rational grounds of belief. In the days of the patriarchs, and under the Mosaic covenant, belief was usually founded on actual revelation from Heaven; or at least some impulse of known inspiration. When our Saviour was on earth, its foundation was the evidence of his miracles and divine discourses, which gave sufficient cause for full reliance upon him, to all who saw or heard them with candour and attention. After that, it was the positive testimony of his Apostles and Evangelists, who witnessed what they had seen or known, and gave the strongest pledges for their truth. Since that time, belief in the Gospel rests upon the testimony of history, witnessed (as all history is) by human words or writings. But in addition to these, it possesses proofs peculiar to itself, in the testimony of prophecies fulfilled, or yet to be accomplished; with a variety of conspiring evidences, of such a nature, that they who with the greatest diligence and acuteness examine into them, are generally the most profoundly convinced of their weight, authority and certainty.

"These are, or have been, the various causes of conviction: to which, if a person candidly attends, he cannot but believe. In all these ways therefore, a rational *belief* may be obtained: but whether it shall amount to *faith* in the true and christian sense, depends upon the character and behaviour of the believer. Belief existing in the mind, without producing any consequences, is wholly without efficacy, or saving power. It is only when it leads to actions expressive of unshaken steadiness and confidence, demonstrating a full

reliance on that which we have just reason to believe, that it deserves the name of *faith*; and like the faith of Abraham, is accounted for righteousness. For this reason, probably, it was, that our Saviour, during his own ministry, required of those who wished to become his disciples, a sacrifice never afterwards demanded of converted persons; namely, that they should forsake all and follow him; they could not otherwise at that time give sufficient proof of their entire reliance upon him, and their unalterable confidence in his power and goodness. St. James has told us truly, that "Faith without works is dead;" and the very first and most necessary work of faith is to show by your conduct, that nothing can change or shake it. P. 13. Sermon. 1.

This explanation of our Lord's requisition upon his followers, to forsake all, is very ingeniously adduced. The author continues, in his second discourse, to point out the efficient character of faith, as implying trust and confidence, by an examination of the original meaning of the expression in Heb. ii. 1. *ὑπόστασις*, which would have been much more consistently rendered "confidence," or "firm assurance." In support of this, he urges the authority both of our translators, who have given that meaning in the margin, and of several other eminent writers and commentators. Bishop Conybeare had remarked, that the *substance* of things hoped for would seem to mean the things themselves. So that the passage in its ordinary acceptation is imperfect in point of sense; and we think a due attention to the original meaning would vindicate the Apostle from a charge which has sometimes been advanced against this passage, as appearing to give a definition of faith, which is really no definition at all. According to the reading here supported, the definition is clear and complete. The whole argument of the sermon is very well laid together, upon the adoption of this interpretation of the text.

In the 3d Sermon, against Wavering in Faith, the different senses in which that expression may be applied are closely and practically distinguished, especially that irritation of an unsettled mind, adopting innovations in religious belief, and regarding novelty as if it were the test of truth. This very prevalent tendency the preacher ably combats. He mentions in a note, in illustration of this part of the subject, an interesting anecdote of Melancthon. When his mother became anxious respecting the topics then agitated, he advised her to continue to worship as she had been used, and not to suffer her mind to be disturbed with controversies. "Go on," he said, "to believe and to pray as you do, and have done before, and do not disturb yourself about the

disputes and controversies of the times." The propriety of individuals rather relying upon the accumulated wisdom of the church than upon their own capricious judgment, is well urged, on the ground, that the pretence to a sounder judgment than that of the founders of the church, must obviously, be the most vain and presumptuous in the great majority of cases.

We must pass over the remainder of this set of Discourses without more particulars. We have already enumerated their leading subjects, and we strongly recommend them to the attention of our readers; especially the fourth, fifth and sixth, which are in continuation, on the text, "We walk by faith, not by sight." They were principally delivered in Lincoln's-Inn chapel, where the author preached, as assistant to the late Dr. Jackson, for nearly fifteen years.

The succeeding discourses are upon subjects of a miscellaneous description, several of them of a character in some degree new, but most upon topics often treated before.

The 8th Sermon, on Public Worship, contains many good practical admonitions relative to the performance of that duty; and the concluding topic, the too exclusive importance attached to preaching, leads the author to devote the next discourse to that particular point, and to show the absolute necessity of a corresponding disposition on the part of the hearer, to render any preaching useful or efficacious.

In the 10th Discourse, on Contentment, the preacher acknowledges the perfect exhaustion of the subject by Barrow, and inserts this discourse principally as having a connexion with his former discourses on faith. He urges the duty of resignation from the example of St. Paul's contentment under his sufferings, and points out the necessity of a good conscience in order to real resignation.

Sermon 11th is designed to set forth the consideration of love, rather than fear, as the prevailing motive under the Gospel.

Sermon 12th. The most original and excellent composition in the volume is entitled, "On Imagination as an Aid to Religion." There is, perhaps, no power or faculty of the human mind, as the author observes, which has been less considered as subservient to religion. But he very beautifully and carefully points out the important share which it may have in the elevation of the soul towards heavenly things, when under due regulation and restraint. He guards us against the evil use which may be made of it, and the extravagancies into which it may lead the inconsiderate; and recommends it only when the substantial requisite of a sound and rational belief is made to form the groundwork.

Sermon 13th is of a political cast, treating very clearly and practically on the natural inequality of men in some respects, as distinguished from their natural equality in others. An appropriate topic before a common audience, especially where any tendency to insubordination may be apparent.

The 14th Discourse is on the practical proof of true righteousness, supposing the foundation to be laid in Christian faith. The 15th was delivered in Litchfield cathedral, on the day of the Coronation of His present Majesty ; and upon so hacknied a topic, if we say, that the preacher conveys some good advice respecting the duty of subjects, in a plain and intelligible way, we shall be giving him credit for doing the utmost that can be done on such an occasion. Exactly similar observations will apply to the next discourse, entitled, " The Protestant Religion the Blessing of Britain," which was delivered in the same place, on the day appointed for a general fast, February 28th, 1810. National crimes, and the duty of national humiliation and repentance, are, of course, the topics ; which are certainly handled in an impressive and useful manner.

The 17th Sermon was preached for the benefit of a district committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ; and it contains a sensible exposition of the merits and claims of the institution. We are sorry that Archdeacon Nares thought it necessary to introduce the Bible Society into the discussion ; and still more, that he should have recommended it to the support of his hearers. But we entertain no hope of altering his opinion upon the subject, and pass on to less debateable ground.

" A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Stafford," with which the volume concludes, is able and interesting. " The Influence of Sectaries, and the Stability of the Church." is the title prefixed, and expresses the main design. The danger to which the church is exposed, from the prevalence and increase of Methodism, is the leading topic : and the author, at the commencement, alludes briefly, to the similarity between this sect and that of the Puritans. By the activity of that malignant body, our church was once overthrown. But the Archdeacon observes, it fell only with the state ; and he argues from the shortness of the period of its subversion, the completeness and suddenness of its restoration, and the eagerness with which on that event, the general opinion flew from the extreme of fanaticism, to the opposite excess of irreligion, that it is probable, no error, very contrary to sound religion or reason, can long or effectually seduce the people of this country. In this conclusion

we certainly agree; but we own that such an event as a temporary subversion of the establishment in church and state, is one, which we cannot contemplate with much complacency, even if we admit that it would not be of long duration. We wish this part of the argument had been a little extended, because we think it is applicable to the present state of things, though in a different way from that in which our author has applied it. We agree with him, in trusting, that our church is able to maintain her ascendancy; and we are far from wishing to be thought Alarmists. Yet, if we agree with Mr. Nares, in thinking that the danger from the increase of methodism is often exaggerated, we do not mean to assert, that no danger is to be apprehended; but upon a comparison of history with the present circumstances of this country, we are very strongly impressed with the persuasion, that the danger to be apprehended from modern fanaticism, is of a different kind, from that to which the church was exposed in the time of Charles I. The Archdeacon has well observed, that at that eventful crisis, the church fell only with the state. The church is, indeed, the same now as then; but what was the state at that period? Clearly, something essentially different, even its vital principles, from what it is now. The very rudiments of the constitution have undergone a change; and we do not fear to hazard the assertion, that the overthrow of the church could never have happened, even with a king of much inferior abilities to those of Charles I. had the constitution, at that time, reached its present state of improvement.

We will not, however, dwell any longer on this topic; but proceed to observe, that our author gives a very clear and comprehensive view of the rise and progress of Methodism; from which he deduces an argument of the strongest kind, tending to show the futility of the claim made by the founders of Methodism, to an immediate inspiration by the Holy Spirit.

From the intrinsic excellence, and great importance of this argument, we must lay it before our readers, in the author's words:—

“About this time arose a circumstance so remarkable, as to be, in my opinion, almost decisive of the whole question. George Whitefield, soon after his return from America, publicly declared his full assent to the strictest doctrines of Calvin, on predestination and election, which he always afterwards maintained. John Wesley, on the contrary, had published his sentiments in favour of the opposite doctrines of Arminius, which he also continued to hold without variation to the end of his long life. Had these men been contented to be received as mere human teachers, there would have been nothing uncommon or extraordinary in such a difference of opinion. But, as

both chose afterward, to assume the style and manner of the Apostles; pretending, and perhaps in their enthusiasm, sometimes believing, that their thoughts, words, and many of their most trivial actions, were suggested by the especial influence of the *Holy Spirit*, how can any one reconcile so remarkable a disagreement with those extraordinary pretensions? Is God the author of confusion? Will the Holy Spirit teach one doctrine to one man, and the very contrary to another, both especially employed, in what they delighted to call, the Work of God? Is this credible? Is it even possible? If not, we have, almost in the beginning of their history, this very strong reason for denying the pretensions of one, at least, of these teachers: and as their claims were so similar, and supported by means so exactly alike, there arises immediately a strong suspicion, that we ought to deny the pretensions of both. Nor was this their only important difference in point of doctrine.

From this æra the division took place, which has ever since continued, between the Calvinistic Methodists, under Whitefield, and the Arminian Methodists, under Wesley. And this sect esteemed so formidable, and in some respects appearing so, was, even under the government of its first teachers, a house divided against itself. As the doctrines of these two leaders differed, so did their discipline. Wesley, who appears from his first journals, to have been intimately connected with the Moravians, though he differed from them in some points, adopted and copied their discipline: by the assistance of which he much strengthened, as well as greatly extended, the union of his proselytes. Whitefield seems not to have digested any regular plan for embodying his people; but to have trusted more implicitly to his own exertions, and the influence of his preachers.

Nor is this difference in discipline so unimportant as otherwise it might appear, in two men who equally professed to be divinely commissioned to restore and extend the true faith of Christ. It is certain, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Apostles, who were in truth, divinely commissioned and inspired, established one uniform mode of discipline in all the churches which they planted; the same or nearly the same, as that which was reverently preserved in all churches till the Reformation; and which, at that period, removing only the corruptions which time had introduced, was most studiously and carefully continued by the Church of England. These modern Apostles, on the contrary, differed in their discipline as much as in some parts of their doctrine; so little appearance was there of the operation of the same spirit within them." P. 295.

It will be needless to offer any comments on this admirable and conclusive piece of reasoning. It deserves the serious attention of all who profess themselves members of our church, and most especially, we wish we could enforce the consideration of it on the attention of those whom it is unfortunately least likely to reach, but on whom it would be of most importance to urge the argument. The author goes on to point out many other inconsistencies, which these modern

Apostles betrayed, and which clearly tend to establish the former conclusion. And if these differences and oppositions are a decisive proof, that the founders of Methodism were not really under any especial influence of the Holy Spirit, yet more abundant proofs are brought forward to show, that their disciples and followers exhibited still stronger marks of an influence at direct variance with that which we must ascribe to the Holy Spirit.

“The dangerous dream of inward feelings with which both Whitefield and Wesley were infatuated, has actually led thousands to despair; and still greater numbers to a vain, enthusiastic, and delusive confidence and presumption, little more favourable to the state of their souls than despair itself. Hence it is, that in all the narratives of these pretended saints, we read of deluded men, women and children, rolling on the ground, and groaning in all the agonies of despair, and then on a sudden, crying out, that they had received the gift of God, and were happy; or falling down instantaneously, as in a fit, on hearing the exhortation of the preacher, and then declaring themselves converted: instances which may be paralleled completely and abundantly in every history of enthusiasm, quackery, or imposture; but no where in the Scripture of God, nor in any genuine history of true religion.” P. 305.

The author then makes many sensible remarks on the gloom and despair too often produced by the Calvinistic doctrines: as well as the equally dangerous presumption induced by a fallacious feeling of enthusiastic confidence and assurance. He comments in terms of deserved severity, on the practice so often adopted of making condemned criminals believe themselves converted, and go to their deaths rejoicing, with all their crimes upon their heads. But we must pass over a considerable part of the excellent advice given on these and kindred topics, with an earnest recommendation of these to all, especially our clerical readers.

The conclusion of the charge contains a caution against increasing divisions, by keeping up a feeling of hostility against those of the established clergy, who maintain Calvinistic doctrines. The author is far from having any bias to those doctrines himself; but he conceives a man may be a Christian without being of necessity either a Calvinist or an Arminian. He considers these doctrines as not of fundamental importance; he has no doubt that our articles were framed so that they might be subscribed with a good conscience, both by Calvinists and Arminians, and might be articles of union, not of separation. In this spirit of moderation, and these counsels of conciliation, we fully agree, so long as mere abstract doctrinal belief is the only point of disagreement.

But there seems to be an unfortunate tendency in human nature, which renders it almost impossible to find a belief in the Calvinistic doctrines, unaccompanied by the outward manifestations of a sectarian spirit and irregularity of conduct. That the two things *need* have nothing to do with each other, we admit; yet in point of *fact*, they generally are inseparable concomitants. It is not against any body of our clerical brethren, that we maintain hostility, because they adopt the *peculiar hypothesis of Calvin*, but because they adopt *practices* inconsistent with the purity and dignity of the church, and external peculiarities not sanctioned by its discipline. Because, while they strenuously maintain their claim to being orthodox members of the church, they do, in fact, identify themselves both in spirit and conduct with the sectarists, and chiefly, because they form themselves into a sect, under the pretence of upholding the doctrines of the reformers; which they accuse us of deserting; and wish to constitute themselves the sole, genuine and uncorrupted body of the Church of England.

They first form themselves into a party, separate themselves by their own peculiarities, as well as external association, from the rest of their brethren, and then accuse the rest of their brethren of forming a party against them. They complain of division and hostility, which they were themselves the first to commence; and from the fact that some of our reformers had individually a leaning to the Calvinistic theory, maintain the *very logical* conclusion, that consequently the Calvinistic theory is an *essential* part of the genuine faith of the Church of England. It is evident, that upon precisely the same grounds, nearly all the ministers of the establishment, at the present day, are heretics, because they believe in the Newtonian system of the universe; since the reformers unquestionably believed in the Ptolemaic, and the 39 Articles, may be conscientiously subscribed by believers in both.

We have thus fairly and impartially discharged our duty. We entertain the most sincere respect for Archdeacon Nares's ability and labours, in support and defence of the church: and we see in all that he says, the operation of a perfect sincerity in upholding the doctrines of the church, and a strenuous zeal in reproving vice and immorality. It is in the most perfect consistency with this respect, that we have thought it incumbent on us to notice what appear to us his errors, as well as to give our tribute of praise to his numerous excellencies.

ART. VII. *The Two Minas and the Spanish Guerillas. Extracted and translated from a Work "On Spain," written by Captain H. Von Brandt, a Prussian Officer, who served in one of the Polish Regiments attached to the French Army during the Peninsular War. By a British Officer. 8vo. 77 pp. Egerton. 1825.*

WE do not understand the object of this publication: The editor declares that he has no intention to depreciate the services of Espoz y Mina. The author, whose work is translated, appears to have desired nothing better than such a consummation. We doubt whether either of the gentlemen has succeeded; the real effect of the book is to lower the character of Mina; but at the same time to increase the general estimate of the merits of the Spanish Guerillas. There is one striking passage which we have great pleasure in extracting; the remainder may be consulted by such as take an interest friendly or hostile, in the adventures of our modern Jack the giant-killer, but it is of little historical or critical importance.

"If the strength of the contending parties was equal, that is, in the proportion of two to four, for otherwise the guerillas did not stand the test, they descended from their mountains, and, by numerous provocations, soon forced the French to seek them. An ambush, placed with great caution, for the purpose of surprising the advanced guard, opened the day. Generally after the first attack, these *enfants perdus* sought the plain, and fell back upon the main body; which, as soon as it perceived our troops, raised a dreadful cry, and usually commenced a sharp fire, without paying any regard to the distance which might separate it from us. I recollect instances in which we pursued the terrible Mina from hill to hill, without firing a single shot, whilst his men uselessly expended several thousand cartridges. When the ground favoured the operation, the French always made an impetuous charge upon their opponents, who generally retreated after a feeble resistance. If, in the mean time, an opportunity presented itself of laying a snare for the rapidly pursuing victors, it was seized, and every possible advantage taken of the ground, but, with their usual want of perseverance and courage. They then disappeared among the mountains, and generally, on the following day, distanced us by ten or twelve *leguas*. No troops in the world would have been able to overtake them.

"The enemy must have been infinitely superior in numbers, to have ventured to commence the attack upon *us*: and even in this case, they preferred enticing us to an ambush. Small elevations of ground lining the road, commanded by another row of hills at a short distance, frequently intersected by rugged hollows, appeared to be their favourite resource. When we had thus fallen into the snare, which, considering the very peculiar formation of the ground, could

not be avoided in perhaps ten cases out of a thousand, at first some riflemen made their appearance on our flanks; the number of which gradually increased, and finally rendered a counter-movement on our part necessary. This was generally the signal for the enemy's grand attack; and we soon saw ourselves surrounded by an impenetrable chain of riflemen, whose vast superiority in numbers drove our skirmishers back upon the column, on which a heavy fire was then directed from all points. Let any one imagine a corps of from 1,200 to 1,400 men in a mountainous tract of country, in which the formation of the ground is such as to preclude all possibility of a regular movement, and which is intersected by deep ravines and hollow-ways occupied by the enemy, surrounded by from 6,000 to 7,000 insurgents swarming about them like bees, and he will be enabled to form a correct idea of the embarrassment which we were in the almost daily habit of encountering. If we advanced, the enemy retired, and the flanks and rear of the column were assailed; which was also the case whether we attacked their flanks, or retired. Nowhere did we meet with resistance, but everywhere a shower of bullets; nowhere a resolute opposition, but from all sides a tremendous fire kept up just within gun-shot. After having fought for a length of time in this way, during which we had generally lost a third of our numbers, and left no means untried which offered any chances of repelling the enemy, it became necessary to think of effecting an escape. On our retreat we frequently found the country in a state of insurrection, and while the inhabitants obstructed our passage, we became surrounded, and even cut off, by means of powerful movements on our flanks, from every new line of march. If a column, thus situated, did not find the ground particularly favourable to its retreat, or if it was at the distance of more than one day's march from the main support, not even the best dispositions of its commander, nor the utmost steadiness and perseverance of the men, could save it.

"It was precisely in this way that the attacks were made upon our supplies, only, that in general, (unless a very considerable escort made the attack problematical,) whole districts took up arms, dug ditches across the wood, and, by rolling down pieces of rock, rendered the defiles impassable.

"The author was once in an expedition of this kind, in one of the most impassable districts of the wild *Pena golosa*. The troops had done every thing in their power to oppose the enemy, on whom they had made at least forty attacks with extraordinary courage. But they began to flag, and instead of courageously charging the enemy, preferred concealing themselves behind rocks, and keeping up an unprofitable firing. Nearly the whole of our officers were wounded. Colonel Pascal himself, the commander of the column, had his arm shattered. At last, by means of words and menaces, he assembled the greater part of the corps in a valley, where they were immediately surrounded by the Spaniards. Under a heavy fire, he cried out to the men with a stentorian voice, and reproached them with their cowardice. "*Vilains conscrits,*" he said, "you have no-

thing to lose but your life, for you have already lost your honour *contre ces gueux de brigands*; but cowards, like you, do not deserve even your life." Hereupon, he took his pistols, which after the loss of his horse, he carried under his arm, and shot two monks whom he had surprised the day before. "Now, go," he then said to his men, "and let yourselves be killed and burnt: but whoever is a good Frenchman, let him follow me." With a far-resounding *en avant* we rushed upon the Valencians, and succeeded, after several bold attacks, in securing more favourable ground, upon which we formed ourselves anew, and finally effected our escape from the enemy. The Poles, who were in this expedition, did not understand a word of Colonel Pascal's energetic speech, but his action had such an effect upon them, that they fought with unexampled bravery.

"It deserves to be mentioned, as a fine trait, that the troops, to whom the Colonel had not previously been known, (as he had only been dispatched from Xerta, of which place he was commandant, to conduct the expedition,) but whose esteem he had gained by his brave conduct, would not forsake him, when another bullet shattered his jaw-bone; they carried him upon their muskets, about two *leguas*, when the abatement of the pursuit allowed them time to construct a litter." P. 68.

ART. VIII. *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn in Vindication of English Protestants from his Attack upon their Sincerity in the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church."* By C. J. Blomfield, D. D. Bishop of Chester. 8vo. 24 pp. Mawman. 1825.

IN our review of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, we directed the reader's attention to a passage in which the clergy and laity of the Church of England were accused of notorious and most hypocritical infidelity. The subject has been taken up by the Bishop of Chester; and we cannot refrain from transcribing his remarks upon a calumny which has excited universal astonishment. Without repeating the libel, which has already appeared in our pages, we proceed at once to his lordship's dignified reply.

"Permit me, Sir, to ask, whether there be in any part of Dr. Southey's book, a grosser attack, a more groundless and gratuitous calumny, than that which is contained in this extract from your answer? You assume, as a matter of notoriety, that the great body of the English clergy, ten or twelve thousand ministers of the Gospel, many of them not less learned nor less sagacious than yourself, are hypocrites and liars; that for the sake of preferment, no necessity compelling them, they set their solemn attestation to that which they do not believe to be true, and place their souls in jeopardy. I

know not what answer can be given to such insinuations as these, except a positive and indignant denial. What other answer could your own clergy give, supposing we were to retort upon them the same charge? They could only declare, on the faith of Christians, that *they* firmly believe the doctrines which they profess; and this *we* declare, in the most solemn and unqualified manner, of ourselves.

“That the clergy of the establishment prevaricate and falsify for the sake of preferment, is a charge which you will hardly advance in so many words; and it is a charge, which if you intend it to be general, may be disproved by an appeal to facts. You are probably not aware, Sir, how many young men of respectable abilities and acquirements enter into the ministry of the church, who have no prospect whatever of preferment, properly so called; who have no hope of obtaining more than a pittance, far inferior to that which they might have obtained as tradesmen, farmers, or even as mechanics. Will you, Sir, seriously contend, that 50*l.* or 60*l.* a year, is a bribe, sufficiently large and tempting to induce a young man of education and of serious habits to set his solemn testimony to the truth of that which he believes to be false? yet I could produce to you, in my own diocese, many instances of pious, able, and exemplary clergymen, who are labouring in their vocation, and doing the work of an evangelist, for no greater sums than these.

“You have charged us with prevarication:—it had been scarcely, if at all, more opprobrious had you termed us atheists; but that is a hard word, and open, undisguised abuse would have alarmed many, who may be taken off their guard by smooth and easy inuendoes: “His words were softer than oil; yet were they drawn swords.”

“Be pleased to inform the world, Sir, for this at least we have a right to demand of you, what are the grounds of your insinuation against the English clergy? Have you taken your opinion of their insincerity and hypocrisy from their own declarations, from their discourses, from their writings in defence of religion? Have you ever heard the *sigh* or shuddered at the *smile* of one of these Judases, whom you suppose to exist, in more than their due proportion, amongst the ministers of our church? Bring forth your proofs; and let them be stronger proofs than those which Dr. Milner has brought forward; in the mean time you surely do not quote, as an authority for so grave a charge, the casual expression of one, who first apostatized from the Protestant, then from the Roman Catholic, and lastly from the Christian faith? What concord is there between Mr. Butler and Gibbon?

“That there are *no* instances of clergymen, who subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles with some degree of hesitation and doubt, is more than I undertake to assert: if there should even be some, who call in question the grand doctrines to which you allude, who are as deficient in conscientiousness as they are in right belief,—nay, should there be one or two who even ridicule and make a jest of those articles which they have solemnly assented to—and who, by virtue of that assent, hold preferment amongst us—still our *Church* will

incur no reproach which is not applicable to yours, and to the primitive church itself, into which we know that 'certain men crept unawares, who were before, of old ordained to this condemnation . . . denying the only God and our Lord Jesus Christ.' But to your question, 'are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English clergy?' we answer, unhesitatingly, YES: and we make the same answer in the name and on the behalf of the laity; whether in or out of the established church. Upon these points there is no difference of belief between us and the great body of Protestant dissenters. Those who deny the doctrines in question, are in point of numbers, when weighed against those who believe them, as dust in the balance: and you, Sir, can hardly be ignorant of this fact; unless it has been your fate to pass much of your time in the company of those, whose chief employment and delight it is, to attack revealed religion through the sides of the established church; to describe her doctrines as incredible, and her clergy as insincere; and so to bring the Gospel itself into disrepute." P. 7.

This language can neither be misunderstood nor answered. Most sincerely must the Church of England and the whole body of Protestant Christians rejoice in the possession of such a champion as the Bishop of Chester. It was due to the cause at the present crisis, that her defenders should be found in every class, from the highest ranks of the hierarchy to the humble parish priest. And the distinct and indignant denial of Mr. Butler's assertion, is made with peculiar propriety by this distinguished prelate. The Roman Catholic accusation is fully and fairly met. The Protestant Church has pleaded not guilty; and if Mr. Butler is unwilling to appear in the character of a calumniator, he must substantiate or retract his charge.

Having answered the most offensive passage in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop of Chester declines exposing its other numerous faults. That task is in other hands, and will be accomplished to the satisfaction of the Protestant world. But the Bishop gives a sample of the manner in which he could execute the work, and the point is so important, and at the same time so ably stated, that we cannot pass it over. It relates to a subject which has been already noticed in our journal, Mr. Butler's appeal to the creed of Pope Pius IV.

"For an exact account of that faith, you refer us to the creed of Pius IV. published in 1564, not as the act of a council, but in the form of a bull, and ever since that time considered as an accurate and explicit summary of the Roman Catholic belief. 'Catholics, on their admission into the Catholic church, publicly repeat and testify their assent to it, *without restriction or qualification.*' And

you give us the creed itself at length. Now the last clause but one in that creed is as follows: 'I also profess and undoubtedly receive *all other things* delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons, and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and likewise I also condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and anathematized by the church.'

"Whatsoever therefore is declared and defined in any of the canons of the Roman Catholic church, or in the acts of *any* general council, not merely, though particularly, the Council of Trent, we may, by your own avowal, consider to be an article of the Roman Catholic faith. This concession, I apprehend, involves consequences which you were either not aware of, or supposed we should not discover. When the Council of Constance had determined that the cup should be taken from the laity, the Bohemians were so much dissatisfied that the Council of Basle restored it to them. Which council was infallible? Which decree is to be 'undoubtedly received?' The Council of Basle in 1431, decreed that a General Council is above the Pope; but the Lateran Council in 1546, declared this decree to have been the source of corruption and abuse. The Council of Constantinople forbade the worship or reverence paid to images; the second Nicene Council enjoined it; the Council of Frankfurt prohibited it; and it was finally re-established by the Council of Trent. But it must be confessed, that the expression of Pius IV. admits of a happy latitude and ambiguity; and if this be the creed to which all persons entering into the ministry of your church are obliged to assent, since even the Roman Catholic divines themselves are by no means of one opinion, either as to the number or authority of general councils, nor consequently of the 'things defined and declared' by them, you are at least as likely as we are to have a great many clergymen who 'subscribe with a sigh or a smile.'

"May I not ask, without imputing to you individually tenets which you will be the first to disavow, whether it does not seem to follow, as a necessary consequence of your admission, that all true Roman Catholics must still believe that doctrine which has caused so much mischief in the world, that the Church of Rome may excommunicate and depose kings, and extirpate heretics; for one of these rights was claimed for her by the Council of Trent, and the other by the fourth Lateran Council? Nor will it avail you to say, that these are merely points of discipline, not of doctrine; since the creed of Pius IV. says, 'I *profess*, and *undoubtedly* receive *all other things*,' not only 'defined,' but 'declared by the several councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent.' But why *particularly*? if all general councils were infallible, and their decrees undoubtedly true, how is it that the Council of Trent can have a pre-eminence of orthodoxy? Indeed, Sir, you had better have kept in the back-ground that Creed of Pope Pius IV.; for I foresee that this comprehensive clause of it will involve you in very serious difficulties.

“ The Council of Constance declared (Sess. 19.) ‘ that no safe conduct given to a heretic, under any covenant whatsoever, by any person whomsoever, ought to exempt him from the judgment of the ecclesiastical judge, who may punish him, though he come into court relying on that safe conduct ;’ and accordingly John Huss was condemned and burnt, in spite of the assurance which he had received from Sigismund of his safe passage to and from the council. Now this, Sir, being a doctrine laid down by a general council, you ‘ profess, and undoubtedly receive ’ — ‘ without restriction or qualification.’ If you remain true to your own rule, you must avow your belief in some heretical, as well as some uncharitable doctrines. The Sirmian Council, convened by the Emperor Constantius, and approved of by Pope Liberius, pronounced in favour of the Arian, or Semi-Arian doctrines. Bellarmine says of this Council, that it is partly approved and partly disapproved ; an odd account to give of an infallible synod ; and not very consistent with the declaration in Pope Pius’s creed. It is true, that this council determined one thing at one time, and another at another, and that Liberius repented of having persecuted Athanasius ; but repentance is not quite compatible with infallibility.” P. 20.

ART IX. *The Memoirs of Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, Minister of the General Police of France. With a Portrait. Translated from the French. 8vo. 2 vols. 21s. Knight. 1825.*

THE original work, of which these volumes are a translation, has afforded employment in Paris, not only for the critics, but also for the Courts of law ; and, in an action brought by the friends of the late Duke of Otranto, the publisher has been adjudged to pay a fine of five francs for every copy which he has sold, and to give up the name of the real Author of the Memoirs. The scape-goat on this occasion is said to have been M. Alphonse Beauchamp, a gentleman of truly liberal and enlightened mind, open to all parties, and influenced by that one only which can apply the most weighty arguments to secure his conviction. His pen, like that of his great contemporary and parallel, our own modern historian of the Reformation, has successively advocated all causes and all principles, and is prepared, as occasion requires, to contradict any which it has before espoused. Fouché, if he chose to commit his biography to alien hands, could not have selected a more fitting chronicler, nor one more thoroughly formed by nature to understand and appreciate his character ; nay, we are prepared to say still farther, that Fouché could not have

seemed more veritable, even if he had told his own story for himself.

For notwithstanding the suspicion which necessarily rests upon this work in its present state, we are by no means inclined to reject it *in toto*, nor to deny its authenticity altogether, because we are in some degree compelled to surrender its claim to genuineness. That *some* Memoirs, written by Fouché, are in existence, is admitted on all hands. That Beauchamp may have wholly or partially used these is very probable. The main thread of his history, as here given, is undoubtedly true, and it is too much to suppose that all the *παράγγραφα* are coined by imagination.

Without any farther comment then, we shall endeavour to put our readers in possession of the chief contents of these Memoirs, having thus far explained the reason which we feel for admitting or rejecting their authenticity. The opening paragraphs may convey no very inadequate impression of the spirit in which the work is composed. These clearly do not partake of that calm impartiality which distinguishes the exordium of the History of the Peloponnesian war, nor of that dignified forgetfulness of self which is the characteristic of the similar pages of our own immortal Clarendon.

“ The man who, in turbulent and revolutionary times, was solely indebted for the honours and power with which he was invested, and, in short, for his distinguished fortune, to his own prudence and abilities; who, at first elected a national representative, was, upon the re-establishment of order, an ambassador, three times a minister, a senator, a duke, and one of the principal directors of state affairs; this man would be wanting to himself if, to answer the calumnies of libellers, he descended to apology or captious refutations—he must adopt other means.

“ This man, then, is myself. Raised by the Revolution, it is only to a counter one, which I foresaw, and might myself have brought about, but against which at the critical moment I was unprepared, that I owe my downfall.

“ This fall has exposed me, defenceless, to the clamours of malignity and the insults of ingratitude;—me, who for a long time invested with a mysterious and terrible power, never wielded it but to calm the passions, disunite factions, and prevent conspiracies;—me, who was never-ceasingly employed in moderating and tempering power, in conciliating and amalgamating the jarring elements and conflicting interests which divided France. No one dares deny that such was my conduct, so long as I exercised any influence in the government or in the councils of the state. What have I, an exile, to oppose to these furious enemies, to this rabble which now persecute me, after having grovelled at my feet? Shall I answer them with the cold declamations of the school, or with refined and academic periods? Certainly not; I will confound them by facts and proofs,

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by a true exposition of my labours, of my thoughts, both as a minister and a statesman; by the faithful recital of the political events, and the singular circumstances, through which I steered in times of turbulence and violence. This is the object I propose to myself." Vol. I. p. 1.

These pretensions are not moderate, nor is the qualification by which they are succeeded more so, "Let me not be considered responsible either for the Revolution, its consequences, or even its duration." Fouché, according to his own brief account of his entrance into the world, was the son of the owner of a privateer, and was at first destined for the sea. He was educated among the *Peres de l'Oratoire*, of which Body he subsequently became a member; and the Revolution found him engaged in teaching, as Præfect of the College of Nantes. As he had not taken Orders, he held himself to be "perfectly at liberty to become a free thinker, or a philosopher." Under the sanction of the law, he married, at Nantes, with the intention of exercising the profession of the bar; and thus "being morally what the age was,"—"neither from imitation nor infatuation, but from reflection and disposition," he was nominated a Representative in the National Convention.

His first introduction into political affairs was in the Committee of Public Instruction, where he connected himself with Condorcet and Vergniaud, the heads of the Girondines. He had previously been acquainted with Robespierre, of whom however he did not approve, and whom he early offended. He was one of the regicide majority which sealed the bloody fate of Louis XVI. and his apology for that vote (written after the restoration of Monarchy) is a fair specimen of the general soundness of his reasoning, and the lofty tone of his morality.

"There was, however, one vote which is unjustifiable; I will even own, without a blush, that it sometimes awakens remorse within me. But I call the God of Truth to witness, that it was far less against the monarch that I aimed the blow (for he was good and just) than against the kingly office, at that time incompatible with the new order of things. I will also add, for concealment is no longer of avail, that it then appeared to me, as to so many others, that we could not inspire the representatives, and the mass of the people, with an energy sufficient to surmount the difficulties of the crisis, but by abandoning every thing like moderation, breaking through all restraint, and indulging the extremity of revolutionary excess. Such was the reason of state which appeared to us to require this frightful sacrifice. *In politics, even atrocity itself may sometimes produce a salutary effect.*" Vol. I. p. 14.

During the Reign of Terror, while on a mission into the provinces, he was accused by Robespierre of oppressing the patriots, and tampering with the Aristocracy. Being recalled to Paris, he ventured to defend himself from the tribune, and he knew, in consequence, that his proscription was signed. Tallien was for assassinating the Dictator, even in the Convention; but these were not the arms with which Fouché was accustomed to work. He admitted to his confidence three men, than which the annals of the Revolution record none more foully stained, Collot d'Herbois, Carnot, and Billaud de Varennes. Through their agency, he reduced Robespierre to a minority, even when he demanded their heads; and in the end led to his downfall, and to the great convulsion known as the Revolution of the 9th Thermidor.

The establishment of the Directory "interested him in "the destiny" of Buonaparte, whose cannon had supported the new Government; yet for three years, Fouché "obtained," even according to his own account, "no employment, respect nor credit." Barras at length offered him a second-rate place, which he refused; but he accepted a share in some Government contracts (*fournitures*), which laid the foundation of his subsequent enormous wealth; and in return, previous to the 18th Fructidor, he warned Barras of his danger, by "suggestions" and "prophetic conversations." These were not without their price; for, at the close of 1798, having declined all subaltern favours, he stepped forward at once as Ambassador from the French to the Cisalpine Republic.

Sieyès, it is well known, intended Joubert for the head of the "social compact," which he was labouring to establish. Among other assistants, he wanted a firm and active Police; and on the 1st of August 1799, Fouché accepted the direction of this most difficult branch of government, and entered upon it with the following views:—

"I raised myself mentally above my functions, and felt not the least fear at their importance. In two hours I fully understood all my official powers. I did not, however, fatigue myself with considering the ministry intrusted to me in its minor details of arrangement. As things were situated, I felt that all the powers and abilities of a minister must be absorbed in the high police; the rest might safely be left to the *chefs de bureau*. My only study was, therefore, to seize with a steady and sure hand all the springs of the secret police, and all the elements composing it. I first insisted that, for these essential reasons, the local police of Paris, called the *bureau central* (the prefecture did not then exist), should be placed entirely under my control. I found all the constituent elements in the most deplorable state of confusion and decay. The treasury was empty, and without money, no police. I had soon money at my command,

by making the vice inherent in this great city contribute to the safety of the state. My first act was to put a stop to a tendency to insubordination, in which some of the *chefs de bureau* belonging to active factions indulged themselves; but I judged it necessary not to introduce hasty reforms or ameliorations in the details. I restricted myself, simply, to concentrating the high police within my own cabinet, with the assistance of an intimate and faithful secretary. I felt that I alone should be judge of the political state of the interior, and that spies and secret agents should only be considered as indications and instruments often doubtful : in a word. I felt that the high police was not administered by memorials and long reports; that there were means far more efficacious; for example, that the minister himself should place himself in contact with the men of greatest influence, over all opinions and doctrines, and over the superior classes of society. This system never failed me, and I was better acquainted with France, veiled in mystery by means of oral and confidential communications, and by widely-grasping conversations, than by the heaps of written rubbish which continually passed under my eyes. Thus, nothing essential to the safety of the state ever escaped me, as will be proved in the sequel." Vol. I. p. 67.

One of his first and boldest steps was the suppression of Clubs. He then manœuvred with the western Royalists, and tranquillized them by some treacherous emissaries, whom he gained from their own body. The Press was to be next attacked, but the death of Joubert at Novi paralysed the Directory for a few days. The insinuation in the following passage can scarcely be mistaken :—

" I have questioned ocular witnesses respecting the event, who seemed persuaded that the murderous ball was fired from a small country-house, by some hired ruffian, the musquetry of the enemy not being within reach of the group of staff-officers, in the middle of which was Joubert, when he came up to encourage the advanced guard, which was giving way. It has even been said, that the shot was fired by a Corsican chasseur of our light troops. But let us not endeavour to unravel a dreadful mystery by conjectures or facts not sufficiently substantiated. *I leave you, Joubert!* said Buonaparte, on setting off for Egypt." Vol. I. p. 79.

With a sagacious foresight of the approaching change, Fouché now ingratiated himself with the family of Buonaparte. He included Josephine in the number of those who received secret pecuniary assistance from gambling licences, and he gave her with his own hands one thousand louis. Our limits will not permit us to detail the well known particulars of Buonaparte's return, and the evolution of the 18th Brumaire. If little that was untold before is now related by Fouché, his account has, at least, the merit of great life and vigour. It is corroborated by all the published de-

tails, and bears strong internal evidence of accuracy.* Buonaparte, he says, was too cunning to let him into the secret of his means, and thereby to place himself at the mercy of a single man; and well it was for his own interests that Buonaparte did so, at least if he thought of Fouché as Fouché thought of himself.

“ The revolution of St. Cloud would have failed had I opposed it; it was in my power to mislead Sieyes, put Barras on his guard, and enlighten Gohier and Moulins; I had only to back Dubois de Crancé, the only opposing minister, and the whole would have fallen to the ground.” Vol. I. p. 97.

We come now to the most interesting part of the work.—Marengo confirmed the power which Buonaparte had seized, and he was only exposed to domestic treachery. It became therefore one of the chief objects of the Minister of Police, to guard the First Consul's person: the means upon which he fixed are sufficiently characteristic of the state of public morals.

“ Luckily I had Josephine in my interest; Duroc was not against me; and the private secretary was devoted to my views. This personage, who was replete with ability and talent, but whose greediness of gain very shortly caused his disgrace, always exhibited so much cupidity that there is no occasion to name him in order to point him out. Having the controul over the papers and secrets of his master, he discovered that I spent 100,000 francs monthly, for the purpose of incessantly watching over the existence of the First Consul. The idea came into his head to make me pay for such intelligence as he might supply me, in order to furnish means of accomplishing the aim I had in view. He sought me, and offered to inform me exactly of all the proceedings of Buonaparte for 25,000 francs per month; and he made me this offer as a means of saving 900,000 francs per annum. I took care not to let this opportunity slip, of having the private secretary of the chief of the state in my pay; that chief whom it was so requisite for me to follow step by step, in order to know what he had done, and what he was about to do. The proposal of the secretary was accepted, and he every month very punctually received a blank order for 25,000 francs, the promised sum, which he was to draw out of the treasury. On my side, I had full reason to congratulate myself on his dexterity and accuracy. But I took care not to starve the funds which I employed, in order to protect the person of Buonaparte from any unforeseen attack. The palace alone dried up more than half the resource of my 100,000

* We have been much struck by the close accordance of the details given by Fouché, who was an eye-witness to many of the transactions, and had an intimate knowledge of them all, with the account which is to be found in *Rivington's Annual Register* for 1800; a work which was compiled before the appearance of these *Memoirs*.

francs, which were monthly available. In fact, I was by that means very accurately apprized of all that was important for me to know ; and I was enabled, reciprocally, to control the information of the secretary, by that of Josephine, and that of the latter by the secretary." Vol. I. p. 161.

The violence of Buonaparte's temper is forcibly portrayed by many anecdotes, some of which *must* be true. Though owing his elevation in a great degree to the exertions of Lucien, as President of the Council of Five Hundred, their communication soon afterwards was interrupted by scenes of intemperate quarrelling. On one occasion, Lucien threw on his brother's desk his portfolio of Minister, and disclaimed all future connection with "such a despot." Buonaparte, equally exasperated, called his aides-de-camp on duty, and turned out the *citizen* who had forgotten the respect due to the First Consul. Lucien soon after was sent as Ambassador to Madrid. On the receipt of the intelligence of the assassination of the Emperor Paul, Fouché found the First Consul grasping and twisting the despatch, while he walked about the room with a hurried manner and a haggard air. "What," said he, "an Emperor not in safety in the midst of his guards!" Fouché pointedly drew his attention to the difference of habits in the south of Europe; but Buonaparte dwelt upon his own similar danger, and his thoughts plainly reverted to his escape from the infernal machine. "He gave vent to his passion in ejaculations, stamping of the foot, and short fits of rage. I never beheld so striking a scene."

By a Court intrigue the administration of Police was soon afterwards annexed to the Minister of Justice, and Fouché received his dismissal. The reserve of money belonging to the account of secret management, which he transferred to the First Consul on retiring, amounted to the enormous sum of nearly 2,400,000 francs; of this Buonaparte presented him with one half.

Though nominally unengaged in administration, Fouché still received occasional employment; and in 1802, he was appointed one of a Commission to treat with the Swiss deputies. He was an observer of politics, and frequently was in open communication with Buonaparte; enough so to condemn what he terms "his imprudent interview" with Lord Whitworth, and that act of "exaggeration, indignation and rage," the arrest of all English travellers, which he justly stigmatizes as an unprecedented violence against the Rights of nations. The following is his account of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien:—

"I was one of the first to obtain a knowledge of the mission of

Caulincourt and Ordener to the banks of the Rhine; but when I was informed that the telegraph had just announced the arrest of the Prince, and that the order to transfer him from Strasbourg to Paris was given, I foresaw the catastrophe, and I trembled for the life of the noble victim. I hurried to Malmaison, where the First Consul then was; it was the 29th Ventose, (20th March 1804). I arrived there at nine o'clock in the morning, and I found him in a state of agitation, walking by himself in the park. I entreated permission to say a word to him about the great events of the day. "I see," said he, "what brings you; I am about this day to strike a great and necessary blow." I represented to him that France and Europe would be roused against him, if he did not supply undeniable proof that the Duke had conspired against his person at Ettenheim. "What necessity is there for proof?" he exclaimed: "Is he not a Bourbon, and the most dangerous of all of them." I persisted in offering arguments of policy calculated to silence the reasons of state. But all in vain; he concluded by impatiently telling me, "Have not you and your friends told me a thousand times, that I should conclude by becoming the General Monk of France, and by restoring the Bourbons? Very well! there will no longer be any way of retreating. What stronger guarantee can I give to the Revolution, which you have cemented by the blood of a king? It is, besides, indispensable to bring things to a conclusion; I am surrounded by plots; I must imprint terror or perish." In saying these last words, which left nothing more to hope, he had approached the castle; I saw M. de Talleyrand arrive, and a moment after the two consuls, Cambacérès and Lebrun. I regained my carriage, and re-entered my own house in a state of consternation.

"The next day I learned, that after my departure a council had been held, and that Savary had proceeded at night to the execution of the unfortunate victim; atrocious circumstances were quoted. Savary had revenged himself, it was reported, of having missed his prey in Normandy, where he had flattered himself with having ensnared, by means of the net-work of the conspiracy of Georges, the Duke de Berri and the Count d'Artois, whom he would have more willingly sacrificed than the Duke d'Enghien. Réal assured me that he was so little prepared for the nocturnal execution, that he had departed in the morning to go to the Prince at Vincennes, expecting to conduct him to Malmaison, and conceiving that the First Consul would finish the affair in a magnanimous manner. But a *coup d'état* appeared indispensable to impress Europe with terror, and eradicate all the germs of conspiracy against his person.

"Indignation, which I had foreseen, broke out in the most sanguinary manner. I was not the person who hesitated to express himself with the least restraint respecting this violence against the rights of nations and humanity. "It is more than a crime," I said, "it is a political fault;" words which I record because they have been repeated and attributed to others." Vol. I. p. 263.

Buonaparte was now Emperor; the Imperial power was

hereditary in his family, but having no issue male, he might adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers. Well may Fouché say, that the "domestic situation" which he here presents us, requires the pen of a Suetonius! Are we to believe the disgusting tale, or to attribute it to the malignity of the writer's imagination.

"For a long time Napoleon was convinced, notwithstanding the artifices of Josephine, that she would never give him any progeny. This situation was calculated sooner or later to tire the patience of the founder of a great empire, in all the vigour of his age. Josephine, therefore, found herself between two rocks; infidelity and divorce. Her anxieties and alarms had increased since his accession to the consulship for life, which she knew was only a stepping stone to the empire. In the interim, mortified by her sterility, she conceived a plan for substituting her daughter Hortense in the affection of her husband, who already, in a sensual point of view, was escaping from her, and who, in the hope of seeing himself born again in a son, might break the knot which united him to her; it would not have been without pain. On one side, habit; on the other, the amiable temper of Josephine, and a kind of superstition, seemed to secure to her for ever the attachment, or at least the attentions, of Napoleon; but great subject for inquietude and anxiety did not the less exist. The preservative naturally presented itself to the mind of Josephine; she was even little impeded in the execution of her plan.

"Hortense, when young, had felt a great dislike to the husband of her mother; she indeed detested him: but by degrees, time, age, and the halo of glory which surrounded Napoleon, and his attentions to Josephine, induced Hortense to pass from the extreme of antipathy to adoration. Without being handsome, she was witty, sparkling, replete with graces and talents. She pleased; and the liking became so animated on both sides, that it was sufficient for Josephine to affect the air of being maternally pleased, and afterwards to shut her eyes upon the matter, in order to secure her domestic triumph. The mother and daughter reigned at the same time in the heart of this haughty man. When, according to the mother's views, the tree began to bear fruit, it was necessary to think of masking, by a sudden marriage, an intrigue which already began to reveal itself to the eyes of the courtiers. Hortense would have willingly given her hand to Duroc: but Napoleon, looking to the future, and calculating from that time the possibility of an adoption, wished to concentrate in his own family, by a double incest, the intrigue to which he was about to be indebted for all the charms of paternity. Thence the union of his brother Louis and Hortense—a melancholy union, and which ended in rending the veil of deception.

"Mean time the wishes of all parties, with the exception of those of the new husband, were, at first, auspiciously fulfilled. Hortense gave birth to a son, who took the name of Napoleon, and on whom Napoleon lavished marks of tenderness, of which he was not believed

susceptible. This child came forward in the most charming manner; and by its features alone doubly interested Napoleon at the period of his accession to the empire. No doubt he designed him from that time in his heart as his adopted son." Vol. I. p. 269.

"I recognize myself in this child!—this boy will be worthy to succeed me; he may even surpass me!" were some of Buonaparte's expressions. His hopes were early destroyed by the croup, which carried off its victim suddenly, and Fouché remarks, that he "never saw Napoleon a prey to deeper or more concentrated grief."

Though not unsusceptible of the attractions of women, no *sentiment* ever appears to have mingled in Buonaparte's amours. Fouché has related an amusing anecdote, which, in order of time, we should have noticed before the last. While at Milan, the First Consul had been struck by the beauty of a celebrated Opera singer, and had commissioned Berthier to treat with and transport her to Paris. Her establishment was sufficiently splendid, 13,000 francs per month. To avoid scandal, and to escape the jealous vigilance of Josephine, Buonaparte's visits were abrupt and clandestine; and the haughty and impassioned Italian felt but little honoured by an attachment of which her lover avowed himself to be ashamed. Though invulnerable in the field of Mars, Buonaparte underwent the common lot of mortals in that of Venus, and his frail mistress atoned for his inattention in the embraces of Rode, a violin player.

"While these intrigues were going on, Buonaparte one day told me that he was astonished, with my acknowledged ability, that I did not conduct the police better, and that there were circumstances of which I was ignorant.—"Yes," I replied, "there are things of which I was ignorant, but of which I am so no longer; for instance, a little man, muffled up in a gray great coat, often issues, on dark nights, from a back door of the Thuilleries, accompanied by a single attendant, mounts a shabby vehicle, and proceeds to ferret out a certain Signora G——; that little man is yourself; and the misjudging vocalist sacrifices her fidelity to you in favour of Rode, the violin-player." At these words the Consul, turning his back upon me and remaining silent, rang the bell, and I withdrew. An aide-de-camp was commissioned to perform the part of a black eunuch to the unfaithful fair one, who indignantly refused to submit to the regulations of the seraglio. She was first deprived of her establishment and pensions, in hope of reducing her to terms by famine; but deeply in love with Rode, she remained inflexible, and rejected the most brilliant offers of the *Pylades* Berthier. She was then compelled to quit Paris; she first retired into the country with her lover; but afterwards both made their escape, and went to Russia to recruit their fortune." Vol. I. p. 200.

Immediately on his elevation to the Imperial dignity, Buonaparte re-appointed Fouché to the Ministry of Police, and on the creation of the new Nobility, invested him with the title of Duke of Otranto. Of the machinery of his office he does not tell us enough to satisfy curiosity, though amply enough to convince us of the iniquity and baseness which conducted it. He had salaried spies in all ranks and orders of both sexes, at 1,000 or 2,000 francs per month, according to their services. Their Reports were delivered in writing, and were laid before the Emperor every three months, both in order to prevent any double employment, and also that the benefits conferred on the State might receive fitting reward either by pay or places. In the department of foreign Police, individuals were purchased or pensioned and commissioned to reside in each principal town. The State prisons, the *gendarmerie*, the granting of passports, were under the control of the Minister of Police, and save the Old man of the Mountain, or the Chief of the Brothers of the Rosy Cross, no single person ever appears to have wielded such terrific secret engines as Fouché. This establishment necessarily demanded several millions, which were provided by means equally good and honourable with the object which they were destined to support; namely, by taxes on gambling and prostitution. Perrein, the officer, superintendent-general of gaming houses, extended his paternal care over all the chief towns of the empire, and farmed the receipts for a rent of 14 millions yearly, besides a payment to the Minister of Police of 3,000 francs per day. So unlimited was the power of this corrupt and debasing *espionage*, that wherever four persons had met together, eyes and ears in the pay of Fouché were believed to be present, and there was not a hearth in Paris, perhaps, nor many within the borders of France, into which his agents did not in some form or other insinuate themselves.

At his Coronation, notwithstanding the presence of the Pope, Buonaparte, with his own hands, placed the crown on his own head. On visiting Italy for the same purpose, he was so forcibly struck by the magnificence of Genoa and the *delices* of the neighbourhood, that he exclaimed, "This is, indeed, worth a war." The descent upon England was now the great object of his thoughts. To land seemed his only difficulty: this once accomplished, London was a sure prey, and there a popular party would easily be raised to destroy the Government. "All our secret information," adds Fouché, "shows us the feasibility of it." Yet a few pages farther, however, he admits that the invasion of Bavaria, with which

the Austrians commenced the new continental war, was "a fortunate diversion," for the Emperor; that "it saved his maritime honour, and probably preserved him from a disaster which would have destroyed both himself and his nascent Empire. There is no inconsistency in these passages, for Fouché plainly considered the channel to be impassable. It is worth while to see what were Buonaparte's objects in England.

"It was a revolution in earnest which Buonaparte wished to effect in England; he thirsted with a desire to strangle the liberty of the press, and the liberty of parliamentary discussion. Induced to wish for the moment when he could behold that island in her turn delivered up to the horrors of a political revolution, he sent envoys there, who deceived him as to his actual condition. I told him a hundred times, that England was as powerful by the effect of her institutions as of her naval force; but he preferred believing the representations of interested spies. It was in the hope of causing internal dissensions to explode, that during the year 1811, he chiefly occupied himself with the project of entirely excluding English commerce from the Continent. His emissaries did not fail to attribute the distress of the manufactures in that kingdom to the continental blockade, as well as the numerous bankruptcies, which, during the course of that same year, struck deadly blows at the stability of English credit. They announced the approximation of serious tumults; and maintained that England could not much longer support a state of war, which cost her more than fifty millions sterling.

"In fact, tumultuous meetings of work-people without work broke out in Nottinghamshire. The mutineers assembled in organized bodies, burnt or destroyed the looms, and committed all kinds of excess. They described themselves to be under the orders of a Captain Ludd, an imaginary personage, whence they derived the name of Luddites. The Emperor considered this in the light of a national wound, which it was his policy to enlarge, like that of Ireland. In a short time, indeed, the system of insurrection extended its sphere of action, and involved the neighbouring counties of Derby and Leicester. It was affirmed in the cabinet of Napoleon, that persons of note were not strangers to the commotion, and were even its instigators." Vol. II. p. 65.

Mack was corrupted and surrendered Ulm. Almost all the Austrian staff-officers were virtually gained over to the French, and the Coalition melted away. But the great disaster at Trafalgar checked Buonaparte's joy. He was upon the Vienna road when the fatal despatch arrived. Berthier who was seated at the same table with him, read it first, but not daring to present it openly, he pushed it gradually with his elbow under his eyes. Buonaparte hastily glanced through its contents, and starting up full of rage,

cried, "I cannot be every where!" His agitation was extreme, and Berthier despaired of tranquillizing him.

It was on the death of Hortense's boy that Buonaparte is said to have first thought of his divorce from Josephine, who already, as it seems, might have sued for a restitution of conjugal rights. Fouché either prompted or seconded his inclination by a written memoir, suggesting the necessity of another marriage; and then having sounded and discovered the Emperor's intentions, he took upon himself, unbidden, to communicate them to Josephine. She received the intelligence with profound agitation; and on the following day a passionate and affecting explanation took place between the principals. Buonaparte disowned Fouché, but refused to accede to Josephine's request for his dismissal. She then proposed a fictitious pregnancy; but the wily Minister had anticipated even the resource, and she was forced to relinquish it, when Buonaparte showed her from the Police reports, that the possibility of such a fraud had already been bruited abroad. It was not, however, till the successful termination of the campaign at Wagram, that Buonaparte's resolution was finally avowed; and when he informed Josephine of it at a *tete a tete* dinner, she fainted away. The new marriage was the forerunner of Fouché's second disgrace. The particulars which he gives of the *avant* negotiations with the Courts of Petersburg and Vienna, are full of interest; but we have not room to extract them. It is more to our purpose to show Fouché's individual feeling: "Gifted with what is called tact, I had a secret presentiment that my ministerial power would not long survive the new order of things." "I was also firmly convinced, that he would never pardon my having, of myself, raised an army, forced the English to reimbarc, and saved Belgium." He had done still more, he had employed an agent without Buonaparte's knowledge, to sound the English minister as to peace. The Emperor was similarly employed at the same time; and the Marquis Wellesley suspecting treachery from the double propositions, refused both of them. Buonaparte unravelled the mystery, and taxed Fouché in full Council, with making peace and war without his privity. He was peremptorily dismissed, and replaced by Savary. The following were his consolation under disgrace:—

"I should certainly have made a prediction rather premature, by recalling the words of the prophet: 'In forty days, Nineveh shall be destroyed;' but I might have predicted, with confidence, that in less than four years the empire of Napoleon would no longer exist."

Vol. I. p. 357.

“ I confess, that there never was a more despotic police than that whose sceptre I grasped ; but will you not also admit that there never was a more protecting police under a military government ; more adverse to violence ; more gentle in the means by which it pervaded the secret recesses of domestic life, and the operation of which was less obnoxiously obvious ? Will you not, therefore, admit, that the Duke of Otranto was beyond a doubt the most skilful and the most moderate of all Napoleon’s ministers ? ” Vol. II. p. 2.

“ During my recent humiliations, and during my great misfortunes, can I forget that I was once the supporter and supervisor of an immense empire ; that my disapprobation only endangered its subsistence ; and that it ran the risk of tumbling to pieces whenever I withdrew my sustaining hand ? Can I forget, that if by the effect of a great re-action, and of a revolution which I foresaw, I again repossessed myself of the scattered elements of so much greatness and power, that the whole vanished like a dream ? Yet, nevertheless, I was considered as far superior, in consequence of my long experience—I may add, perhaps of my sagacity—to all those, who, during the catastrophe, suffered the power to escape. ” Vol. II. p. 3.

An Imperial decree in 1813, constituted Fouché Governor of Rome. Before he set off, Buonaparte demanded all his secret correspondence and confidential orders. These he concealed before the arrival of Berthier, and the commission which was sent to obtain them ; and having amused the messengers by the surrender and examination of some unimportant documents, he sent them back to meet the rage of Buonaparte, who instantly pronounced, that they had been tricked, that they were *imbécilles*, that Berthier was no better than an old woman, and that he had suffered himself to be mystified by the craftiest man in the Empire.

“ The next day at nine o’clock in the morning, having concerted my plan, I hastened to Saint Cloud, and there presented myself to the grand *maréchal* of the palace. ‘ Here I am,’ said I to Duroc ; ‘ I am prompted by the most urgent interest, to see the Emperor without delay, and to prove to him, that I am very far from deserving his cruel mistrust, and unjust suspicion. Tell him, I entreat you, that I am waiting in your closet, till he deigns to grant me a few minutes audience. ’ ‘ I will go instantly,’ replied Duroc, ‘ and I am very glad to see that *you have mixed a little water with your wine.* ’ Such was the exact phrase he used, and it squared with the idea which I wished to give him of my deportment. Duroc, returning, took me by the hand, led me forward, and left me in the Emperor’s closet. From the first aspect and deportment of Napoleon, I guessed what was passing in his mind. Without giving me time to say a single word, he embraced me, flattered me, and went even so far as to testify a kind of repentance for the dissatisfaction he had expressed with regard to me ; then, with an accent which seemed to say that he himself offered me a pledge of reconciliation,

he concluded by requiring, and, in short, demanding his correspondence. ‘Sire,’ I replied with a determined tone, ‘I have burnt it.’ ‘That is not true; I must have it,’ replied he, with compressed vehemence and anger. ‘It is reduced to ashes’—‘Withdraw!’ These words were pronounced with a scowling motion of the head, and a withering look. ‘But, Sire’—‘Withdraw, I say!’ This was repeated with such emphasis as to dissuade me from staying. I held ready in my hand a brief memorial, which I laid on the table as I retired; an action which I accompanied with a respectful bow. The emperor, bursting with anger, seized the paper, and tore it to pieces.” Vol. II. p. 18.

To the farther threats of the Emperor, Fouché returned, through Berthier, the following reply:—“Tell him, that I have been accustomed, for these five-and-twenty years, to sleep with my head on the scaffold; that I know the extent of his power, but that I do not fear it; and add, that if he wishes to make a Strafford of me, he is at full liberty so to do.” The resemblance of this ex-Sir Richard Birnie, to the wronged and murdered Wentworth, cannot fail to occur to every reader. Discretion, however, mingled with his valour; and after really sending, or perhaps only mentally framing this magnanimous message, he took post for the frontiers, and sought refuge in Florence. Even here he considered himself unsafe, and he embarked at Leghorn for America. But oh! lame and impotent conclusion! a violent sea-sickness, which “loaded his bosom and tore his entrails,” drove him again on land, and induced him to refuse the generous offer of an English captain, who promised to convey him to our island, assuring him, “at the same time, such attention and antidotes, as would secure him against the return of sea-sickness.”

He now resolved to commit himself to the protection of the Grand Duchess Elise, Buonaparte’s sister. Through her he forwarded a penitential letter to the Thuilleries, offered to exchange his papers for an indemnity for all past acts executed under Buonaparte’s orders, and requested permission to retire to Aix. The bargain was readily struck, and Fouché was again out of danger.

Ennui pursued him to his retirement; and a feeling, which he well describes as “the inveterate custom and desire to know every thing,” still haunted him. To gratify this craving he arranged a regular correspondence, and established a sort of counter-police. By this he learned the particulars of the disgrace of the King of Holland, Lucien, and of Pauline Borghese, the favourite sister of Buonaparte. Fouché describes Pauline as beautiful, full of levity, inconsistency and

laxity of morals, without talent, but not without some smartness and information. She was first married to Le Clerc, whom she hated; and being ill, and refusing to follow her husband on his expedition to St. Domingo, she was carried, by Napoleon's orders, in a litter on board the admiral's ship. On Le Clerc's death she returned to Paris; and here her shameless and unmeasured profligacy for awhile impaired her health, but the remedies to which she was compelled to have recourse seemed to increase her beauty. The rest must be told by Fouché himself. It is a companion piece to the tale of Hortense.

“ Desiring nothing but unrestrained and unlimited enjoyment, but dreading her brother and his rough severity, Pauline formed a project, in conjunction with one of her women, of subjecting Napoleon to the full dominion of her charms. She employed so much art, and so much refinement for the purpose, that her triumph was complete. Such was the intoxication of the despot, that more than once his familiars heard him exclaiming, on emerging from one of his fits of transport, that his sister was the most beautiful of the beautiful, and, in short, the Venus of the age. Her beauty, however, was only of a masculine description. But let us lay aside these portraits, which are more worthy of the pencil of Suetonius and Aretin, than of the graving tool of history. Voluptuous *château de Neuilly*! magnificent palace of the Faubourg St. Honore! if your walls, like those of the palaces of the kings of Babylon, could reveal the truth, what licentious scenes would you not depict in characters of exaggerated size!

“ For more than a year the infatuation of the brother for the sister maintained its dominion, although unaccompanied by passion; in fact, no other passion but that of dominion and conquest could master that haughty and warlike spirit. When, after the battle of Wagram, and the peace of Vienna, Napoleon returned in triumph to Paris, preceded by the report of his approaching divorce with Josephine, he went that very day to his sister, who was in a state of agitation, and the most conscious anticipation of his return. Never had she displayed so much love and adoration for her brother. I heard her say on that very day, for she was not aware that there was any mystery to be preserved towards me, “ Why do we not rule in Egypt? We might then act like the Ptolemies; I might divorce my husband, and marry my brother.” I knew her to be too uninstructed to conceive such an idea herself, and immediately detected in it an ejaculation of Napoleon.

“ The bitter and concentrated disappointment which Pauline felt may be conceived, when some months after that time she saw Maria Louisa, adorned with all her native frankness, make her appearance at the nuptial ceremony, and take her seat on the throne by the side of Napoleon. The imperial court then underwent a thorough reform in its habits, its morals, and its etiquette; the reform was complete and rigorous. From that moment the licentious

court of Pauline was deserted; and that woman, who united all the weaknesses to all the graces of her sex, considering Maria Louisa in the light of a fortunate rival, conceived a mortal jealousy against her, and nourished the most intense resentment in the recesses of her heart. Her health was impaired by it. By the advice of her physician, she had recourse to the waters of *Aix la Chapelle*, as well for the purpose of recovery, as for that of escaping the *ennui* to which she was a prey. Having undertaken her journey, she passed the line of direction in which Napoleon and Maria Louisa were travelling towards the frontier of Holland. There compelled to appear at the court of the new empress, and eagerly seizing an opportunity of insulting her as much as possible, she went so far as to make, behind her back, while she was passing through the *salon*, a sign with her two fingers, and that accompanied by an indecent tittering, which the common people apply, in their gross stile of derision, to credulous and deluded husbands. Napoleon, who witnessed and was shocked by the impertinence, which the reflection of the mirrors had even revealed to Maria Louisa, never forgave his sister; she that day received an order to withdraw from court. From that time, disdaining submission, she preferred to live in exile and disgrace, till the period of the events of 1814, a period which restored her past affection, and proved her fidelity to the misfortunes of her brother." Vol. II. p. 34.

The forced abdication of the throne of Holland gave Fouché the first idea of the possibility of one day saving the Empire by means of an abdication imposed on him who might, by his extravagance, compromise its prosperity; and this was almost at the moment in which Buonaparte's power appeared to be most firmly rooted by the birth of a son. Fouché informs us respecting this event, that Maria Louisa's labour was horribly protracted, that the *accoucheur* was bewildered, that the child was concluded to be dead, and that he was only recovered from his lethargy by the effect of the repeated discharge of a hundred pieces of artillery. He does not appear to know, that there is the highest authority for believing that the lives both of the mother and the child would have been forfeited, had it not been for the presence of mind and the decision of Buonaparte himself.

On the eve of the war with Russia, in the autumn of 1812, Fouché, impatient of his exclusion from the theatre in which were framing the great events which his sagacity anticipated, obtained permission to reside on his own estate, the *Chateau de Ferrières*, about six leagues from Paris. Here he watched the coming storm with gloomy foreboding, and having drawn up a memorial, strongly representing the impolicy of the war, he requested an audience at the Thuilleries, and delivered it in person. He was received not ungraciously:

Buonaparte promised to read his memorial, with the previous composition of which he showed himself to be acquainted, to the astonishment of Fouché, who, for the first time, perceived that his system of *espionage* had been employed in turn, and successfully against himself. Buonaparte added a few characteristic sentences. "How can I help it, if an excess of power leads me to assume the dictatorship of the world?" "My destiny is not accomplished: I must finish that which is but as yet sketched. We must have an European code, an European Court of cassation; the same coins, the same weights and measures, the same laws: I must amalgamate all the people of Europe into one, and Paris must be the Capital of the world."

The Russian agent, Prince Czernitscheff, appears to have been one of the most able diplomatists of his time. Handsome in his person, and winning in his address, he relied much upon his *liaisons* of gallantry as sources of information. By the treachery of a clerk of the *Bureau des Mouvemens*, who afterwards expiated his crime on the scaffold, Czernitscheff obtained a memorandum of the intended movements of the French army. Some suspicion arose, and the clerk was arrested. Czernitscheff left Paris with precipitation, and having five or six hours start, he passed the bridge of Kehl, just as the telegraphic order for his arrest reached Strasburgh. He had not time to destroy his papers, the discovery of which betrayed an extensive amatory-political correspondence. It also brought to light an unsuspected fact, that, even from the date of the interview at Erfurt, the Russian Cabinet had foreseen the possibility of a rupture. Romanzoff then justified his temporizing complaisance to Buonaparte by the pointed and remarkable words, *Il faut l'user*, We must wear him out.

It was not until the conclusion of the armistice which succeeded the battles of Bautzen and Wurtchen, that Fouché was again employed, and even then it was plain that Buonaparte's great object was to keep him at a distance from Paris, where he dreaded his intrigues. At Dresden, he had an interview with the Emperor, who was at the brink of a rupture with Austria, and, as Berthier described him, furious with a mania for war. Fouché then received his appointment of Governor-general of Illyria. At that time he plainly foresaw the headlong downfall of his master, and he wisely resolved "to turn his new situation to the advantage of the State." He therefore conceived the project of a Regency, of which himself was to be member. Buonaparte probably suspected his design, for when Illyria was lost, Fouché was

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rapidly transferred to his former government of Rome, of which he had never taken possession. He lingered on his journey, in order to observe the course of the events which he confidently anticipated. At length, he was ordered to proceed to Naples, and there endeavour to secure the wavering fidelity of Murat. In this dissolute Capital, says Fouché, “ I found myself nearly, *if the comparison be not considered too flattering to myself*, as Plato did at the Court of Dionysius.” Would that a medal had been struck in commemoration of this act of diplomacy!

Then future ages with delight should see,
How Plato's and how Fouché's looks agree.

As events hastened to their climax, he suggested to Murat the proclamation, in which he formally avowed that he had separated his arms from those of Buonaparte, and he obtained in return, after Joachim had seized the Roman States, the arrears of his salary for the two Governor-generalships, from which he had been driven. These amounted to 170,000 francs; so that he congratulated himself upon being able to say, before leaving Italy, that he “ had not lost his time there for nothing.”

Before proceeding to France, he dissuaded Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, from obeying Buonaparte's commands to march on the Vosges; he then kindly “ gave him some advice,” and set off for Lyons. As he learned the reverses of Soult at Orthes, and of Buonaparte at Laon, his regrets increased at his inability to be in Paris during the Revolution, which of necessity was to be expected. He dared not attempt the journey, for he had reason to think that secret instructions regarding himself were transmitted to each individual Præfect respectively.

It was in 1809 that Fouché admits he first conceived the design of dethroning Buonaparte, as the only means of reconciling France with Europe, and of bringing back a reasonable state of government. For this purpose he entered into secret negotiation with Prince Metternich, and the Marquis Wellesley, and obtained the co-operation of Talleyrand, and other men of intrigue. His sudden disgrace prevented the ripening of the plan, and “ postponed for five years the subversion of the Imperial throne.” With a recollection of these intentions, we can readily conceive that the feelings of the Duke of Otranto were most bitter, when he perceived that he was not allowed even a subordinate share of mischief when the catastrophe had really arrived.

But the return of the Bourbons changed the current of

these feelings, and he exclaims, in a burst of nascent Royalism—

“What a position, just Heaven, was mine! Impelled by the consciousness of the many claims which I possessed to power, and withheld by a sentiment of remorse; impressed at the same time with the grandeur of a spectacle perfectly new to the generation which surveyed it—the public entrance of a son of France, who, after being the sport of fortune for twenty-five years, reviewed, in the midst of acclamations and universal rejoicing, the capital of his ancestors, adorned with the standards and emblems of royalty. Moved, I confess, by the affecting picture of royal affability, intermingling with royalist intoxication, I was subjugated by the feeling. I neither dissembled my regret nor my repentance; I revealed them in full senate, while I urged the senators to send a deputation to S. A. R. Monsieur; at the same time declaring myself unworthy to form a part of it, and of appearing in my own person before the representative of monarchy; and withstanding, to the utmost of my influence, such of my colleagues as wished to impose restraints upon the Bourbons.” Vol. II. p. 240.

He then wrote two letters, one to Buonaparte, acquainting him with the geographical position and political relation of Elba, on which island the ex-Emperor at that time resided, and strongly urging him to emigrate, as a private individual, to the United States. The other was addressed to the Comte d'Artois, informing him that he had so written to Buonaparte, and trusting to the unquestionable sagacity of that Prince, to determine therefrom that he was no longer to be reckoned among the adherents of Napoleon. Whether, on account of this letter, or from some other reason, he does not state, but the King ordered M. de Blacas to have a conference with him. Fouché talked but coldly with this agent, not knowing how much of his conversation might be “dispersed in empty air;” but on the following day he sent him a long letter, very shrewdly believing that the *littera scripta* must meet the King's eyes. The furnace of the Revolution through which Fouché had passed, in all its degrees of heat and activity, had not been able to dissipate the whole of that courtly flattery which seems inherent in the composition of a Frenchman; and the same voice which had voted for the death of Louis XVI. and had shouted *Vive l'Empereur* to Buonaparte, now whispered to the Monarch of the day, that the XIXth century ought to bear the name of Louis XVIII. as the XVIIth bore that of Louis XIV. Having made this statement, his immediate steps were to decline forming one of a counter-revolutionary committee, solely because he would not do “any thing incapable of assuming a dignified air;” all but to give his co-operation to the adherents of

Buonaparte ; to listen to innumerable plans for the dethronement of the King, and the proclamation either of another dynasty, or of a Provisional Republic ; and finally, as the official organ of a military party, to write an offer of the Dictatorship to Eugene Beauharnois. Such having been his summer amusements at Ferrieres, when he returned to the Capital, on the approach of winter, he again changed his tack, and renewed his addresses to the Court.

“ The king, by his good pleasure, had commissioned M. the Duke d’Havre to supersede M. de Blacas in his confidential communications with me. The true nobility of this nobleman’s character, as well as his frank deportment, procured him my entire confidence ; I opened my whole heart to him, and found myself disposed to a freedom of communication which I had never before known. Never had I, in any moment of my life, felt so little inclination to reserve ; never before did I find myself endowed with an eloquence so true, and a sensibility so intense, as those which accompanied the recital of the circumstances by which I had been fatally induced to vote for the death of Louis XVI. I can say it with truth, that this confession extorted from my feelings, was imbued at once with remorse and inspiration.” Vol. II. p. 255.

While thus confessing himself, with tears in his eyes, to a Minister of the King, Fouché was in direct communication with the party which was plotting the restoration of Buonaparte. Even this, however, was to be only the prologue of some other intrigue ; he assisted the ex-Emperor, reserving in his own mind “ the intention of putting him down afterwards.” and considering him as “ nothing but a worn-out actor.”

Having entered into this conspiracy, and having induced Murat to take up arms, Fouché, as soon as Buonaparte landed, apprized the King of his danger, and offered to stop the invasion, provided the first Prince of the blood was appointed Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, and the whole management of affairs was intrusted to his own hands. This modest proposal was declined ; nevertheless, in an interview with Monsieur, he afterwards declared his grief that it was now impossible to serve the King’s cause, and exclaimed as he took his leave, with “ a sudden inspiration of hope”—“ take measures to save the King, and I will take steps to save the Monarchy.”

“ Who could have imagined,” continued Fouché, with impenetrable gravity, “ that after communications of so lofty an importance, there should be almost immediately set on foot against me and against my liberty, a kind of plot ?” The single heartedness and sincerity of the patriot and sage surely

ought to have protected him from a visit from the *gendarmes*. Having timely intelligence of the intended arrest, he profited by machinery well fitted to a Minister of Police, a secret door and a ladder, which conveyed him to the house of Hortense, and there he found himself secure in the heart of the *élite* of Bonapartists.

Napoleon on re-occupying the Thuilleries again, installed Fouché Minister of Police; not, as he afterwards learned, from his over good will, but induced by the persuasions of Bassano, Caulaincourt, and others. On obtaining this appointment, Fouché "did not hesitate to request the King, by means of an agent on whom he could rely, to permit him to devote himself, when opportunity occurred, to his service." The overture was accepted, and sanctioned by the Duke of Wellington, Prince Metternich, and Prince Talleyrand. His correspondence with Metternich was discovered. Buonaparte convened a Council, stated that Fouché was a traitor, that he had proofs of it, and that he was about to have him shot. Every voice protested against so violent a measure. Carnot observing that he persevered, replied, "It is in your power to have Fouché shot, but to-morrow at the same hour your power will have departed." Buonaparte at last consented to send an emissary to Bale to unravel the plot. Fouché apprized of this proceeding, placed Metternich's letter in his *portfeuille*, and, after an audience with Buonaparte, pretending to awaken to the sudden recollection of a fact which he had forgotten, from the oppression of too much business, submitted it to his perusal, with a well feigned doubt as to Metternich's wish; at the same time implying, that he believed it to accord with his own, namely, that Buonaparte should avoid a war with all Europe by the only means now in his power, an abdication in favour of his son. The trick succeeded, and Buonaparte was out-witted.

Buonaparte set out for the army.

"In this decisive condition of affairs, my position became very delicate, as well as very difficult; I wished to have nothing further to do with Napoleon; yet, if he should be victorious, I should be compelled to submit to his yoke, as well as the whole of France, whose calamities he would prolong. On the other hand, I had engagements with Louis XVIII.; not that I was inclined to his restoration; but prudence required that I should procure for myself before-hand something in the shape of a guarantee. My agents, moreover, to M. de Metternich and Lord Wellington had promised mountains and marvels. The generalissimo, at least, expected that I should provide him with the plan of the campaign.

"In the first instance—but the voice of my country, the glory of the French army which appeared to me in any other light than that

of the nation, in short, the dictates of honour startled me at the thought, that the word traitor might ever become an appendage to the name of the Duke d'Otranto; and my resolution remained unsullied. Mean time, in such a conjuncture, what part was to be taken by a statesman, to whom it is never permitted to remain without resources? This is the resolution I took. I knew positively that the unexpected onset of Napoleon's force would occur on the 16th or 18th, at latest; Napoleon, indeed, determined to give battle on the 17th to the English army, after detaching them from the Prussians, and marching to the attack *sur le ventre* of the latter. He was so much the better justified in expecting success from his plan, since Wellington, deceived from false reports, imagined it possible to delay the opening of the campaign till the 1st of July. The success of Napoleon rested, therefore, on the success of a surprise; I took my measures accordingly. On the very day of Napoleon's departure, I provided Madame D—— with notes, written in cipher, disclosing the plan of the campaign, and sent her off. At the same time I occasioned impediments on that part of the frontier which she was to pass, in such a manner as to prevent her reaching the head-quarters of Wellington, till after the result. This is a true explanation of the inconceivable supineness of the generalissimo, which occasioned so universal an astonishment, and conjectures of so opposite a description." Vol. II. p. 290.

On Buonaparte's abdication, Fouché became President of an Executive Provisional Committee which proposed peace to the allies, and signified assent to any Government but that of the Bourbons. These offers having been rejected, Fouché despatched "a friend, a man of property," to the Duke of Wellington's head quarters, with two letters sowed in the collar of his coat; one to the King, the other to the Duke of Orleans; a second agent brought a reply from the Duke of Wellington, that he had orders not to treat on any basis but the re-establishment of Louis XVIII. This reply Fouché carefully concealed from his colleagues.

"I hoped, moreover, that by aiding Louis XVIII. to remount the throne, I should induce that prince to detach some dangerous individuals from his presence, and to make new concessions to France, reserving to myself if I could obtain nothing, the privilege of subsequently recurring to other combinations." Vol. II. p. 307.

"Such was my position, that I was obliged to have negotiations with all parties, and compromise with all the shades of opinion either attached to my interest or to that of the state." Vol. II. p. 308.

The King made his public entry into Paris, and no one who has paid attention to the foregoing narrative can be surprised at its conclusion.

Fouché had talents for mankind,
Open he was and unconfin'd.

"There was an universal exclamation from all parts of the country to the effect, that without me there was neither security for the King, nor safety for France, and that all parties had come to an understanding on the necessity of continuing me in office." One who had corresponded so largely and so indiscriminately was quite certain to strike into some old track. Whatever occurred he pursued, and therefore we were prepared for the *denouement*, that "in so deplorable a conjuncture, I did not withhold from my country the benefit of my labour and exertion."

It is at this point that the *Memoirs* before us terminate. We are promised a continuation; and unless the prosecution to which we have already alluded prevents the fulfilment of this promise, we shall probably learn the particulars of the last five years of Fouché's eventful life, and we may then be able to pronounce with entire certainty upon the authenticity of any part or the whole of this publication.

ART. X. *Odes and Addresses to Great People*

8vo. 136 pp. 5s. 6d. Baldwin. 1825.

IF we were inclined to string a rosary of common-places, and to apothegmatize in good set terms of morality, what food does the title of this little volume present to our craving! Alexander and Jonathan Wild, the Czar Peter and Thomas Thumb, Herod and the Irish Giant have all in their turns been enlarged by the same appendage of honor, and like a comet or a Highland laird have carried their brightest glories in their tails,—But alas, "how little are the great!" in days of yore no one was deemed to possess the necessary passport to this distinguished title, unless he had despatched some thousands of his fellow creatures on the battle-field or some hundreds at the new drop; unless he had worked his way out of a ship-yard or a cow's belly; unless he had really massacred babes, or at least looked big enough to eat them—but now—out on such degenerate times!—We meet here with no less than thirteen greatnesses in a bunch—aye and two of them corporate bodies—and they have a poet to boot, who magnifies them all in due proportion to their respective bulks, and adjusts his measures to the comparative size of his subject.

That future ages may have no doubts as to the worthies of the present, and that our illustrious contemporaries may

have the double chance of living to endless fame both in our pages and in those of their Laureate, we shall subjoin a catalogue of the mighty whom the Muse has here celebrated:—They are, Graham the Man of Gas, and M'Adam the Man of Granite; Mrs. Fry the Newgate Lady, and Mr. Martin the Smithfield Gentleman; the Great Unknown; Mr. Champion Dymoke, and Mr. Clown Grimaldi; Miss Foote, and the Steam Washing Company; the Secretary to the Begging Society, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; Captain Parry, and the Author of Peptic Precepts; Mr. Manager Elliston and the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine.

Of this motley groupe it is hard to speak collectively; especially since each holds a widely different place in our esteem. Mr. Graham is far above our contemplations—*Tendit quoties in altos Nubium tractus*—In spite of our respect for Mr. M'Adam, we cannot but wish that we may always continue to trample his ways under foot. Mrs. Fry we think is all my eye.—Mr. Martin's blunt and honest humanity has our heartiest approbation, and we wish the *animali parlanti* of St. Stephen's would receive his propositions in behalf of the dumb beasts with greater courtesy. We have peeped neither under the vizer of the Great Unknown, nor that of Mr. Dymoke. To see Grimaldi once again we would trust all our eighteen shirts to the Steam Washing Company; Dr. Apicius Kitchener and Mr. Mendicity Bodkin are associated in our minds like Falstaff and Slender, or Pharaoh's fat and lean kine; and as for the remainder they are like Gyas and Cloanthus, only the rout and rabble of greatness, who serve to fill up the close of an hexameter or the back ground of a picture.

If the standard by which the writer of these Odes weighs those to whom he addresses them is to be determined by the rate of merit in his execution, it is quite as various as our own. We pass at once to that in which he invokes the Scottish novelist.

1.

“Thou Great Unknown!

I do not mean Eternity nor Death.

That vast incog!

For I suppose thou hast a living breath,

Howbeit we know not from whose lungs 'tis blown,

Thou man of fog!

Parent of many children—child of none!

Nobody's son!

Nobody's daughter—but a parent still!

Still but an ostrich parent of a batch

Of orphan eggs,—left to the world to hatch.

Superlative Nil!

A vox and nothing more,—yet not Vauxhall ;
 A head in papers, yet without a curl !
 Not the Invisible Girl !
 No hand—but a hand-writing on a wall—
 A popular nonentity,
 Still call'd the same,—without identity !
 A lark, heard out of sight,—
 A nothing shin'd upon,—invisibly bright,
 “ Dark with excess of light ! ”
 Constable's literary John-a-nokes—
 The real Scottish wizard—to no which,
 Nobody—in a niche ;
 Every one's hoax !
 Maybe Sir Walter Scott—
 Perhaps not !
 Why dost thou so conceal and puzzle curious folks ?

2.

“ Thou,—whom the second-sighted never saw,
 The Master Fiction of fictitious history !
 Chief Nong tong paw !
 No mister in the world—and yet all mystery !
 The “ tricky spirit ” of a Scotch Cock Lane—
 A novel Junius puzzling the world's brain—
 A man of magic—yet no talisman !
 A man of clair obscure—not him o' the moon !
 A star—at noon.
 A non-descriptus in a caravan,
 A private—of no corps—a northern light
 In a dark lantern,—Bogie in a crape—
 A figure—but no shape ;
 A vizor—and no knight ;
 The real abstract hero of the age ;
 The staple Stranger of the stage ;
 A Some One made in every man's presumption,
 Frankenstein's monster—but instinct with gumption ;
 Another strange state captive in the north,
 Constable-guarded in an iron mask ;
 Still let me ask,
 Hast thou no silver platter,
 No door-plate, or no card—or some such matter,
 To scrawl a name upon, and then cast forth ?

3.

“ Thou Scottish Barmecide, feeding the hunger
 Of Curiosity with airy gammon !
 Thou mystery-monger,
 Dealing it out like middle cut of salmon,
 That people buy and can't make head or tail of it :
 (Howbeit that puzzle never hurts the sale of it ;)

Thou chief of authors mystic and abstractical,
 That lay their proper bodies on the shelf—
 Keeping thyself so truly to thyself,
 Thou Zimmerman made practical !
 Thou secret fountain of a Scottish style,
 That, like the Nile,
 Hideth its source wherever it is bred,
 But still keeps disemboguing
 (Not disembroguing)
 Thro' such broad sandy mouths without a head !
 Thou disembodied author—not yet dead,—
 The whole world's literary Absentee !
 Ah ! wherefore hast thou fled,
 Thou learned Nemo—wise to a degree,
 Anonymous L. L. D. !”—P. 39.

This in our minds is among the best of his strains ; and it requires no very deep imbution with the Philosophy of Crotona to discover whose the spirit is which animates the writer. There can be no doubt that the soul of Tom Punsibi has shot up through the Pythagorean rail-road of a bean stalk into some modern corticle wherein *novis domibus habitat, vivitque recepta*.

The rest is of the same cast ; some of the puns, it must be confessed are bad enough, but perhaps they are the better on that account. We are not adepts in this figure ; nevertheless we confess its power, for when we most affect to despise and resist it, it wrings our features into an involuntary grin. Yet even of puns there may be too much, and this grin become a yawn long before the close of the 136th page. We will not try our readers patience to this fearful extent ; but they may perhaps bear with one more extract. We select it not so much for its humour as for its truth ; for we think that it places in a just light the services of an Association which extinguishes charity rather than suppresses mendicity, and which scours the haunts and coverts of misery not to relieve but to run it down.

ODE TO H. BODKIN, ESQ. SECRETARY TO THE SOCIETY FOR
 THE SUPPRESSION OF MENDICITY.

1.

“ Hail, King of Shreds and Patches, hail,
 Disperser of the Poor !
 Thou Dog in office, set to bark
 All beggars from the door !

2.

“ Great overseer of overseers,
 And Dealer in old rags !
 Thy public duty never fails,
 Thy ardour never flags !

3.

“ Oh, when I take my walks abroad,
How many poor I *miss* !
Had Doctor Watts walk'd now a days
He would have written this !

4.

“ So well thy Vagrant catcher's prowl,
So clear thy caution keeps
The Path—O, Bodkin, sure thou hast
The eye that never sleeps !

5.

“ No Belisarius pleads for alms,
No Benbow, lacking legs ;
The pious man in black is now
The only man that begs !

6.

“ Street-Handels are disorganiz'd,
Disbanded every band !—
The silent *scraper* at the door
Is scarce allowed to stand !

7.

“ The Sweeper brushes with his broom,
The Carstairs with his chalk
Retires,—the Cripple leaves his stand,
But cannot sell his walk.

8.

“ The old Wall-blind resigns the wall,
The Camels hide their humps,
The Witherington without a leg
Mayn't beg upon his stumps !

9.

“ Poor Jack is gone, that used to doff
His batter'd tatter'd hat,
And show his dangling sleeve, alas !
There seem'd no arm in that !

10.

“ Oh ! was it such a sin to air
His true blue naval rags,
Glory's own trophy, like St. Paul,
Hung round with holy flags !

11.

“ Thou knowest best. I meditate,
My Bodkin, no offence !
Let us, henceforth, but nurse our pounds,
Thou dost protect our pence !

12.

"Well art thou pointed 'gainst the Poor,
For, when the Beggar Crew
Bring their petitions, thou art paid,
Of course, to "run them through."

13.

"Of course thou art what Hamlet meant—
To wretches the last friend;
What ills can mortals have, they can't
With a bare *Bodkin* end?"—P. 133.

ART. XI. *An Essay on the Absolving Power of the Church; with especial reference to the Offices of the Church of England for the Ordering of Priests and the Visitation of the Sick. With copious Illustrations and Notes. By the Rev. T. H. Lowe, M.A. Vicar of Grimley, in the County of Worcester, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Viscount Gage.* 8vo. 66 pp. Oxford; Parker. London; Rivingtons.

THIS is an able treatise on a difficult subject; and if we cannot subscribe to all the opinions of Mr. Lowe, they are at least entitled to a respectful consideration. There is nothing extravagant in the doctrines themselves, and they are maintained with learning, acuteness and good sense.

Having commenced by observing, that "a full and final absolution" can be pronounced by Him alone, "who is able infallibly to scrutinize the inmost recesses of the human heart," Mr. Lowe proceeds in the following terms:—

"But if the power of remitting absolutely the future penalties of sin neither is, nor can be, given to ignorant and sinful men, in what sense are we to understand these words of our Lord to his apostles: 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained?' The inquiry is one of great importance; for as the same words are used in the ordination of our priests; and as it cannot be supposed, that those venerable and pious men by whom our Liturgy was reformed designed to mislead by an equivocal sense, when they retained in this form of ordination, without any restriction or qualification of their meaning, the identical words which our Lord employed in the consecration of his apostles; the necessary inference is, that they meant them to be taken strictly in the same sense; and designed to claim for the ministers of our Church the same gift of the Holy Spirit, the same divine authority to absolve and to bind."

P. 2.

We are not aware that Mr. Lowe makes any erroneous

deduction from this paragraph; but we cannot admit its accuracy. Is it "a necessary inference" from the ordination service, that our Church supposes her priests to receive precisely the same authority that was conferred upon the apostles by our Lord? That the compilers of the Liturgy did not design to mislead by an equivocal sense, is readily granted. But that a form of words which was originally used in one sense, cannot under any circumstances, be honestly used in another, is not so self-evident as Mr. Lowe imagines. Supposing (as many commentators have supposed) that the words of our Lord conveyed superhuman power to his apostles; supposing, for instance, that it was by virtue of this commission that St. Peter condemned Ananias and Sapphira; and St. Paul delivered Hymenæus to Satan, it is possible that the form of words might remain in use after the miraculous power was withdrawn. The form will bear a larger and a narrower sense, and the practice of the age which succeeded the apostles, would justify our retention of the words, although we employ them in a lower signification than that which they once possessed.

Mr. Lowe observes in his appendix, that the extraordinary powers bestowed upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, were quite distinct from those now under consideration, and he quotes Bishop Stillingfleet to prove that it was "the authoritative power of preaching the gospel" which was conferred upon them in this latter instance. We see no reason to dispute the bishop's declaration; but does it establish Mr. Lowe's inference? That the priestly character was conveyed in the words before us, is agreed; the doubt is, whether that character was the same in the apostles as in the priests of all succeeding times. It is certain that the apostles possessed and exercised greater powers (not merely greater because miraculous, but greater in point of authority) than could now be claimed without impiety. And can Mr. Lowe prove that such powers were exclusively derived from the subsequent gifts of God, and had no connection with that unparalleled scene, in which our Lord himself "breathed on them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost." The circumstance of being ordained by Christ in person, is enough to place his original priests far above the greatest of their followers. And if on the one hand we cannot be certain that the priestly power was greater in their days than in ours, still less can we admit it as a "necessary inference" that it was strictly the same.

Mr. Lowe proceeds to show, that the primitive Christian church was modelled after the pattern of the Jewish syna-

gogue, and contends, that we must consequently interpret the form of ordination in the sense which it would have borne at Jerusalem.

“ To understand the extent of those *ordinary* powers that were originally conferred on the apostles, we must therefore recur to the practice of the synagogue. Now the ordination of the Jewish presbyters was performed with solemn imposition of hands, to denote that the person so ordained was, in a peculiar manner, dedicated to God's service; and to invoke the divine blessing on him: and on those who were lawfully ordained, it was believed that the Holy Spirit rested. In these ordinations, which were slightly varied according to the different offices to which they were applied, and the different powers which they were intended to convey, authority was usually given to bind and to loose, to remit and to retain; that is, either as interpreters of the law, or as rulers of the synagogue, to declare what was lawful and what was unlawful; as guides and teachers of the people, to rebuke, to exhort, and to instruct; or as presidents and judges in spiritual matters, if need were, to pass sentence on offenders. That this is the right interpretation of the phrase, which is very comprehensive, and embraces almost the entire circle both of Hebrew theology and jurisprudence, might be shewn, were it needful, by many examples. In some passages of scripture these masters in Israel are recognized as the authorized interpreters of the law and the prophets; in others their power and practice, in the judicial sense of binding and loosing, are no less clearly asserted; and from these, compared with the corresponding passages which relate personally to the apostles, we may best discover the nature and extent of those analogous ordinary powers which were committed to them and to their successors, both as guides and as rulers of the Christian church. In the 18th chapter of St. Matthew there is a remarkable passage, which, through the advantage that has been taken of the equivocal word, ἐκκλησία, has been alleged by divines of almost every communion to demonstrate the necessity of a visible church to decide controversies of faith. But though such a power is inherent in every church, it can never be proved to be so from this passage, which relates wholly to private offences, and to the power of the synagogue, or ecclesiastical sanhedrin, in the last resort. For our Lord is here prescribing certain rules, in particular cases, for the present direction of his followers. His first rule is, that if any one should treat them injuriously, they should use every charitable endeavour to bring him to a better mind, and have recourse, in the first instance, to private expostulation; if that were unavailing, that they should next remonstrate with him before one or two selected witnesses; and if he still persisted in his injury, that they should bring the matter before the assembled synagogue: but if all these endeavours should fail to reclaim him, ‘ then,’ said our Lord, ‘ let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican;’ let the presbyters pronounce sentence, and expel him from their communion: to which he immediately subjoins the

very striking declaration, ' Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The terms in which this solemn sanction is given by our Lord to the deliberate sentence of the Jewish synagogue, are, it will be observed, the very same, even to the letter, as he used to St. Peter, when he conferred on him the power of the keys; and the same also, in substance, as he addressed to all the apostles, when he ordained them presbyters and rulers of the Christian church.

" Again; in the ninth chapter of St. John's Gospel it is related, that when the man, blind from his birth, whom our Lord had healed on the sabbath day, persisted in acknowledging the divine character and mission of the blessed Jesus, the presbyters, before whom he was arraigned, first judicially pronounced that his sins were bound upon him, and then excommunicated him: ' Thou art yet,' said they, ' in thy sins—and they cast him out.'

" Hence it appears, that, in our Saviour's time, the authority to bind and to loose, which the Jewish presbyters received at their ordination, gave them a general power of acting both as teachers and rulers of the people: and it must, I think, be admitted, that our Lord, in using the same form, designed to convey to his apostles the same general authority in spiritual things, and the same power of discipline for the perpetual edification and government of the Christian church, as the Jewish presbyters at that time possessed in the sanhedrin and synagogue. And with respect to these, as it never was pretended either by them or for them, that, by their faculty of binding and loosing, they were enabled to absolve men from the future penalties of sin, there was no danger that the apostles should imagine, (whatever others may since have imagined for them,) that, by their similar ordination, they were invested with such an unheard of power: for of the presbyters of the synagogue, who received authority to bind and to loose, no less than of themselves, to whom the same commission was given, they had heard our Lord expressly declare, that their sentence, pronounced on earth, should be ratified in heaven. Until, therefore, unanswerable proof be brought from scripture, that the apostles either claimed or exercised such an absolving power, we may confidently repeat our assertion, that the authority to remit the future penalties of sin was never granted by God to man." P. 12.

We readily subscribe to this conclusion, and have only one objection to the process that leads to it. Mr. Lowe is not quite so guarded as he ought to be in arguing from the Jewish customs. They are excellent interpreters of Scripture language. But if we say, that a phrase, or a promise, or a rite *can* mean or be no more than it would have meant, or would have been in the synagogue, we shall be involved in great difficulties. Baptism, for instance, was derived from a Jewish custom, and might it not be contended upon Mr. Lowe's principles, that Christian baptism is a mere form,

unaccompanied by those supernatural gifts with which the church has always taught that it is coupled. We have no desire to lay much stress upon the objection, but as a blemish in a good argument, it was our duty to point it out.

We proceed to Mr. Lowe's explanation of the office for the visitation of the sick, and his apology for the form of absolution:—

“ But if we openly renounce, as pernicious and unscriptural, the claim to a plenary absolving power, there remains to be discussed a second question of no little difficulty. On what grounds, it may be asked, did our reformers retain, in the private office for the visitation of the sick, the full and authoritative absolution of the church of Rome? ‘ Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.’ These words, obvious as their sense appears, undoubtedly admit of two interpretations. But the question with which we are at present concerned, is not, in what sense they may possibly be understood *now*; but in what sense they actually were understood by the generality of Christians at the period of the Reformation. To discover the reasons which probably induced the fathers of our reformed church to admit into this private office a form of absolution so apparently irreconcilable with the truth, we must therefore take into consideration the inveterate opinions on the subject of priestly absolution, which, at that era, were universally maintained; and then, if I mistake not, we shall be able not merely to vindicate their conduct in this behalf, but to shew, that they were guided by the purest spirit of enlightened Christian charity.” P. 19.

“ At the era of the Reformation these opinions were so inveterately rooted in the minds of men, that baptism itself was considered not more indispensable to procure their admission into the church of Christ, than priestly absolution to ensure their pardon at the hour of death, and in the day of judgment. To eradicate this mischievous persuasion, our reformers appear to have done all that the soundest wisdom and most enlightened Christian piety could dictate. In the public offices and liturgy they retained none but the declaratory or precatory forms of absolution; and in the elaborate Apologies of Jewell and Hooker it was unequivocally asserted, that the ministerial sentence of absolution, except when it relates to the removal of ecclesiastical censures, is no more than a declaration of what God has done. But, whilst they made use of every prudent caution to remove the grounds of the opposite error, they knew that the great mass of the people could not at once be thoroughly divested of their ancient prejudices; and that, especially in the hour of sickness, when bodily weakness was superadded to mental infirmity, they would be apt to languish for those consolations which both they and their fathers had hitherto thought necessary to their quiet passage out of

this mortal life. In compassion to these human weaknesses and natural misgivings, they retained, for the comfort of the dying penitent, a full and authoritative form of sacerdotal absolution, in the private office for the visitation of the sick : as the blessed apostles, in condescension to the similar prejudices of their own countrymen, permitted the churches of Judea to retain the ceremonial observances of the Mosaic law. If the cases are not exactly parallel, they so nearly correspond, that few will venture to deny to our reformers, in this instance, the praise of that exalted charity, and that considerate attention to the pardonable frailties of human nature, which are of more value in the sight of God than the highest attainments in mere knowledge or in mere faith.

“ It was designed, I conceive, from the first, that among the members of our own communion this indicative absolution, which was retained to meet a present exigency, should gradually fall into total disuse ; for the minister is not authorized to give absolution in this form, except at the earnest entreaty of the penitent himself. But at a period when the presbyters of our church must, in a vast majority of instances, have been required to administer the last consolations of religion to men but imperfectly converted from the errors of the church of Rome, who might passionately desire that fuller absolution which custom had made sacred, and superstition necessary ; had they either, in the pride of superior knowledge, withheld it, or coldly stayed to dispute the point with the dying penitent, they would have lamentably discovered, that they little knew ‘ what manner of spirit they were of.’ ‘ There is nothing,’ says the venerable Hooker, ‘ which the soul of man doth desire in that last hour so much as comfort against the natural terrors of death, and other scruples of conscience, which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak ; towards whom the very law of God doth exact at our hands all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford.’ ” P. 21.

Here again it must be observed, that while we agree with Mr. Lowe in his general principles, and see nothing to impugn in the scope of his argument, we are not convinced of the accuracy of his deductions. Instead of proving that “ the indicative absolution ” was designed merely to meet a present exigency, and was gradually to fall into total disuse ; the extract from Hooker is a powerful reason for its retention. Human nature is still the same ; the terrors of death still trouble and perplex, and there are many who stand in need of all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. If the design imputed to the reformers by Mr. Lowe was really entertained by them, why was it not executed in the reign of James or of Charles II. ? What proof is to be found in the writings of our most eminent divines, that the church was ready to surrender this ceremony ? Hooker, Barrow, Taylor, and Pearson, speak of the absolving power of the church

X

in terms which imply any thing rather than an intention to renounce it. Taylor particularly recommends the dying penitent to seek comfort in that authorized declaration of forgiveness, which the minister of God will pronounce over such as "humbly and heartily desire it;" and there is much more difficulty in reconciling the words of our standard authors with the modern exposition that has been advocated by Mr. Lowe, than in shewing that they never contemplated the alteration which he recommends.

It is due, however, to Mr. Lowe to observe, that in objecting to the "indicative form," and recommending a speedy alteration of it, he carefully avoids the opposite extreme. This argument is summed up in the following terms:

"But if, in this matter, our church assumes no higher power for her ministers than that of declaring, as 'ambassadors for Christ,' the pardon of the repentant sinner, it may be said, as it has been strangely said, that such a claim amounts in fact, to nothing; that any other man, as well as a minister, or even an apostle, may do as much as this, and with equal effect. By no means. If it were so, our Lord himself, with reverence be it spoken, did ill to consecrate and send forth a peculiar order of men to proclaim repentance and remission of sins in his name among all nations. 'To preach good tidings unto the meek, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' is the great business on which those are sent, who have 'received the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God.' The catholic church, in fulfilment of this sacred duty, has therefore, from the earliest ages enjoined her ministers, by a formal act of absolution, to give the repentant sinner assurance of his pardon. Bold, proud men may despise this gracious ordinance; but the better part of Christians are so far from entertaining a confident surmise of their own sufficiency, that, especially on their death-bed, they are rather apt to be filled with doubts and misgivings; to feel that their sins are too great and too many to be pardoned, and their repentance too weak, and their faith too imperfect to avail them. In merciful commiseration of these natural disquietudes, the consecrated ministers of Christ on earth are especially required to pronounce absolution in his name, and to give peace and assurance to the penitent at his latter end." P. 25.

The points, therefore, upon which we differ from the author of this treatise, are rather historical than doctrinal. He has not convinced us that the visitation service was designed to answer a temporary purpose, or that the priestly authority was precisely the same in the apostles days, and in our own. But he has furnished a sound and temperate exposition of the nature of absolution; and comments upon the form in which it ought to be pronounced in a strain which would merit serious attention if a new form were about to be composed.

ART. XII. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature of the Year 1823.* London. Rivingtons.

WE are happy to observe in this important work a continuance of the same industry, impartiality and discretion by which it has been hitherto distinguished. Carefully avoiding that deceitful bias which arises from party-spirit and political attachments, the Editor gives a fair view of parliamentary proceedings, both as they respect the foreign engagements and the internal administration of the kingdom: setting forth, without the slightest reserve, the facts and reasonings which are most strenuously urged by those members of the national council who habitually oppose themselves to the general tenor of his Majesty's government. Guided by these principles, the "History of Europe" for the year 1823, presents to the reader a faithful and very interesting record of the several projects and events which at that period engaged the attention of all thinking men, from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean. The perusal of it has afforded us extreme satisfaction, both because the narrative itself is agreeably and ably written; and more especially, because the course of events has completely vindicated the policy pursued by this country in relation to the plans of our continental neighbours, and at the same time illustrated the wisdom of the views upon which that policy was founded.

We allude here to the invasion of Spain by the French; the main subject of discussion in the session of 1823, and the most interesting topic of parliamentary deliberation that has occurred since the close of the late war. A report of the speeches which followed the production of the official correspondence on this important question, occupies nearly a half of the space allotted in the historical retrospect of the Register to the annual abstract of legislative oratory. The powerful address of Mr. Canning is still fresh in the memory of every one who either heard or read it. But as it admits not of abridgement, either in language or reasoning, we shall not diminish its cogency by an imperfect quotation; preferring rather, as a specimen of the style and manner in which this part of the work is executed, a paragraph or two from Mr. Robinson's speech on the same occasion. We transcribe this extract the more readily, too, because the object of it is to do justice to a statesman, whose character and services have not met with the respect to which they were entitled. We allude to the late Lord Londonderry,

who, as he had the misfortune to live in times of great national exertion and sacrifice, and had not the means nor the art to conciliate the prejudices and gratify the innovating spirit of the age, has been regarded, but too generally, as the patron of ancient errors, and the enemy of all liberality and improvement.

“ It had been complained, that during the late negotiations his Majesty’s ministers had not assumed that high tone of remonstrance which became the government of this country. If there be a doubt, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, about the dignity or firmness of our tone, there can be none, I should think, about the fact of our remonstrance. Some gentlemen may conceive that a remonstrance ought to be framed in the angry and violent tone of declamation which was used the other night by a noble lord (Folkstone): others may think that the vehement and sarcastic invective of the honourable and learned member for Winchelsea (Mr. Brougham) is that in which a remonstrance may be best conveyed. It is very easy for us to say (in our indignation) of foreign states and ministers—‘ You are debased, you are traitors ; you are perjured, you are calumniators :’ it is very easy for us to exhaust upon those who seek the war, all the vituperative epithets with which the English vocabulary can supply us ; but I must say, I think it would be a proceeding somewhat new and not very dignified, were we to adopt such a tone in our diplomatic transactions. It must be recollected that those powers like ourselves have feelings and prejudices ; that they have natural pride and national character to sustain. If it were true that those powers were adverse to the extension of freedom—an ignoble feeling and one which he did not wish to defend—it became our duty to shape our arguments in a manner the best calculated to carry persuasion and conviction with them. Nothing could be gained by invective ; while, on the contrary, much might be done by pointing out the danger likely to arise from any attempt to repress that national tendency to liberty which he firmly believed must, in spite of all efforts to the contrary, make its way in the natural course of things, as a consequence of the great increase of general knowledge.

“ But although our language towards the powers in alliance with us was, therefore, necessarily rather in the tone of dissuasion than of menace, Mr. Robinson said, he could not admit, that, in the progress of this matter, ministers had never made any particular remonstrance. In proof of this he referred to lord Castlereagh’s note to the four courts in 1820, as conveying, not a violent or severe invective, but reason and argument to shew to the allied sovereigns the injustice of the principles on which they professed to act ; and he more particularly pointed out the two concluding paragraphs as accurately describing the original purpose of the alliance, to the exclusion of those objects to which it had since been endeavoured to pervert it. I am the more anxious,” said Mr. Robinson, “ to call the attention of the House to this para-

graph, because it has been said here and elsewhere, that its noble author, my lamented friend, was in league with the despots of Europe. I do so again, because I feel a strong principle of attachment to him; because I knew the sterling nature of his mind and venerated the qualities of his heart; because I respected his talents, and because I think I have formed a true estimate of the services which he has rendered to his country. Never, perhaps, was there a minister in England whose character has been more constantly or more completely misrepresented. He had to conduct the foreign affairs of this country under circumstances, I will venture to say, of as great difficulty as ever fell to the lot of man to contend with. I had many opportunities of seeing how he met them—of observing how admirably, by the decision of his character and the equanimity of his temper, he would check angry passions, and stay the impulse of irritated feelings, or combat and overcome prejudices that were almost invincible. But to give an effectual answer to all the misrepresentations that have been made about him, it is only necessary to turn to this paragraph, which contains a most unequivocal denial on the part of this government, of all participation in the principle of interference. This document, be it remembered, was not intended as a public paper. It was never meant to furnish a defence or to establish a case; but it was a confidential paper privately communicated to those powers on whom it was intended to produce an effect. It was meant to convey the generous impression and feeling of the noble lord himself and of the government to which he was attached, and as such will be found to convey an earnest disavowal of, and a manly protest against those principles on which the attack upon the liberties of Spain was to be committed by the allied powers.”

We were very much struck at the period of the debate with the severe though gentlemanly rebuke administered to Mr. Wilberforce by the eloquent Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for charging government with having neglected to assume a high *moral tone* in their discussions with the ministers of France, Austria and Russia. “My honourable friend,” said Mr. Canning, “through a long and amiable life has mixed with the business of the world without being stained by its contaminations; and he, in consequence, is apt to place, I will not say too high, but higher I fear than the way of the world will admit, the standard of political morality. I fear my honourable friend is not aware how difficult it is to apply to politics those pure abstract principles which are so indispensable for the perfection of private ethics. Had we employed in the negotiations that serious moral strain which he might have been more inclined to approve, many of the gentlemen opposed to me would, I doubt not, have complained that we had taken a leaf from the book of the Holy Alliance itself; that we had framed in their language a canting protest

against their purposes, not in the spirit of sincere dissent, but the better to cover our connivance."

The "Chronicle," containing the essence of all the accidents, offences and trials which gave interest to the newspapers throughout the year 1823, is, of course, extremely amusing. No novel or romance presents so many incidents as the actual chapter of human life. There are more smiles and tears in the events of a single month, than in any three volumes which have at any time issued from the teeming presses of Colburn and Constable. To people living at a distance from the busy world, and more particularly in foreign parts, such a work must prove extremely valuable: and even to those whose eyes and ears are every day occupied with the bustle of that active scene which witnesses so many of those tragic or ludicrous occurrences, the lapse of a few months gives all the zest of novelty, and we peruse the narrative of what we have seen and heard with as much interest as if we were acquiring information concerning things totally unknown. The records of the courts of justice, especially, constitute a history which never fails to touch the heart and to awaken the curiosity of the reader: and we can give assurance that, in the volume before us, there is an ample collection of cases, detailed with much exactness and recommended by good writing and delicate selection to the most innocent or fastidious taste.

The "State Papers" form a valuable department in an Annual Register; and they are here collected and arranged with a suitable regard to their importance. Nor have the annals of philosophy and natural history been at all neglected; an instructive outline of discoveries and improvements, in both divisions of science, being inserted, calculated to direct the inquisitive student to fuller sources of information, and to refresh the memory of the less formal enquirer. Upon the whole, we know not that there is any where to be found a similar work conducted with greater care and ability, or more deserving of that extensive patronage with which it continues to be favoured.

ART. XIII. *Sayings and Doings, or Sketches from Life. Second Series.* 3 vols. 12mo. 1 l. 11 s. 6 d. Colburn. 1825.

WE were much amused, in common with the rest of the world, by the first Series of Sayings and Doings. The second Series is equally entertaining. It contains no story

so well finished as "Burton Danvers," nor is it obnoxious to the just censure which many parts of that story called forth. If the scenes are drawn from nature, the originals are not to be recognised without a glossary. The author incurs no just suspicion of gratifying his malice or indulging his wit, at the expense of an individual who has offended him; and the ridiculous characters that are brought upon the stage are too general to justify a particular application.

Having avoided this stumbling block, the writer admits of no other restraint upon his drollery, and carries us through three formidable duodecimos with little interruption, except that which is made by hearty laughter. The style, like that of all his former productions, is dramatic; and many of the scenes would tell better upon the stage than any thing that has been written since the days of Sheridan. The plots, with a few exceptions, are improbable, and require the author's best workmanship to varnish their defects, and carry them off with eclat; but the dialogue is always good, the descriptions are an even mixture of reality and caricature, and the variety is always charming.

The first story, "The Sutherlands," is half good, and half bad. One brother sets his heart upon beauty, and marries a vulgar hoyden, with bad connexions and a cracked character. The circumstances are absurd in themselves, and there is little to redeem them in the detail. The other brother makes amends. Bent upon wedding a large fortune, he follows the only daughter of a Nabob from a country school to Portland-place, is received with open arms, and not a hint is dropped of the real state of affairs till the match is fairly concluded, the schoolmistress paid her retaining fee of fifteen hundred pounds, and the suitor, installed in the imaginary inheritance of at least two hundred thousand pounds; then it turns out that the clay-coloured young lady is a natural child, and a life interest in three hundred a year her only expectation. The preparations, the denouement and the wedding, are all well told; but we should not do justice to the author by extracting a part of the story. Its peculiar merit consists in the spirit with which the whole is carried on; and the reader must peruse the whole if he has any desire to be entertained.

"The Man of many Friends" is a much longer affair, stuffed with absurd incidents and admirable dialogues, and exhibiting, at one and the same time, an intimate acquaintance with London gaities, and a determination to embellish them to the utmost extent of our credulity. It is not possible that a sensible man, bred up as Arden is represented

to have been, could be duped after the fashion of this story; but his friends and servants are well described, and his uncle is a very fine and very foolish old fellow. One of the best hits in the tale is a scene at the family lawyer's. His lady spoils her children, for which the old colonel wishes her at Jericho. Subsequently he relaxes, pats the son and heir on the head, and says something about his love for children:—

“ Mrs. Abberley was greatly soothed by this speech; and felt almost pleased with the colonel, when he called her favourite Tom (without exception the rudest and stupidest boy in Christendom), and placing him paternally at his side, began to question him on sundry topics usually resorted to upon similar occasions. From this promising lad the old gentleman learned that four and four make nine, that William the Conqueror was the last of the Roman emperors, that gunpowder was invented by Guy Fawkes, and that the first man who went up in an air-balloon was Christopher Columbus. In the extreme accuracy of these answers, he received a satisfactory corroboration of his constant remark upon the education of boys at home, under the superintendence of mammas and governesses, and had dismissed his young friend with an approving compliment, when the boy wishing to shew that he knew more than the old man thought for, looked him in the face, and asked him, who lived next door to him?

“ ‘Next door to *me*, my fine fellow,’ said the colonel, ‘why, nobody; that is to say, I live in the country far from any other house—my next neighbour is Lord Malephant.’

“ ‘Ah!’ said Tom, ‘and is he a brute, Sir?’

“ ‘No, my dear,’ answered the colonel; ‘he is an excellent man, and one of *my* oldest friends.’

“ ‘Ah, then,’ said the boy, ‘who lives on the other side of you?’

“ ‘Why, my neighbour on the other side,’ said the colonel, surprised at the apparently unnatural inquisitiveness of the child, ‘is the rector of my parish.’

“ ‘Is he a brute, Sir,’ enquired Master Abberley.

“ ‘No, my dear,’ said the colonel; ‘a pattern for country clergymen—never did there exist a better man.’

“ ‘Ah!’ said Tom, evidently disappointed.

“ ‘Why do you ask?’ said his father.

“ ‘I don’t know,’ replied the boy.

“ ‘You should never ask questions, child, without knowing why,’ said papa.

“ ‘I *do* know why, only I shan’t tell,’ said Tom.

“ ‘I desire you *will*, Tom,’ said his parent, anticipating a display of that precocious wit, for which the dunderheaded ass was so celebrated in his own family.

“ ‘Oh, I’ll tell it, if you like! its only because I wanted to know which of them gentlemen was brutes,’ said the boy.

“ ‘Why? my fine fellow,’ said the colonel, whose curiosity was whetted by the oddity of the questions.

“ ‘Why,’ replied Tom, ‘because when Mamma was talking to Dawes just now, about you, she said you was next door to a brute, and so I wanted to know who he was.’ ” Vol. I. p. 202.

“ ‘Doubts and Fears’ ” are written in broader farce than the rest of the Series; but the innkeeper, with the help of his reputed resemblance to Liston, ‘makes out’ the story with very tolerable success. Some of his comicalities deserve transcription:—

“ ‘Well,’ said her ladyship, ‘we must make our arrangements, and first of all shew me my rooms, and see that the people unpack the carriage before it goes round to the stables.’

“ ‘Has your ladyship much more luggage?’ said Grojan.

“ ‘Not much,’ replied Lady Almeria; ‘there’s my writing-desk, dressing-case, two cages of amadvades, three telescopes, my travelling pistols, my drawing-boards and camera obscura, my cloaks and parasols, my bagatelle-board, my music books, two poodles, my own maid, and Miss Leech.’

“ ‘Miss Leech,’ cried Grojan. ‘A lady, my lady, at the door in your ladyship’s carriage?’

“ ‘Not exactly a lady, Mr. Grojum,’ said her ladyship. ‘She is a very good creature, I assure you—an humble friend—you understand—a toad-eater.’

“ ‘Dear me, my lady,’ said the landlord with a shudder, ‘what a very nasty propensity.’

“ ‘Miss Leech is quite a gentlewoman,’ added Lady Almeria; ‘she is my corroborator-general, assents to my dicta, scolds my maid when the weather is too hot to allow me to do it myself, reads the Morning Post and makes tea, curls the poodles, plays propriety when I have men parties, and rides backward in the barouche; ha!’ said her ladyship, ‘here she comes.’

“ And so she did, for the unhappy dependant, after having been exposed to a broiling meridian sun, the glare of the bright, sparkling sea, and the assaults of continual gusts of wind, sweeping the lengthened cliff of its dust immediately into her face for upwards of half an hour, presumed to imagine that her dear ladyship had forgotten her, and thus, accompanied by Cruikshanks, her ladyship’s woman, had made up her mind to disembark from the carriage, and follow her great leader into the hotel.

“ ‘My dear Leech,’ said Lady Almeria, ‘I beg your pardon, I had really forgotten you. Are you cold, dear?’

“ ‘Oh! no, my lady,’ said Miss Leech; ‘quite the contrary.’

“ ‘I think its very hot to-day, Leech,’ said her ladyship.

“ ‘Sultry, my lady,’ said Leech.

“ ‘In the sun, but deucedly cold out of it?’ said her ladyship.

“ ‘Extremely cold, indeed, my lady,’ said Miss Leech.

“ ‘I am afraid I have kept you a long time?’ said Lady Almeria.

“ ‘Not five minutes, my lady,’ said Miss Leech.

“ ‘ Well,’ continued Lady Almeria, turning to Grojan, ‘ shew us the rooms, Sir ;’ and then, turning back to her obsequious companion, added an enquiry whether she would not like some luncheon.

“ ‘ I think it would be extremely agreeable,’ said Miss Leech, whose appetite was enormous.

“ ‘ I never eat luncheons myself, I abominate them,’ said Lady Almeria ; ‘ do pray get something for Miss Leech, Sir.’

“ ‘ Oh, dear ! not for *me*, my lady,’ said Miss Leech ; ‘ I am not in the least hungry, my lady.’

“ ‘ I dare say you are,’ replied her ladyship, ‘ you have always been brought up to dine early, I dare say ?’

“ ‘ Oh, dear ! no my lady ; nothing for me, indeed,’ said Miss Leech.

“ ‘ Then never mind,’ said her ladyship to Grojan ; and the party proceeded to the apartments allotted to them. The stomach of **poor** Miss Leech, which had been severely irritated by the expectation of luncheon, giving, as they passed along, audible proofs of its emptiness, which she most assiduously endeavoured to drown by sundry of those little hemmings and coughings, uniformly used by ladies upon unfortunate occasions of a similar nature.

“ Grojan eyed her long face and scant figure with evident dismay and horror ; and, considerably annoyed at the resolute manner in which she had refused the excellent refreshments of the Imperial Hotel, muttered as the door closed upon the groupe,—‘ She looks like a toad-eater !’ ” Vol. II. p. 81.

“ *Passion and Principle* ” is the concluding and most important story, and might have been made, with a little management, much more effective than our author’s stories are wont to be. The hero and heroine, an usher at a country school, and the arch pedagogue’s daughter, are characters of the highest class ; and although more space is devoted to the old gentleman and his wife, to a schoolmaster’s establishment at Hackney, to the scandalous chronicle of Calcutta, and the localities of the Cape of Good Hope, than to the excellent and unfortunate lovers, they nevertheless excite a deep interest, and are worthy of the esteem which is demanded for them. A caricaturing pencil finds successful employment in describing the numerous personages introduced into the drama ; and we are somewhat unmercifully transported to the southern extremity of Africa, for the purpose of ascertaining that the writer has been there before us. With these exceptions, the tale deserves great praise. It paints the manners of the higher classes of society with an accuracy which no other living author has attained. It keeps up our attention by incessant liveliness. The speaker is at home in every company ; enters into the humours, and quizzes the peculiarities of every class ; and, if he does not

quite convince us that he is sincere in his admiration of goodness, still less does he say a word which can diminish our regard for it. Whoever the nameless individual may be to whom we are indebted for "Passion and Principle," he knows very well how he ought to behave, and we shall be happy to hear that he lives up to his knowledge.

We extract some parts of the tempest with which the story concludes:—

"In the midst of this most awful storm, there gleamed a pale flickering light upon the topmast head: it seemed to burn unmoved by the contending gusts around it,—in a moment it shifted to the fore-topmast—then darted back to its old position, having touched the iron ring at the main-yard-arm; the undisturbed serenity of the flame, the striking contrast it afforded to the surrounding darkness, coupled with the sad time at which they beheld it, rendered this natural phenomenon deeply interesting, if not positively awful.

"Out of her cabin, and of her bed was dragged the half lifeless Fanny, by her husband, contrary to her inclination and in opposition to her earnest prayers, to look on this; his Excellency carried his point, as he was wont to do—and called to Welsted to support her ladyship as she stood on the companion ladder, in obedience to his Excellency's command.

"In the horrors of this night, in the midst of hurricanes and tempests, now lifted to the mountain's top, now buried in the fathomless valley of waters below, the ill-fated Fanny leaned once more for support upon the companion of her youth, the beloved of her heart; again did she experience the gentle solicitude which ever marked his conduct towards her; again did she feel the pressure of that hand which she had so often clasped in friendship and affection: he spoke soothingly to her, and though the words he uttered were lost to her ear in the general din, she felt his breath upon her cheek—her feelings overcame her—she fainted in his arms—in the arms of Welsted, who thus was driven, in conjunction with her husband, to carry her into her cabin. The dangers and difficulties of such a proceeding can only be judged by those who have been partakers of it.—She was at length, however, safely placed on her couch, although insensible to every thing around her.

"'She is a bad passenger in a storm, Mr. Welsted,' said his Excellency.

"A storm, indeed!—not the wild roarings of the mighty waters, not the rude elemental strife, at whose mercy she was, not the forked lightning, nor the pealing thunder, was half so potent as the storm that raged in her own mind—that was the dreadful conflict of PASSION WITH PRINCIPLE." P. 401.

"At eight at night the master resolved, if possible, to wear ship, without consulting or communing with a human being, conscious as he was, that the experiment was perilous in the extreme, and would in all probability be fatal; he gave the word, and in a momentary

lull, she went about, without straining a rope-yarn. Hope beamed on his mind then; those who knew not his thoughts felt increased apprehensions, for she lay in the trough of the sea rolling gunnel under; no sail set, for none could stand the weather; the small one used to bring her round, was blown into ribands from the stay; till just at midnight, a crash on deck announced the main-mast gone; at one blow, like the stricken deer, she fell toppling with her yards and top-mast over the starboard side; she went about ten feet above the deck, and just above the mizen-stay; and the mizen-mast itself trembled like a reed, as Welsted clung to it, to watch the work of havock above.

"It was a scene for a painter: the noise was inconceivable, the night inky black, the waves dashing over every part of the vessel, the women battened down forward were screaming for mercy, and their cries were mingled with the clashing of axes used by the men cutting away the rigging, by the gleaming light of lanthorns, disposed in the most advantageous points, and the stern bawling of those in command, with the faint reply of others who, in the midst of the stupendous waves, were in the main-chains, over the side, endeavouring to clear the ship of wreck; for the mast clung as it were to the quarter, and the counter beat so heavily upon the main-top, which lay close beneath it, that every moment they expected she would be stove in." P. 404.

"Another following sea struck her—and another—it was the last!—the dead lights were shivered into splinters—the stern-frame itself yielded to the shock—the water deluged the decks below, and carrying every thing before it, burst upwards through the deck itself, driving those who were on the companion forward.

"Fanny was caught, as she was whirled forward, by Welsted, who seized firmly hold of the binnacle, which broke away from its cleets; Sir Frederick was hurried onward in the mass of waters, and the master of the ship, having uttered an explanation too clearly indicative that all was over, was seen endeavouring for a moment to 'hold on' by the foremast, but in another instant the overwhelmed ungovernable ship met a tremendous coming wave, and rose not to meet it—unresisted and unopposed the huge mountain burst directly upon her; the contending sea rushing forward from the stern, met the advancing torrent; the ship plunged forward for a moment, as if struggling with destruction, but the effort was vain, and forging a-head, she sank at once into the fathomless deep.

"Welsted, who had never let go his precious charge, during the important period in which all this was transacting, had lashed his beloved to the binnacle, himself holding on firmly, and when the whirl of waters, in which the ship seemed to suck down every thing around it, had a little subsided, he awoke to a consciousness of his situation; the binnacle floated beyond the confines of the horrid abyss, and upon the surface of the mountainous waves still floated the fond devoted pair.

"The power of endurance with which humanity is gifted is

hardly credible to those who have not suffered; here was the delicate Lady Brashleigh, nurtered with the fondest care, and couched on downy beds, the evening breeze itself too rude to blow upon her, exposed to the tempestuous wind and constant drenching of the raging sea through a night of awful misery. She was unconscious of her situation; and it was with the greatest care and toil that Welsted could sustain her in a position which alone secured her from almost entire immersion in the waves. The sickening and dreadful sameness of mounting rapidly on one high billow, followed by the dreadful and impetuous fall from it, only to rise upon another, and that perhaps the last, had worn her out, and it is doubtful whether at the time, she was sensible whose arm it was, that held her in safety, or upon whose bosom her aching head reclined.

“The day had just begun to dawn, when the sound of a gun, deadened by the storm, as if it were muffled, broke upon Welsted’s ear. He raised himself to look, but could see nothing but water—water—water! He thought he had been deceived—he spoke to Fanny—she answered, evidently unconscious of her situation. Again the sound struck him; and the day brightening for a moment, as he mounted on the edge of a high-rolling wave, he caught a glimpse of a vessel near them.” P. 406.

“The moment came;—the wreck touched the quarter of the brig;—four or five good men, boatswain’s mates and captains of tops, were ready to seize it in the main chains—the grasp was firm—the hold was certain—the rope was aboard, ‘Ease off!’—‘Ease off!’ was the cry. ‘Avast!’—‘avast there!’ sounded in the chains. Fanny was safe on deck—the brig gave a sudden heel to windward—the wreck rose sharply under the chains, and Welsted received a mortal blow on his head at the instant of Fanny’s preservation.

“She was senseless. She heard not his death scream—it was momentary—lost in the gush and rush of waters—he was seen but for an instant. In his agony he raised his hands, and a huge wave bursting over him, buried him in its black and relentless bosom——” P. 410.

ART. XIV. 1.—*Letters on the State of Ireland; addressed by J. K. L. to a Friend in England.* 8vo. 364 pp. Dublin; Coyne. London; Cowie. 1825.

2.—*A Letter to his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, on the Disturbance at a Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the 21st of October 1824, at Loughrea; by a Senior of the Church in England.* 8vo. 19 pp. London; Wetton. 1825.

WE are not about to write a pamphlet on the Catholic claims. The old arguments on the question are familiar to every one; and the new ones cannot be placed in a proper

light until the bill for emancipation has made its appearance. All that we know at present is, that the measure will be of a mixed nature; that great pains will be taken to win the wavering, and confirm the friendly, and the staunchest opponents be assured that they may change their minds without inconsistency. Every effort is making to allay the fears of Protestants. For this purpose, Mr. Canning appealed to the Act of Union in proof of the indissolubility of the established church of Ireland. For this purpose, Mr. Plunkett swore that he would oppose emancipation, if he believed that it would endanger that church. For this purpose, Sir Francis Burdett having pronounced that all religions were pretty much alike, panegyricized the religion in which he happens to have been born, and complimented the clergy that are attached to it. For this purpose, Mr. Hume postponed (till next session, we presume) his motion for plundering the church of Ireland of her property. And lastly, for this identical purpose, Mr. Daniel O'Connell becomes a convert from radicalism, cuts Cobbett, dines with the Duke of Devonshire, quarrels with Mr. Lawless, shakes hands with Mr. Croker, and agrees to prepare a Magna Charta for Ireland, which shall pension the Catholic priests, and disqualify the Catholic freeholders.

The point, therefore, to which the attention of the country should be directed, is the sufficiency of these securities. The advocates for emancipation admit that danger may be apprehended, for they are already taking measures to avert it. They admit, that in the present state of Ireland, Catholic ascendancy would be the probable result of unconditional Catholic emancipation; and while they promise to shew us after Easter that this danger may be averted by Mr. O'Connell's bill, Bishop Doyle issues forth in the shape of a thick octavo volume, and places a new obstacle in their way. Mr. O'Connell has repeatedly told us that the bishop is one of his ablest coadjutors, and we shall humbly endeavour to put the public in possession of his sentiments upon the subject before us. He begins with the following declaration:—

“ Tacitus says, that after the battle of Actium and the establishment in Rome of a despotic power, one of the effects which followed was, that truth became generally disregarded; some departed from it through ignorance of what really happened, others became indifferent to it through a blind passion of approving whatever was done by the government, whilst a hatred of those in power so filled the breasts of another class, as to render them incapable of ascertaining correctly, or judging dispassionately of what occurred.” P. 9.

“ The power which rules this empire is now concentrated not in the hands of one, but of a few; there is some analogy between

the field of Waterloo and the plains of Pharsalia, whilst the overthrow of the Cortes and their constitution, reminds one of the tragic end of Cato." P. 10.

Of the Burial Service Bill, introduced last year by Mr. Plunkett, Dr. Doyle says,—

" Under pretence of granting a charter of religious toleration to the dead, it offered unconsciously to the Catholic priesthood and people the greatest affront which they had received since their petitions were kicked out of the Irish House of Commons." P. 30.

Of the Tithe Composition Bill, the church of Ireland and her possessions, thus thinketh the great Popish bishop :—

" But the measure has passed into a law, and I heartily rejoice at it. The peasantry are partially relieved by it ; the proprietor of the land not only has his income diminished by it, but he is brought into closer contact with the Church ; the value of tithes throughout the kingdom will be ascertained by it, and all who have eyes can see the glories of the Establishment. Only let the Church lands be now ascertained and estimated, let her parochial assessments by vestries be placed before the public, and we shall see whether this mighty Babylon can be suffered to exist : whether this enormous mass of wealth can remain untouched in a country which has no exchequer, which cannot pay the interest of her debt, which has no public institution that is not sectarian ; a country where there is upwards of a million of paupers, and one half of the operative classes destitute of employment. We shall see whether this *magnum latrocinium*, as it was called by Burke, be compatible with the exigencies of the State, the interest of the proprietors, and the peace or prosperity of the empire.

" We may hear in and out of Parliament special pleading and electioneering harangues proving the utility and decorum of this monstrous Establishment ; we may hear of her ministers being all saints, and their children without the comforts of life ; but we can refer, in reply, to the thousands and hundreds of thousands which she wrenches from the hand of industry. We may be told that it is the proprietor alone who pays her income ; but the proprietor, in self-defence, will argue for the inviolability of his estate ; and he will also plead for the seed, and sweat, and labour of his tenant, which are now overlooked, or entirely forgotten. The claim of property will be advanced ; and some lawyer, from his brief, will support it against common sense and honesty, and without regard to the title by which it is held : but he will be passed unheeded ; whilst every man will see that the Establishment was created only for the good of the people, to provide them with religious teachers, to support their public worship, to clothe the naked, and to feed the poor, —and that it no longer fulfils those ends. The law will be advanced as the great safeguard of this mammon of iniquity in the hands of churchmen ; but the wisdom of the law and its justice will be questioned, when, like other noxious laws, it operates not for the good, but to the detriment, of the commonwealth. The excess of the

Establishment, to be ascertained by this Act, must be corrected. Religion must be rescued from the plague of riches, her ministers must divest themselves of all characters but their own; the absurd fiction, by which they are compared to proprietors, must cease, or the real proprietors themselves must become vassals of the Church. For the commencement of this godly work we are indebted to the Irish government, and though it were their only merit, it should endear them to the people." P. 33.

The Orange party are conciliated in the following terms :—

" This party would be even stronger than it is, and more than able to cope with either of the other two, if it were not overbearing, haughty, insolent, and cruel. Monopoly and injustice are written on its standards, oppression is its watchword, falsehood and slander are its heralds; it has no reason or justice with it, but it is so clamorous, and so menacing, and so unblushing, as to overwhelm or confound whomsoever would approach it with argument, or seek to treat with it on a basis just, useful or honourable. It has suffered occasional defeats, but it has also gained advantages, and though every person can see how its resources are wasting away, though we every day hear of the defection of its friends, and see the straits to which the entire body is reduced, though confusion sometimes enters its ranks, yet it has not lowered a jot of its pretensions. The *uti possidetis* is the only ground on which it will treat; it insists not only on the recovery of its ancient possessions, but requires an indemnity for the losses it has sustained, and security against all future encroachments. Like Napoleon at Chatillon, it looks only to the extent and beauty of its former empire; it is not satisfied with the boundaries which even its friends would fix for it, and does not consider either the fraud, cruelty and injustice, by which it acquired power, or that the whole earth is leagued against it, lest princes, during its existence, should have no security, or the people no repose. This party, like Catiline and Cethegus, has collected into its ranks every spendthrift, every idler, every punished or unpunished malefactor, every public robber, and private delinquent, all the gamblers, all those whom gluttony or extravagance has reduced to want; in fine, all who love commotion, and who hope to live by corruption, or to rebuild their broken fortunes on the ruins of their country. The violence and insolence of this party, as well as their open hostility to the Government, has alienated many persons from them; it has neutralized others; but there is still a numerous class, who, though silent, are cordially interested for its success; a class which assists it privately by their money, their conversations, their inuendos, or by withholding their aid from the measures pursued by the administration." P. 41.

The Catholics are admitted to be restless and agitated.

" The Catholics then, under the fostering care of penal statutes, and quite unnoticed by the laws made to protect and foster the faithful subjects of this part of the realm, have grown at least into

a party; a party so numerous and strong, that the dupes of Pastorini imagine they are to arise by some sign in the moon or in the stars, and cut the throats of all who have not been lately at confession, without even allowing them the benefit of clergy. The more sane part of the community view the Catholics in another light; they consider them as a mighty living mass, restless and agitated, capable of being reduced to perfect order, but also liable to be precipitated into some gulf, carrying with them in their fall the whole edifice of society." P. 45.

But the inferior Irish gentry are the bishop's peculiar favourites.

"But the great mass of our little squires, who are called gentry, are men of much pride and little property, possessing a few hundred pounds a year, God knows how acquired; labouring perhaps to keep a carriage, if not, to have at least a dog, a horse, and a gun. They are made up of every possible description of persons. I could delineate them accurately and minutely, but I think it better to state generally, that a great portion of these men are the very curse and scourge of Ireland. They are numerous, they are very ignorant, they are extremely bigoted, they are exceedingly dishonest, they tell all manner of falsehoods, and so frequently, as to assume with themselves the appearance of truth. In a word, they could not be intrusted with your honour or your purse, and multitudes of them have no regard for the sanctity of an oath; they are these men who often obtain the commission of the peace, and trade by it; who get all the little perquisites arising from grand jury jobs, who foment discontent, who promote religious animosity, who are most zealous with the saints in distributing tracts and Bibles, who are ever ready to attend vestries, to impose taxes, to share in their expenditure, to forward addresses, to pray for the Insurrection Act, or any other act which might serve to oppress the people, and render permanent their own iniquitous sway.

"These personages have been brought up under the exclusive system, and their very existence seems to them to hang upon it; they sometimes go upon their travels, as far perhaps as London, and viewing from the top of a mail coach the surface of England, they talk most profoundly of that country, of her customs and institutions; they compare them with those of Ireland, and sigh so heavily at the distance in civilization and improvements which separate us from our neighbours "at the other side."

These men oppress, and aggrieve, and insult the people; they affect to look upon them as of inferior condition, a conquered race, and whose rightful inheritance is slavery. They see the poor starving, but they see it unmoved; they behold them naked without a feeling of compassion; never having seen a peasantry enjoying comfort or independence, they have no idea of what their condition ought to be. Without exaggeration, they are the slave-drivers in Ireland, and very much resemble the beings of that description in Barbadoes or Jamaica." P. 52.

The established church is improving.

“ The Methodists, with the several sub-denominations of dissenters, might be said, in a certain sense, to be falling into disrepute ; the cry of Church in Danger, which has been incessantly rung through the country for the last two or three years ; the several attacks made from the high places, and by the profane, upon the wealth and indolence of the parsons ; the charges of their prelates, the example of the other religionists, particularly of the Catholic clergy, has not only awakened the dormant energies of the Establishment, but it has brought back from the conventicle many a strayed sheep.” P. 67.

But this admission is immediately qualified by the following charitable accusation :—

“ When indulged she is indolent ; when rebuked, she becomes attentive ; she draws tight, or relaxes her discipline, as it may please, or be permitted by her masters ; her eye is ever fixed upon her own interests, and she deems nothing forbidden or unhallowed which can serve to promote them. As these who do an injury never can forgive, she is implacable in her hostility to the Church which she supplanted ; and at this day she appears indifferent to all things else, but to the concealment of her riches and the persecution of Popery.” P. 69.

We make no comment upon those passages. We merely ask whether they tend to establish Mr. Plunkett’s theory respecting the moderation of the Popish hierarchy ? Do they prove that there is no danger to be apprehended to the Protestant church ? Do they show that the lay-deputy, Mr. O’Connell, is an authorised expounder of the sentiments of his clerical superiors ?

Many other declarations of a similar tendency to the preceding, may be produced. At page 104, when he is treating of population and poor-rates, for the latter of which Bishop Doyle is an advocate, he expresses himself in the following terms :—

“ The rack rents are an intolerable evil, and will be so whilst the laws continue to render the landlord a tyrant, and the tenant a slave ; whilst fear and distrust, hatred and oppression, are the links which connect the peasantry and gentry of Ireland, the land must wither and the people starve, whether they be few or many. But the most heart-rending curse which Providence has permitted to fall on the land occupier in Ireland, is the Church Establishment ; this, like the scorpion’s tail, is armed at all points, and scourges the peasant through tithes and church-rates, till it draws his very blood. This Establishment not only strips him of food and raiment, but it also insults him by the monstrous injustice of obliging him to give his sweat and labour, and the bread of his children, to build or repair waste houses, whilst he himself is left to pray in the open air ;

to feed the parson and his rapacious family and followers, who go about, not doing good, but to vilify and calumniate the religion which this peasant reveres : it compels him to purchase bread, and wine, and stoves, and music, for the Church which he deems profane ; to pay the glazier, and the mason, and the sexton, and the gravedigger, who divide his clothes between them, and cast lots, like the Deicide Jews, upon his cloak. Whilst these oppressions are suffered to continue, how can the men, who are made to the image and likeness of God, and for whose use the earth yields all its produce, how can they be fed, or in any way provided for ? They must either be sacrificed in hecatombs to the furious passions which brood over this country, or these passions must be restrained, and the laws altered which gave them birth. I should rather, with Hobbes, suppose that society is not congenial to man ; or desire, with Rousseau, to return to a state of nature, than cease protesting against the system in Ireland which has rendered population a curse, which has dried up every source of industry and profit, not only in the inhabitants of the country, but in the earth itself, and which has condemned, by an inversion of the ordinance of God, a people to live only for the sake of institutions." P. 104.

But let us hear what the bishop thinks of Mr. O'Connell's plan for disfranchising the forty shillings freeholders ;—

“ This subject has been so frequently mentioned, the evils arising from the subdivision of lands so closely connected with it are now so familiar, and almost so fashionable a topic, and the prevailing system of looking superficially at every political question is so much in vogue, that I would not be surprised if it were proposed to reduce again the peasantry of Ireland to the condition of serfs ; that is, of serfs without hope of manumission, for serfs they are at present ; but every man who does not despair of Ireland expects to see them one day converted into freemen. There are other reasons why this measure might be dreaded ; the influence of the Catholics in returning members to parliament from the southern and western counties and cities ; the successful struggle made by them on different occasions in the County Wexford and Queen's County, and more recently in Sligo and Dublin ; these things have excited all the bile of the Orangemen, who, not presuming to speak in parliament of the re-enactment of the penal code, would wish to introduce it covertly, by taking from the Catholic peasant even the semblance of political power, and depriving him of his chief claim to the protection and favour of his landlord. So strong is this feeling amongst the orange party, that I doubt not the aristocracy which is connected with them would sacrifice the last remnant of their rank and power, which consists in the number of their freeholders, to the base passion of wreaking vengeance on the Catholic name. But there is a still stronger reason for being filled with apprehensions on this subject, and it arises from the English aristocracy, and their powerful agent in the House of Commons being opposed to the extension of the elective franchise in England, as to some agrarian law ; such a feeling

necessarily obliges them to look with displeasure and apprehension to the extent of this right in Ireland, lest its existence here might act as an incentive upon the English people in seeking a similar right for themselves. They would, therefore, without avowing the true motives of their conduct, gladly avail themselves of the outcry raised against forty shilling freeholders in Ireland, in order to abolish what in their opinion is a great encroachment on their own hereditary rights. But if there be one measure more than another calculated to seal the doom of Ireland, to eradicate from her soil the very seeds of freedom, and to insure for ever her degradation, that measure is, in my opinion, the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders!

“It is the natural right of a man—a right interwoven with the essence of our constitution, and producing, as its necessary effect, the House of Commons, that a man who has life, liberty, and property, should have some share or influence in the disposal of them by law. Take the elective franchise from the Irish peasant, and you not only strip him of the present reality, or appearance of this right, but you disable him and his posterity ever to acquire it. He is now poor and oppressed, you then make him vile and contemptible; he is now the image of a freeman, he will be then the very essence of a slave; he has now a hope that, should his country improve, he may one day raise his voice on the hustings, and plead the cause of all who belong to his class in life, whilst he proclaims the virtue of the candidate whom he supports, or upbraids the recreant who betrays the public trust: but take from him his freehold, and you cast him out of the constitution. Like the Helot at Athens he may go to the forum and gaze at the election, and then return to hew his wood or fetch his water to the freeman; an inhabitant, but not a citizen, of the country which gave him birth.” P. 293.

To make this more entertaining, the bishop has said in a preceding part of the volume;—

“And the law of election, what does it bring to the Catholic? If he perchance be opulent, it brings to him a deeper sense of his fallen honour, of his degradation, of his shame; if he be very poor, it brings him to the hustings to proclaim to the world a public lie, to wit, that he is a freeholder; having first steeped his soul in perjury, lest he, and his wife, and his child, and his father, should be driven from their hut, without food, shelter, or hope. To him the election law, in its operation, is like the wind from the desert, bringing with it a sort of moral pestilence, against which no human remedy can prevail.” P. 86.

These are sufficient specimens of Bishop Doyle's manner. He writes, and we presume that he speaks, with the intolerance of a Jesuit, and the violence of a Radical; and whatever softening he may now wish to give to his declarations, the book before us is an authentic record, out of which it will be easy to contradict the *trimming* evidence which he

has given before the Committee of the House of Commons. What effect can be anticipated from conciliating such a man as Bishop Doyle? Will he not treat the Emancipation Bill as he has treated the Burial Bill, and the Composition Bill? Can it be supposed that he will desist from denouncing the Protestant church, from hating and calumniating the Orangemen, or from refusing the Bible to his flock? Can it be believed, that the writer of the preceding passages will assist in disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders, or exert himself in tranquillising the minds of Irishmen? As an agitator, he possesses some power; and acts, when his violence will allow him, with effect. As a peace-maker, he promises to be very impartial, by speaking with equal fury against every description of his opponents. The gentry, the clergy, the evangelicals, the sectaries, are treated with the same unmeasured scorn; and, whether he appears in the character of an enemy to tithes, or to the Scriptures, he is equally intemperate. We leave it to himself to reconcile his inconsistencies, and to his friends to make the most of their convert. We trust that the bishop will escape the fate of Mr. Shiel, and continue in high favour with the powers that be; but if a lawyer is compelled to return ingloriously to Ireland, on account of a few discrepancies between his speeches and his evidence, we know not why a prelate should be honoured and rewarded for writing one thing, and saying another.

There is a portion of the subject on which we sympathise with Dr. Doyle; in his complaints, namely, respecting the Bible Society, and its itinerant orators. Our opinion on this subject has been already expressed; but we cannot omit the opportunity of repeating and enforcing it, by calling the reader's attention to the letter to the Archbishop of Tuam. The writer appears to take a correct view of the present state of the church of Ireland, and justly considers the Bible Society and its auxiliaries, as the very worst channel by which Protestantism can be conveyed across the water. No man of common sense can desire to irritate the Catholics. The orators at the meetings have done nothing else but irritate them; and Mr. North and Mr. Grant deny the fact in vain. The Archbishop of Tuam is the only prelate who countenances the proceedings of the Societies; and, with every respect for his Grace's character and intentions, we trust he will not be inattentive to the timely warning which has been given him. A few of the principal passages are well worthy of attention:—

“ The system of the Bible Society your Grace must, I think,

now perceive never will, never can in Ireland, be attended with success. If the Roman Catholic is to be converted from his errors, it must be through widely different means. Pure Christianity, my Lord, is a religion of reason and of the heart; it never can be forced upon mankind in any way; not more by the indiscriminate and uninstructional mode of cramming the Scripture, as it were, down the throats of the people, adopted by the Bible Society, than by the papal tyranny in withholding it. The understanding must be convinced of its truth, and the affections engaged to its practical duties, before the subject can become a real Christian." P. 10.

"Our Church, my Lord, stands upon a rock; the more the foundation of it is examined, the more stable it appears. It is a branch of the Church founded by our divine Redeemer. We can with confidence rebut the assertion of the *Papist*, that we are not of apostolic descent. We can rest our feet on firm ground also, when the permanency of the apostolic discipline is attempted to be shaken by the *Dissenters*.

"The Protestant in our communion is armed, my Lord, on the right hand and on the left; he has a ready answer for the *Papist* and for the *Dissenter*. To the *Papal* accusation of having left the Christian church, to wander with the schismatic in the wilderness of sectarianism, he replies boldly and satisfactorily, I must think, to every unprejudiced Roman Catholic, that the English has been proved to be as valid a hierarchy as the Romish; that when we separated from the church of Rome, we retained inviolate the apostolic ordination. That we have no ecclesiastical alliance with the *Dissenter*—that he is an alien from the Protestant as well as from the *Papal* church.

"To the *Sectarist*, who reproaches the members of the pure church with bigotry and oppressive intolerance of the Papacy—with believing that there can be no salvation out of his own pale—and with exercising temporal force to draw every Christian into communion with him—to these charges the Protestant churchman can give a positive denial; he may appeal, he may safely appeal, to his profession and to his practice; he can shew the distinction between the rule of faith in the church of Rome and the rule of faith in the united church of England and Ireland. The Protestant believes with the Romanist, that the church to which our blessed Saviour ordained those should be added who were to be saved was formed by Himself, in and through the Apostles, and that this church is to continue under His special protection throughout the Christian dispensation; he perceives in Scripture a promise of salvation given to this church, and to no other—but he does not, with the Roman Catholic, set bounds to the mercy of the Almighty—he does not place himself in the seat of Omnipotence, and deal out condemnation to all whom he deems, on scriptural ground, to be without the promise—Scripture forbids him to declare them to be within the Christian church, but he leaves them to the judgement and mercy of God.

"Such, my Lord, are the opinions of the members of our church,

and these opinions are marked by their conduct : they are convinced that Christ's church is one and apostolic : they bless God that they are, through His providence, members of a pure branch of this church : they openly declare their creed, and they invite every wanderer to come within the fold ; but neither in word nor in deed do they use violence : a ministerial lording over God's heritage, and unqualified condemnation, are not instruments in their hands : reason and argument are the only weapons wielded by Protestants—' they judge not their brethren before the time ;' they consider that ' to their own Master they stand or fall.'

" From this high and firm ground, my Lord, the members of our establishment who join themselves to the Bible Society descend, and expose the Protestant church to the attacks of her papal and sectarian opponents. They give the Roman Catholic priesthood too much reason to place the Protestant churchman and the Dissenter before the eye of the laity of that communion in the same rank ; and they encourage the sectarist to brand the churchman, who refuses to be leavened in this heterogeneous lump, with papal bigotry.

" The effect, my Lord, of thus weakening—may I not say, breaking down—the barrier between the church and the dissenting Protestant, dangerous as it is in every branch of the pure church, is much more dangerous in your Grace's portion of it than in Britain. A large proportion of the population in Ireland is under the direction of the Romish priesthood ; and there is, I understand, a very considerable body of Dissenters from the established religion. These opposite assailants, my Lord, though they differ widely in some respects, yet they perfectly agree in one aim and endeavour ; the destruction of the Protestant church.

* * * * *

" Let me then entreat your Grace to consider seriously, the consequences of your continuing to sanction with your high title and presence, a Society whose constitution and practices do not accord with the discipline of the Protestant Church, and are *most discordant* with the feelings of a Roman Catholic priesthood and population. Should I be successful in convincing your Grace of the inexpediency and danger, particularly in Ireland, of the religious fraternization of churchmen with dissenters, in the system adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, no popular outcry of illiberality and bigotry which may be raised, will, I am sure, have any effect upon your Grace ; the *civium ardor prava*, we have been taught, my Lord, will not shake your resolution : you will, I am persuaded, instantly withdraw your name from the roll." P. 12.

ART. XV. *Miscellaneous Observations and Opinions on the Continent; by the Author of "The Life of Michel' Angelo," and "The Subversion of the Papal Government."* Royal 8vo. 199 pp. 1*l.* 5*s.* Longman. 1823.

It is a great pity that a gentleman like Mr. Duppa, who, as every body must know from his former works, possesses a correct knowledge and a cultivated taste in the Arts, should not be able to travel as much to his own content, as he afterwards narrates his travels to the content of his readers. Here is a volume, fitted, in many respects, to rank among the *delicia* of some future Dibdin: in height, proudly looking down upon all ordinary octavos; richly mosaïqued with inlaid cuts; lavish in depth of margin; voluptuous in creaminess of paper; and dilating to 214 pages not more matter than Mr. Brougham would compress into 50 for one of his mechanics circulating libraries: nevertheless, amid all this *ex post facto* luxury, a tone of dissatisfaction reigns through the whole book, from which we are led to believe, not exactly that wherever Mr. Duppa rides *post equitem sedet atra Cura*; but that, whenever he mounted the *dicky* during the journey now under our notice, a blue devil got up upon the *rumble*. In spite of the justice of many of his remarks, and the general qualifications which he displays for a guide and *Cicerone*, if he always travels in that which we conjecture to be his present temper, we would just as soon have made the grand tour with Smollett himself.

As we are by no means anxious to force this belief upon our readers, we shall leave them to adopt or reject it, as they please, after a perusal of the whole volume, and our present business will be rather to cull the flowers than the nettles from its pages. In doing this we claim the privilege of wandering as chance or fancy directs us, and in the first instance, we shall proceed at once to Lyons.

"The cathedral of Lyons has but few attractions, except a clock, celebrated from 1598, when it was first made, down to the present time; and is a curious exhibition of puerile ingenuity. It is a pile of mechanism, presenting, in its general form, an irregular tower, part square, and part octagonal, terminated by two small cupolas; the uppermost surmounted with a cock which is made to crow every hour when the clock gives warning to strike; then succeeds a dramatic exhibition of the Annunciation, of which this is the account affixed against the clock itself.

"*Premièrement le coq, qui termine le dôme, à chaque heure bat les ailes, et haussant le col, à la façon des coqs naturels, chant pour avertir que l'heure va tonner. Aussitôt après, les anges, qui sont dans le frise du dôme, sonnent les cloches avec un accord si*

juste, qu'ils imitent lechant de l'église sur l'hymne de St. J. Baptiste.

UT QUEANT SAXIS.

“ ‘ Pendant cet agréable musique, un ange ouvre la porte d'une chambre, dans laquelle il trouve Nôtre Dame. Il la salue; elle se tourne de son côté, et d'abord le lambris de cette chambre s'entrouvrant, le St. Esprit descend sur elle, et le Père Eternel, que l'on voit dans le ciel, ayant lui donné sa bénédiction pour trois fois, pour signifier qu'après le consentement de Nôtre Dame le mystère est accompli; le St. Esprit retourne au ciel, le lambris se rejoint: l'ange s'en va; et le carillon étant fini, l'heure sonne.’

“ In addition to this ridiculous pantomime, there is a wooden angel flourishing a *bâton*, to denote its approbation of the performance. Of the value of the mechanical powers which are here displayed I am ignorant; but, of the religious instruction meant to be conveyed, our Reformation makes us now look back to such a profane and ludicrous contrivance with amazement.” P. 64.

It is the fashion now a-days to find fault with the system of English roads and turnpikes, and, if the latter could be dispensed with, without the imposition of some still greater annoyance, we should be among the last to advocate their retention; but it is too much to be told that they do those things better in France, and that Buonaparte's internal legislation is a model of comfort in this respect, Let us hear from Mr. Duppa, what this system is, in its details.

“ As the government makes the highways, and keeps them in repair, there are but few great roads that can be travelled by post. In the heart of France there are upwards of thirty thousand square miles lying together, where no post-horses can be obtained; and, in this extent, there are no less than seven chief cities or towns of departments; Tulle, Le Puy, Aurillac, Privas, Mende, Rhodéz, and Alby; to which you can only go on horseback, or by voiturin.

“ At first, it might be supposed to be but a slight evil to travel by voiturin, when you cannot proceed by post-horses, but that this may be better understood, I will state a case.

“ Being at Toulon, I wished to go to Grenoble. The shortest and most direct way is, to go to Brignolles, Digne, and then to Gap. From Toulon you may travel to Brignolles with post-horses, but here there are no post-horses to proceed to Digne and Gap; a distance of more than an hundred miles, The voiturier, at Brignolles, knowing the situation in which you are placed, makes a much larger demand than the expense of posting the same distance, added to which, he will take five days to perform a journey, which, by posting, could be made in twenty-four hours.

“ If posting were open to competition, as in England, and the roads made and repaired by tolls or rates, there is no reason to suppose that the public would not be as well served; and from increased travelling, which would be the consequence of increased facilities, the revenue would be augmented by an increased post-horse duty.

“ The government regulation of not permitting one set of post-horses to pass others on the road, has this inconvenience: he who wishes to travel expeditiously has no power to do so, if the person immediately before him should choose to travel slowly, or should refuse to fee the post-boy beyond the government tariff, which is fifteen sous, when he expects forty at least, and does not think himself liberally paid unless you give him fifty. In this case, he may refuse to drive at the rate of more than one post an hour, which is slower than a hackney-coachman may be compelled to drive in the streets of London. To be extricated from this difficulty, there is but one slight chance, and that at a considerable expense, which is by despatching an *avant-courier* to bespeak horses; but this contrivance will avail nothing, if there should be sufficient horses at the post-house for both carriages; then, the slow carriage, necessarily arriving first, will be first despatched, and he who is behind, must continue to be so to the end of his journey, be that journey ever so long.

“ As there is only one person in a town authorized to let out post-horses, if all his horses should be on the road, or employed in agriculture at a distance from the post-house, you must wait in the street, or the stable-yard, one, two, or three hours, until the horses can be obtained. In an advanced state of society all monopolies are injurious to the public, however they may add to the patronage of government. Competition awakens ingenuity, and stimulates industry.

“ There is one point in which travelling in France is supposed to have a greater advantage than travelling in England; and that is, from there being no turnpikes in France: the government, however, has contrived a very ample set-off to this advantage. First, by the paucity of post-roads; and secondly, by giving post-boys so much power, that if the traveller wishes to make any progress on the road, he must pay him nearly, and oftentimes, quite as much as we pay for turnpikes and post-boys together,” P. 69.

Switzerland is particularly out of favour with Mr. Duppa. In the *mer de glace*, he saw nothing but “ a large dirty mere of snow, cracked and irregular in its surface, with a broad road in the middle, as dirty as a street.” Its wonders, we are told, are very much the offspring of English imagination; the scenery looking from Montainvert is “ without repose.”

“ A tour round Mont Blanc may gratify the mind, as to rocks and mountains, though it often happens, to arrive at the top of one crag, after some hours toil, another still higher has made the effort fruitless, and in elevated situations, clouds, or sleet, or snow, often shew how easily this little ambition may be defeated; and, at best, nature is seen to no advantage; all that surrounds you is dreary and cheerless; nothing assimilates with thought, but the desire to descend with safety. Amongst these inhospitable mountains, when a fire is kindled, civilization has made its greatest effort; a shattered roof serves the office of a chimney, and a square hole in the wall, at once lets in the light, and the drifting rain and sleet. Under it, the table on which the scanty meal is prepared, and off which it is eaten,

has a deep trench cut round it, that the middle may be dry. If you have light, you must have the storm, and the choice is rather the effect of instinct than of reason. Here, life is spent to contend and struggle with the means of existence." P. 92.

There is some confusion in the commencement of this extract which we cannot unravel; it is not explained in the errata, and we do not like to hazard conjectural emendations upon a living author. We give it as we find it, and thus much, at least, we can collect, for a certainty, that Mr. Duppa is no amateur of mountain scenery.

In passing from Liddes to the Hospice, Mr. Duppa was accompanied by a robust young woman, from whom he had hired a mule to carry hay. She was dressed in a gown of russet brown woollen cloth, and the account which she gave of herself, was truly patriarchal. Her property consisted of ten cows, eleven sheep, one goat, and one mule: in the short spring and summer she prepared the ground, planted, sowed and gathered in the crop, and in the long, cold, dreary winter, she made her clothes. "This gown I have on," she said, "I made from the sheep's back; I sheared the sheep, I carded and spun the wool, wove the cloth, cut it out, and made it."

One more Swiss picture will succeed to this.

"An account of a morning's excursion from Lauterbrunnen to Grindelwald, over the Wengern Alps.

"I have been wet through twice, could see very little when I arrived at the top, from the bad weather. It was, nevertheless, very well worth the trouble, though I was several times within a hair's breadth of falling down the most frightful precipices."

"After dinner was over at the table d'hôte, where we dined together, * * * said 'Good God! what can we do with ourselves, we have at least, four hours to assassinate before one can possibly go to bed!' This is drawn from the life, and I consider the sketch to be a good illustration of a mountain scramble, and of the feelings of those who are in constant activity to be somewhere else.

"Nothing is more difficult than to make a just estimate between the toil of any undertaking, and the pleasure of accomplishing it; this must depend on the taste of the individual; but he who travels the mountains of Switzerland to see the peculiarities of the country may place it to his account; that he will be exhausted with fatigue, and, when the day is spent, be content to lodge in some offensive and miserable place, where all he stands in need of he must continue to want; yet, here is no lack of population; wherever there are the means to support life, there is a wooden house, and where a goat can browse, there is cultivation; but the state of society is rude and unadorned." P. 109.

It has been said of some former eminent linguist, that if he had been alive during the building of Babel, the dispersion

need not have followed the confusion of tongues, since he might have acted as interpreter general. There have not been many to whom this statement would be more justly applicable, than to the astonishing man who is mentioned below.

“ By far the subject of the greatest interest in Bologna is D. Giuseppe Mezzofanti, who is the principal librarian and professor of oriental languages.

“ He is a plain, unaffected, modest man, with such an extensive knowledge of various languages, as it is not easy to credit on any ordinary testimony. Having heard and read of his great fame, I introduced myself to him in the public library; after talking to him some time in English, he said that he found all the European languages very easy. Of the oriental, the Arabic was the most difficult, from its richness in terms. To acquire the English language gave him very little trouble; this opinion surprised me, and I entered into a discussion with him on some grammatical peculiarities; I also remarked upon the great irregularity of our pronunciation, which he more perfectly understood on principle, than any person I ever talked with on that subject: he was also so obliging as to read a page of an English book, which I took from a shelf in the library; and, in reading and speaking, he never made a single mistake. The only sign of peculiarity was, that in speaking, he employed a word occasionally, not of colloquial use, but which, nevertheless, was perfectly correct as to the sense.

“ So far I can speak from my own knowledge, and a Polish countess whom I knew perfectly well, and who speaks German, Russ, and French, as native languages, in common with her own, told me, that she conversed with him in all of them, and, to the best of her judgment, he understood and spoke them as well as she did.

“ A German officer, with whom Mr. Rose dined at Bologna, said, that he should not have known him by his language from being a native of Germany; and Mr. Rose's servant, who was a native of Smyrna, said, that he might pass for a Greek or a Turk as far as he was able to judge. In the course of conversation I asked him how many languages he knew; he said, about forty, and that he could speak about thirty, but that he had so little practice in speaking the oriental languages, that he spoke them with less fluency than the European. To add to the wonder of these attainments, he has never been out of Italy, and, I believe, Florence is the greatest distance he has ever been from Bologna. I wish I could have spent more time with this extraordinary man.” P. 132.

There are a few blemishes in Mr. Duppa's style, which we shall wish to see corrected, since he promises that this volume is to form a part of a larger work, if it be favourably received, and of this there can be little doubt. He will doubtless, therefore acquit us of any perverse or hypercritical feeling in

noticing them. The following passages, among others, are not English.

“ Besides this restored part of the old castle (Chantilly), there is another considerable range of buildings detached from the chateau, erected by the present duke for his ill-fated son, the Duc d'Enghien; *and during his life was called after him.*” Page 3.

“ The subject (of Desaix's monument) represents the General supported in death by a brother officer, with his horse led by a soldier; and on two pilasters, which support an entablature, are two small whole length emblematical figures of the Nile and the Pô, to indicate the beginning and the end of Desaix's military career; *having first distinguished himself in Ægypt, and fell at the battle of Marengo.*” Page 89.

Mr. Duppa will forgive the freedom with which we have used his volume. We have reason to think that he is far from splenetic in the common intercourse of life, and we are anxious therefore that he should not convey any unjust impression of himself in print. We shall be glad to follow him in the remainder of his tour, for we shall be certain to meet with sound criticism on works of Art, and sensible if not novel remarks on foreign habits.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR APRIL, 1825.

ART. I.—1. *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People, addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers. By H. Brougham, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. Pp. 32. 8vo. Ninth Edition. Longman. 1825.*

2. *Suggestions respecting the Plan of an University in London. By Mr. Campbell. New Monthly Mag. for 1825.*

IN this age of universal improvement, the rising generation ought not to be forgotten. An Education Company, capital one million, might be established with every prospect of success; a building in the centre of the metropolis, supplied with fresh air by a tunnel from Hampstead; cream pipes from Devonshire, furnishing a cheap and nutritious diet; a rail-road communication with the river and the parks; the boys to be washed and whipped by steam; gymnastics upon the newest principles; the intellectual organs developed by a craniological process; and a high-pressure schoolmaster undertaking to teach all languages and sciences in twelve lessons for a guinea; such a school would be worthy of the inventive genius and overflowing capital of the country. Yet, nobody comes forward to propose it. Mr. Campbell's London University, and Mr. Brougham's Mechanics Institute, are the only candidates for public favour, and these fall far short of the spirit of the age; but they have attracted some notice; they have been pushed with zeal in influential quarters, and they are worthy at least of examination. They are not necessarily or avowedly connected, but we put them together as signs of the times. The principles upon which they rest will warrant the conjunction, and much of the reasoning which affects the one, will apply with equal force to the other.

In one respect they differ essentially. Mr. Brougham is a veteran in the cause of education; and those who set no value upon the effect of his labours, must admit his claim to praise for perseverance. The sentiments of a highly-gifted man upon a subject to which he has often turned his mind, are entitled to a respectful consideration; and if, after having

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failed in bold but dangerous innovations, he turns to a quarter in which good may be done, so important a change in the direction of his efforts may be regarded as a favourable omen.

Mr. Thomas Campbell is placed in a different predicament ; every body admires him as the bard of Hope, and of Gertrude ; every body laments that he published *Theodrick* ; but poetry, even as good as Shakespeare's, does not qualify the writer to project or establish an university, and his plan rests entirely upon intrinsic merit ; it derives no authority from the name of its recommender.

The subject does not require us to consider or defend the scholastic institutions of the country ; they are treated at last with becoming respect. The friends of existing establishments have rode out the storm of menace and insult, and now their self complacency is indulged and tempted with a calm. The frown of the northern reviewer has relaxed ; his readers no longer suppose that English gentlemen learn nothing but Latin and Greek ; our schools and universities are esteemed and thronged, and those who do not like them deem it prudent to hold their tongues. Even Mr. Brougham's speech at Edinburgh, though bordering upon the absurdities of former days, is excusable on the score of locality. The most jealous son of Eton or Westminster will allow him to assure a Scotch dinner party that Edinburgh is blessed with the best school in the world ; but it will be difficult to persuade the world that Mr. Brougham's mind would have lost either power or polish by accompanying his friend Lord Lansdowne to Cambridge. It will be difficult to prove that he received a better education than Mr. Canning or Mr. Peel.

Nothing can be further from our intention than to say that the scholastic system of England is perfect. We believe that it admits of many improvements, and greatly shall we rejoice at their adoption. Even the furious assault that has been already alluded to was productive of indirect advantage. Its impudence and misrepresentation persuaded the public of the existence of imaginary abuses ; but it was met in several instances by the removal of real ones. The defenders of our schools and universities described them as they ought to be, and in many places the picture was converted into reality. The same operation may be repeated now ; the London University and its kindred schemes may serve at least to rouse and stimulate ; additional improvements may be introduced into Oxford and Cambridge ; and the poet who aspires to found a college at Marybone may contribute, not ingloriously, to reform what has been founded long ago.

It is certain, that unless things are very bad, the education of a country can only be amended by degrees. The new systems which are produced from time to time, and which promise to regenerate the human race, are rejected for the most part on account of their inherent faults; and even if they were adopted in the most general manner, and were free from the faults with which they commonly abound, they still would fail from want of proper persons to carry them into effect. They expect teachers to renounce their old habits and principles, and become sincere converts to an opposite system; this system they are to administer in perfection, and faultless schools, and faultless schoolmasters, are to end, as they may easily do, in making faultless scholars. But this notion is altogether erroneous. Schools, for the higher class at least, can only be conducted by persons who are already familiar with teaching; and the proper method of changing this system where it is bad, or of raising it, where it is comparatively good, is to grapple with particular faults one by one; to suggest successive slight but practicable alterations, and then leave it to the common sense of the country to patronise the antiquated or the modernised institution.

It is to this unpoetical plan that we owe our present institutions. With a sturdy determination, that does her honour, England has not consented to go to school *de novo*, since the first establishment of Christianity. There have been many changes, but they have been changes of degree, not of principle. Errors have been frequently pointed out, and remedies as frequently recommended; but the only remedies which have been found permanent and effectual, were such as met and removed specific evils. Thus the monkish learning made way by inches for the literature of modern Europe, and the philosophy of Newton and Locke. Thus, in our own day, the University of Oxford has undergone an important change, both in her studies and her examinations, and the effects exceed the warmest hopes of its authors. Thus Cambridge has recently added a general classical examination to that unrivalled mathematical trial, by which the diligence of her students was excited, and their acquirements put to an unerring test. Thus an old and ever respected school, the Charter House, by the introduction of the national system, under the auspices of a most excellent master, has raised its reputation and numbers beyond all former precedent; and if it appears that it is the system, and not the administrator of it, that has really done the work, the experiment will lead to an extensive adoption of improvements, which cannot fail to be a great blessing to the country.

The point, therefore, to which we wish to draw attention, is the different fate of those plain unpretending reformatations, and of the magnificent schemes of theoretical men. Milton and Locke, and many of our most illustrious authors, wrote upon education, but produced no perceptible amendment. They could change the political and philosophical principles of an empire; but they could not touch its schools. Their schemes were either impracticable in themselves, or inapplicable to the state of the country. The men of mighty genius retired in disgrace from the field; the humble but experienced academical drudge went on step by step, improving and being improved. And while the great and wise admirers of alteration experienced this discouraging reception, the quacks, to our infinite advantage, have undergone a more complete discomfiture. In every age, the public has been pestered with their discoveries, and in none more unmercifully than in the last. The French philosophy was the original seed-bed; and whether the dose was administered by a charlatan Abbé or an infidel Irishman, whether it was cobwebbed over with Scotch metaphysics, or gilt with eloquence, sophistry and sentiment, the people were not duped, the novelty enjoyed its hour, and died.

We infer from all this, that the foundation of the existing system is sound; the nation has decided again and again against sudden change or theoretical experiment. The alterations required by time are introduced gradually and in silence; and a departure from this established practice, an attempt to accomplish something hitherto unknown, the adoption of a new principle, or the unnecessary rejection of an old one, furnishes a sufficient *prima facie* objection to any scheme for the furtherance of education. Thus, for instance, separate schools for the different professions, a plan of Mr. Edgeworth's, may be disposed of without trouble. Academies for the exclusive study of law, physic or divinity, are included in the same condemnation. They are unnecessary departures from the established mode of education. Instead of supplying a deficiency, they undermine a system. When the defect which they profess to remedy really exists, it may be cured in a safer and more effectual manner by some slight variation in the school-boy's lesson, or by an additional professorship at the universities.

The same criterion will apply to the extensive alterations suggested by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Brougham. Do they harmonize with the old and cherished institutions to which England is so much indebted. Are they to be considered as the extension of a plan which has been sanctioned by ex-

perience? as the completion of what has been well begun? as the polish and perfection of what has long been esteemed in the rough? Or do they introduce a new body into the system, which may or may not accord with what we already possess, which offers an uncertain advantage, at the price of a certain risque? The systems before us must be tried by these tests, and the trial shall be instituted without further delay.

We are to inquire then, in the first place, what is the general principle upon which the grammar schools of this country were established? What classes were they designed to educate? Do they answer their original or any other good purpose? Do they require and are they susceptible of extension? We answer these questions as concisely as possible, by saying, that grammar schools were designed to give a religious, and the rudiments of a classical education, to the children of the gentry, the clergy, and the tradesmen in their respective neighbourhoods; that with the exception of the metropolis, and half a dozen of our largest provincial towns, this purpose is answered, directly or indirectly; and that, for the convenience of those particular places, some addition might advantageously be made to the number of our existing schools. On each of these points Mr. Campbell appears to agree with us. He is aware that the free-school was formerly frequented by children of every class, except the lowest. The great body of our youth started from that post; and if the chances of the race were in favour of the few, the many were not excluded from reaching the goal. From the age before the Reformation to the present day, the highest offices in church and state have been conferred upon men of humble birth, who accumulated a store of knowledge, or disciplined a 'gigantic understanding, in schools which were open both to rich and poor; and the symmetry of our national institutions will be destroyed, an element of national greatness will be lost, whenever extraordinary abilities cannot lift their possessor out of his place, and set him by the side of statesmen, philosophers, magistrates and divines, who have climbed by their own strength to the highest stations in society. Consequently, we are warm advocates for the continuance of that system, by which the rudiments of learning are offered to a large proportion of the people. To many they will be offered in vain; but here and there they will be received with joy; genius will in most cases make itself known; fresh blood will be infused into the literary and political body, and the season of old age and decay be indefinitely postponed.

But, in order to secure these advantages, the free-schools must bear an adequate proportion to the general population of the country; and hence the obvious propriety of making some additional provision for the increasing numbers congregated in our principal towns. Something to this effect has already been done by the prevalent practice of private tuition, and by the growing disinclination of the gentry to educate their children at free-schools. These salutary drains have prevented an overflow, both at the public schools, and at the common grammar schools. Nearly every man who can spare the money, will send his child to board at a distance, rather than keep him at a day school in the immediate neighbourhood of home; room is thus made for the children of less opulent parents, and the actual want of school-room materially lessened.

Still the want exists. The large schools which used to receive the families of respectable tradesmen, (such schools, we mean, as Merchant Tailors, St. Paul's, or Christ's Hospital), are no larger now than when the metropolis was half its present size. The additional number of children are educated in private establishments, and their education is inferior to that which may be obtained in the endowed schools. Here, therefore, we conceive the real difficulty to lie. There is a want of that sort of school which may command the services of an eminent master. Those services cannot be secured by the ordinary emoluments of a private academy; and, unless some other advantages are added, the advantage of a public station, the prospect of public or corporation patronage, or a handsome independent stipend, able teachers will take their talents to a better market than a London academy for the middle classes. At the same time such institutions will increase, with no security for the capacity of their managers; with no certainty of affording that solid instruction which the endowed school always may, and always ought to furnish.

What, then, under these circumstances, does Mr. Campbell recommend? In the only communication which he has made *bonâ fide* to the public, an essay in the last number of the New Monthly Magazine, he proposes to build an university in London, or its immediate vicinity, and there to teach whatever his subscribers may desire to learn. The scheme is not brought forward in a very methodical shape, but we extract such passages as convey the clearest idea of his meaning:—

“ I now address myself not so much to the friends of the scheme, as to those who think unfavourably of it, or who may not have thought of it at all. The sanguine friends of the proposal tell me,

that they consider all the objections urged against it as too ridiculous to be answered. I certainly regard the arguments of our opponents as very light; but still there are some of them connected with prejudices which are too pernicious to deserve the compliment of being treated with levity.

“ I have been asked, in the first place, if there are not plenty of places already existing for educating men for the learned and liberal professions. My answer is, that thousands who have not the honour of belonging to those professions, are nevertheless desirous of knowledge and education. The objecting question itself implies an opinion, that if you educate the priest and lawyer and physician well, you need not trouble yourself farther about the liberal education of society. Bacon, however, has said, ‘*that man is but what he knows* ;’ and in this metropolis, from its enlightened bishop down to its intelligent mechanic, there is a general persuasion that man is elevated by knowledge and degraded by ignorance. At the same time the persuasion is still too far from being universal. I have spoken with men, themselves well educated, who have told me that a little learning is a dangerous thing, and have objected to the scheme, because half-educated men are more apt to have crude notions than men not educated at all.

“ Before I admit the bad effects of a little learning and of half-education, I must know what is meant by those terms. If you mean by half-education, a man having been well taught only half the things that can be learnt, I should be glad to be entitled to-morrow to the denomination. But if you mean a smattering in many branches of knowledge, without a tolerable knowledge of any one branch, I grant that crude ideas will be the probable result of such learning. Recollect, however, that this is not to be HALF-EDUCATED; it is to be MIS-EDUCATED, and we are proposing no place of MIS-EDUCATION. On the contrary, we propose a place where a man may be THOROUGHLY and CHEAPLY grounded in any single branch of learning or science, or in as many branches as he may choose. A great many prejudices on the subject of education arise from confounding two things, essentially opposite, namely, a scattered and confused acquisition of knowledge, and a small degree of knowledge properly acquired. A man may have a great deal of confused information in science, and yet be a worse reasoner, on that account, than one who simply knows the multiplication table; and he may know a Babelish confusion of languages with less advantages than one language completely. But dabblers are most apt to abound in places where men have leisure and curiosity, whilst they are without the proper means of education. To own the truth, I should prefer any imperfect mode of education to the total want of it among any class of men. Imperfect knowledge will, at the worst, only enable persons who would talk nonsense, at all events, to talk it a little more consequentially. If there be any cure for such an evil, it is a great place of sound education. Establish an university in the metropolis, and if there were numerous students, every thing worth knowing might there be taught on the cheapest terms. All exclusion on account of age and condition

would be improper, yet the poorer class, who must go to labour early in life, could not be included in the benefits of this plan. It would be adapted to the circumstances of all that class of society whose incomes extend from 400*l.* to 500*l.* a-year, to nearly as many thousands. Its advantages would, therefore, extend down to the son of the less opulent master tradesman; and supposing such a tradesman able only to give his son a year's education, is it not evident that *that* year might be profitably spent! By proper contrivances the courses of teaching might be kept up all the year round, and in one year surely some one language or science may be competently learnt." P. 405.

"I have been told that we ought not to call the proposed place an University, but a School, because we do not intend to ask for a power of conferring degrees. But why call it by any other name than what it will deserve? I would have as few limitations as possible as to the age at which it should receive young men; and I speak of their quitting it at eighteen, only on the supposition of their being obliged to go to business. But let it be adapted to the studies of men beyond that age, and capable of instructing people as long as they wish to be instructed. Now a school generally means a seminary for mere boys; and an university means, both in common parlance and in the dictionary, not a place for getting degrees, but for getting instruction as universally as possible. If there be ridicule then in disputing about words, let it fall exclusively on those who would distort their etymology. I would by no means abandon the title." P. 407.

"I have mentioned the New Road as a convenient locality for this establishment. Its situation, however, must of course be determined by the residence of the majority of the eventual subscribers. I have suggested also the laying out the whole sum that may be raised, on building and keeping open the establishment, without endowing the professorships with salaries; not that I should propose them all to continue unendowed. It would be useful to teach several branches of knowledge, which might, nevertheless, attract too few students to repay the professors without exacting large fees, and that would be against a main principle of the establishment. But I calculate on future benefactions being adequate to endow such chairs as would come under this description. In the mean time you might begin with teaching only the branches of learning that would repay the teachers; and these are many. To say what they ought to be, is to anticipate the decision of the subscribers. They know best what they wish their sons to learn. If they want a little advice on the subject, it is time enough to offer it when they ask it." P. 414.

"I would suggest leaving the professors to be paid by the fees of students entirely; for the present, at all events, and in proportion to their labour. But all kinds of teaching are not equally laborious; languages for instance, and some other branches of instruction, are not to be communicated by either merely reading or speaking to the

student. The teacher must speak *with* him and exercise him, which is a very laborious profession. It would require men of strong health, strong abilities, and strong ambition for fame, but for no other fame than that of teachers. An author fatigued with writing books over night, and likely to send an apology in the morning, for absence, on account of indisposition, or to be thinking in his class about his books, when his attention ought to be absorbed in teaching, is not the man for such a professorship. The fees given to those more laborious professorships ought to be sufficiently high to induce distinguished, spirited, and promising men to accept them. I say promising, for men who have their reputation mostly yet to acquire, are likely to be the most zealous candidates for popularity as teachers. I would suggest making those professorships so onerous, as to make it inconsistent with retaining them to pursue any other vocation; and I would pay them, if possible, very handsomely. Those chairs, I believe, could be made highly lucrative. But I repeat my opinion, that they should not be given to men who have any ambition to be authors. I would make an express agreement, that a man should devote himself for the time being to his professorship exclusively. If he wishes to live by writing, let him give up this vocation, which would be both laborious and lucrative. There are other professorships which would require no such toil, and which being honourable nominations in themselves, would need but small remunerations. They might, in fact, be discharged by short courses of lectures; say for three months. I should propose no holidays, but rather to divide a class between two colleagues, lecturing alternate seasons, than have the establishment vacant a week in the year. London, I may be told, is deserted for some weeks in the year, by almost every body. But a young man may be going abroad, or entering on business, and even a week's opportunity of studying some particular subject may be of importance to him. Were it not a pity that he should find that university shut, because the month was September? In the evening there might be proper lectureships for grown people, on the plan of other institutions. As to the number and size of rooms and fees of admittance, these and many other particulars are subjects evidently fitted for the consideration of a committee: and the decision of them must be preceded by a declaration of the public intention to adopt the general scheme.

“ The establishment of such a place of education would produce, I conceive, the most salutary and cheerful effects on the public spirit. The effect of one or two lectureships being held in one place, can give no idea of what the collective effect of thirty would be, if assembled under public patronage, and made the scene of public rivalry to youthful intellects.” P. 415.

“ On the other hand look to the moral effects that might be rationally and soberly anticipated from the success of this scheme. I know that there are many eminent lecturers in London, but they have no rallying point for acting in harmony and concert, no centre for collecting their light into a focus. I know also that the two

Universities have men of superlative celebrity ; but, from the nature of things, we can only hear of them in London ; and though they give us accomplished statesmen and gentry, they shed no inspiring influence on the great mass of the metropolitan mind. I may read the lectures of Copleston, and hear of those of Smyth, yet I must travel a day's journey in order to *hear* them delivered, or acquire, from personal acquaintance, the idea of a consummately polished English scholar. Yet there are hundreds in London who could enjoy the classical periods of the one, and thousands who could relish the historical intelligence of the other. The influence of such speakers in a great capital would be eventually to chase vulgarity from the character, habits, and pursuits, and from the very idioms and utterance of the vulgar wealthy." P. 416.

These extracts contain the pith of Mr. Campbell's suggestions ; and they are liable, in our opinion, to insurmountable objections. There is a hazy indistinctness both in the conception and explanation of his scheme. He appears either to have no settled plan, or to decline bringing it forward. First, he condemns half-education and smattering, and wishes us " to be thoroughly and cheaply grounded in any single branch of learning." Secondly, he proposes to put us in the way of " getting instruction as universally as possible." Thirdly, the branches of learning are to depend " upon the decision of the subscribers." Fourthly, Mr. Campbell is ready to give a little advice when he is asked. Fifthly, in the evening there are to be " popular lectureships for grown people, upon *the plan of other institutions*. Lastly, and to conclude, the youthful intellects of lecturers are to be excited by public rivalry ; the intellectual light of London is to be collected into a focus ; and " the influence of eloquent speakers " is " to chase away vulgarity from the character, habits and pursuits, and from the very idioms and utterance of the vulgar wealthy." We submit, that this is nonsense. Independent of all objections from without, the scheme, if it can be called a scheme, is rotten within. Its parts are inconsistent with one another ; it combines accurate instruction with the essence of smattering and superficiality. It offers to do the work of a school under the taking title of an university ; and, at the same time, to lecture grown-up gentlemen upon the plan of the Surrey or the Royal. It is to teach a boy one language, or one science, and then to polish away the vulgarity of London wealth by the influence of rival candidates for oratorical fame. Such an institution can end in nothing but disappointment. The lecturing system has been repeatedly tried ; and, except in such sciences as anatomy and chemistry, it has done no good. The most constant attendants upon exhibitions of this nature, are the silliest people of their class ; and the

silliness would be augmented by bringing it into a focus. The rays of good sense and sound learning which might occasionally intervene would separate from the general body, and be lost; the childishness and folly would be concentrated in formidable masses, and gradually have the field to themselves. No scholar of eminence would embark in the same boat with an institution for popular-lecturing the full-grown vulgar. Languages and sciences would be neglected; rival orators would rule the university; and a dozen ridiculous and perhaps mischievous speaking-clubs, would be palmed upon the good city of London as an university worthy of its power and wealth.

These are the internal objections to Mr. Campbell's scheme; and they appear sufficiently formidable. The external must not be overlooked. It is a complete departure, without any sufficient reason assigned, from the established English system. It appears to be entirely unconnected with the religion of the country. It distracts our attention from a quarter in which assistance is wanted, and may be given, and amuses us with magnificent and impracticable speculations. The first point we have considered already; and it is hardly necessary to say, that the scheme under review is at open war with every plan upon which the middle classes of this country have hitherto been educated. It is not an improvement; it is a direct, a wanton, and an absurd innovation. Admitting the advantages of learning Latin and Greek, why must our children learn them at the university rather than at school? The only reason to be assigned, is that so they do in Scotland. And because the Scotch method is one of the worst in existence; because the Scotch are gradually introducing the English practice of teaching language to boys, and science to men, therefore the Londoners are invited to revive an exploded error, and perpetuate a system which is dying of weakness. Instead of the high-sounding name of an university, let Mr. Campbell propose to build and endow two or three good grammar schools, and then if he is banished from the regions of imagination, he will arrive at the land of common sense.

But even the humble grammar school, if it is to be a public institution, must be connected with the religion of the country. Mr. Campbell solicits the patronage of government and the sanction of parliament. And before he substantiates a claim to either, he must consent to place his institution under the management of proper trustees; and it must undertake to educate our children in the principles of the Church of England. Until he does the former, we cannot tell what system of teaching he may determine to introduce. Until he does the latter,

he cannot expect to be acknowledged by a government essentially interwoven with the established religion of the country. A great effort was made by the Lancaster party to teach the lower orders without the help of the clergy. The question was fully discussed, and decided in favour of the church. If Mr. Campbell wishes to revive the contest, he will do so with the certainty of being opposed, and we trust, with the certainty of being defeated. A school without religion would be a monster both in politics and morals. And a public school, chartered by the state, and designed for the many, not for the few, must conform of course to the national church.

The last and not the least objection to Mr. Campbell's undertaking, is its tendency to divert public attention from wants which are really in existence, and from the remedies which might easily be provided for them. While the higher and the lower orders are enjoying a much better education than they could have obtained fifty years ago, the middle classes are worse off than ever. They are taught in indifferent schools. They read indifferent books; and in a few instances may attend useless lectures. There is room for improvement in such a system; and when we remember the great expence of a classical education, the difficulty which many parents encounter in defraying it, and the increasing number and wealth of the middle class, the establishment of an useful unpretending grammar school for day scholars must appear a public benefit. In such a school the pupils might learn one language well; and be prepared for acquiring any future information which their genius might induce them to covet, and their leisure enable them to pursue. In such a school the faults of existing institutions might be avoided, particularly the great faults of heavy expence, and of insufficient stimulus to diligence or punishment to idleness. In such a school good principles might be inculcated by able instructors, and a large and most important portion of the community, the sons of thriving tradesmen, and of persons possessing a small independent fortune, might be rescued from seminaries in which they are never well taught, and where it is an even chance whether they learn what is good or what is bad. A school is not so captivating as a metropolitan university. But those who will inquire into the real state of society, may soon be convinced that such an establishment is deserving of attention, and if it is defeated, forgotten or eclipsed, by the superior attractions of a gaudy rival, that rival must be regarded as a public nuisance.

We now proceed to Mr. Brougham. On one point he is decidedly superior to Mr. Campbell. His scheme is con-

sistent and of a piece, and whatever we may think of its general tendency, or whatever exception we may take to its details, it is impossible to deny the author's claim to the title of a bold and sagacious reformer, who has no disposition to do his work by halves. The drift of the pamphlet is best explained by the dedication to Dr. Birkbeck.

"As I have chiefly, in deference to your opinion, sanctioned by that of our fellow-labourers in the North, undertaken to make the following pages public at the present moment, I beg leave to inscribe them with your name.

"You are aware that they contain a portion of a larger discourse, which more pressing, but less agreeable pursuits, have long prevented me from finishing, upon the important subject of Popular Education, in its three branches, Infant Schools, Elementary Schools (for reading and writing), and Adult Schools. It is only with the second of these branches that the Legislature can safely interfere. Any meddling on the part of Government with the first would be inexpedient; with the last, perilous to civil and religious liberty. In conformity with this opinion I have brought the question of Elementary Education repeatedly before Parliament, where the lukewarmness of many, and the honest, and by me ever-to-be-respected scruples of some, have hitherto much obstructed my design: the other two branches belong to the country at large. Having, in concert with those friends who hold the same doctrines, endeavoured to establish Infant Schools, it seems to follow from the same view of the subject, that I should lend any little help in my power towards fixing public attention upon the Education of Adults; by discussing the best means of aiding the people in using the knowledge gained at schools, for their moral and intellectual improvement.

"A considerable portion of the Observations was inserted in the Edinburgh Review, together with a good deal of other matter, and with one or two statements in which I do not altogether concur." P. ii.

It appears from this declaration, that Mr. Brougham still contemplates the introduction of a new and entire system of Popular Instruction in this country, upon his own peculiar principles, and under his own peculiar superintendence. We trusted that he had renounced this flattering but idle expectation. His chance of realising it was once considerable. But the object of his measures was detected and exposed; his bill was scouted in every quarter, and he retired discreetly from the contest. Putting aside the *manner* in which he undertook to carry his point, the point itself was unattainable. He wished to extinguish every former undertaking, and to begin the work again. He endeavoured to persuade the nation, that her charity schools, and education societies, the joint work of her best and ablest sons, were of no real use; that nobody

understood how to educate the people before his appearance upon the stage; that, instead of extending and perfecting the schools already in operation, the simplest plan was to set up new ones through the country, in which the gentry should take as little part as possible; the controul of the clergy should be restrained, and ultimately abolished; the labours even of the dissenting teacher should be dispensed with, and Mr. Brougham and his bill be all in all! The measure fell to the ground, without opposition or struggle; the country was unanimous against it. Every body, except Mr. Brougham, was satisfied with the success of the charity schools, and disapproved of interfering with a work that went on so well by itself; and Mr. Brougham embarked, with commendable versatility, in the infantine absurdities of Spital-fields, and the more promising establishment of the Mechanics Institution.

In the former the old leaven was immediately perceptible. Mr. William Allen commended the infant schools because they were not to teach any particular religion; and their supporters, with few exceptions, consisted of discomfited Lancastrians, who had failed in overturning the National Society, and now were anxious to undermine it. The plot did not succeed; the system was not only infantine but silly. Upon Mr. Brougham's principles, who contends that the charity schools are far too few for the wants of the people, it was mischievous. And except in a small and self-important coterie, who love to occupy themselves with innocent trifling, the infant schools are gone to their repose along with the Elementary Education bill.

But the subject consists of "three branches;" and the third, "Adult Schools," is now pressed upon public attention. Mr. Brougham would have entered upon the question under better auspices, if he had not proclaimed its connection with the still-born projects to which his dedication refers. The Mechanics Institution, considered separately, is very superior to the wholesale nurseries and the anti-charity schools. The former is no child of Mr. Brougham's; and though he is pleased to acknowledge it, and fondle it as his own, he ought, in justice to the true parents, to have distinguished his adopted from his real progeny. The manœuvre by which he endeavours to identify a scheme of another person, which has succeeded, with two schemes of his own, which have failed, involves him instantly in difficulty. For if Elementary Education ought to be provided for by parliament, it is evident that the same parliament should contribute its share to the establishment and direction of Adult Institutions. "I deny that," exclaims Mr. Brougham.

Any meddling on the part of government with institutions *under my superintendence* would be perilous to civil and religious liberty. I recommended them to meddle with the charity schools, because there the principal management is in the hands of the gentry and the clergy. I prohibit them from intruding into the business of the Mechanics Institution; that, with what Mr. Thomas Campbell calls "a little advice," will be able to manage itself. Such is the plain English of Mr. Brougham's denunciation. If any body else had protested against government interference, their remonstrance might have been sustained. But coming from an individual who is excessively shocked at the lukewarmness which prevents government from interfering with charity schools, the fears for civil and religious liberty are in the first instance a stupid clap-trap, and in the second a gross inconsistency. Like Mr. Brougham, we deprecate political meddling with education; but politics may be introduced by the opposition as well as by the ministers; and perhaps it will appear, in the course of these remarks, that Mr. Brougham is disposed to take liberties himself, which he outrageously denounces when the example is followed by others.

The first subject discussed in the "Practical Observations," is worthy of more attention—the want of cheap and instructive books.

"The first method, then, which suggests itself for promoting knowledge among the poor, is the encouragement of cheap publications; and in no country is this more wanted than in Great Britain, where, with all our expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in printing books at so little as double the price required by our neighbours on the continent. A gown, which any where else would cost half a guinea, may be made in this country for half a crown; but a volume, fully as well or better printed, and on paper which, if not as fine, is quite fine enough, and far more agreeable to the eyes, than could be bought in London for half a guinea, costs only six francs, or less than five shillings at Paris. The high price of labour in a trade where so little can be done, or at least has been done by machinery, is one of the causes of this difference. But the direct tax upon paper is another; and the determination to print upon paper of a certain price is a third; and the aversion to crowd the page is a fourth. Now all of these, except the first, may be got over. The duty on paper is three-pence a pound, which must increase the price of an octavo volume eight-pence or nine-pence; and this upon paper of every kind, and printing of every kind; so that if by whatever means the price of a book were reduced to the lowest, say to three or four shillings, about a fourth or a fifth must be added for the tax; and this book, brought as low as possible to accommodate the poor man, with the coarsest paper and most ordinary type, must pay exactly as much to government as the finest

hot-pressed work of the same size. This tax ought, therefore, by all means, to be given up; but though, from its being the same upon all paper used in printing, no part of it can be saved by using coarse paper, much of it may be saved by crowding the letter-press, and having a very narrow margin. This experiment has been tried of late in London upon a considerable scale; but it may easily be carried a great deal further. Thus, Hume's *History** has been begun; and one volume, containing about two and a half of the former editions, has been published†. It is sold for six shillings and sixpence; but it contains a great number of cuts neatly executed; the paper is much better than is necessary; and the printing is perfectly well done. Were the cuts omitted, and the most ordinary paper and type used, the price might be reduced to 4*s.* or 4*s.* 6*d.*; and a book might thus be sold for 12*s.* or 14*s.* which now costs perhaps above two pounds. A repeal of the tax upon paper, which is truly a tax upon knowledge, and falls the heaviest upon those who most want instruction, would further reduce the price to nine or ten shillings.

“The method of publishing in numbers is admirably suited to the circumstances of the classes whose income is derived from wages. Two-pence is easily saved in a week by almost any labourer; and by a mechanic sixpence in a week may without difficulty be laid by. Those who have not attended to such matters, would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths. Seven numbers, for fourteen-pence, comprise Franklin's *Life and Essays*; four for eight-pence, Bacon's *Essays*; and 36 for six shillings, the whole of the *Arabian Nights*. Cook's *Voyages*, in threepenny numbers, with many good engravings, may be had complete for seven shillings; and Plutarch's *Lives*, for ten shillings, will soon be finished‡. The *Mirror*, a weekly publication, containing much matter of harmless and even improving amusement, selected with very considerable taste, has besides, in almost every number, information of a most instructive kind. Its great circulation must prove highly beneficial to the bulk of the people. I understand, that of some parts upwards of 80,000 were printed, and there can be no doubt, that the entertainment which is derived from reading the lighter essays, may be made the means of conveying knowledge of a more solid and useful description—a consideration which I trust the conductor will always bear in mind. The *Mechanic's Magazine* §, most ably edited by Mr. Robertson, has, from its establishment, had an extensive circulation; and it

* It is to be regretted that any edition of this popular work should ever be published without notes, to warn the reader of the author's partiality when moved by the interest of civil and ecclesiastical controversy, and his careless and fanciful narrative when occupied with other events.

† Dolby's cheap *Histories*.

‡ Limbird's *Classics*.

§ Knight and Lacy; who have done great service by publishing other works of singular cheapness and merit. The *Dictionary of Architecture* is one of the most extraordinary in this respect.

communicates, for three-pence a week, far more valuable information, both scientific and practical, than was ever before placed within the reach of those who could afford to pay six times as much for it. A similar work is published at Glasgow upon the same plan. The *Chemist*, also for three-pence, is learnedly and judiciously conducted by Mr. Hodgkin, and contains an admirable collection of the most useful chemical papers and intelligence.

“ It is evident, that as want of time prevents the operative classes from pursuing a systematic course of education in all its details, a more summary and compendious method of instruction must be adopted by them. The majority must be content with never going beyond a certain point, and with reaching that point by the most expeditious route. A few, thus initiated in the truths of science, will no doubt push their attainments much further: and for these the works in common use will suffice; but for the multitude it will be most essential that works should be prepared adapted to their circumstances. Thus, in teaching them geometry, it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system, by which the most general and remote truths are connected with the few simple definitions and axioms; enough will be accomplished, if they are made to perceive the nature of geometrical investigation, and learn the leading properties of figure. In like manner, they may be taught the doctrines of mechanics with a much more slender previous knowledge both of geometry and algebra, than the common elementary works on dynamics pre-suppose in the reader. Hence, a most essential service will be rendered to the cause of knowledge by him who shall devote his time to the composition of elementary treatises on the mathematics, sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to impart an accurate knowledge of the most useful fundamental propositions, with their application to practical purposes; and treatises upon natural philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics, and their practical application, to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are even wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Nor let it be supposed, that the time thus bestowed is given merely to instruct the people in the rudiments of philosophy, though this would of itself be an object sufficiently brilliant to allure the noblest ambition; for what higher achievement did the most sublime philosophy ever aspire after, than to elevate the views and refine the character of the great mass of mankind, at least in latter times, when science no longer looks down as of old upon the multitude, supercilious, and deeming that great spirits alone perish not with the body? But if extending the bounds of science itself be the grand aim of all philosophers in all ages, they indirectly, but surely, accomplish this object, who enable thousands to speculate and experiment for one to whom the path of investigation is now open. It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any large proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself

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a desire and an aptitude to proceed further, will press forward ; and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and in science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation, are most likely to be made by men, whose lives being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation. He who shall prepare a treatise simply and concisely unfolding the doctrines of algebra, geometry and mechanics, and adding examples calculated to strike the imagination, of their connection with other branches of knowledge, and with the arts of common life, may fairly claim a large share in that rich harvest of discovery and invention which must be reaped by the thousands of ingenious and active men, thus enabled to bend their faculties towards objects at once useful and sublime." P. 9.

The reader will not fail to observe the note respecting Hume's History of England. Our intrepid advocate for free discussion regrets that the world should read a book of which he does not entirely approve ; and suggests the propriety of explaining away those parts, which tend to prejudice the people in favour of the constitution of their country. We say nothing about the truth of the charge ; but on Mr. Brougham's principles the corrective ought to be supplied by a purer and more convincing narrative, not by controversial commentary. Another characteristic feature in these passages, may not be immediately perceived. Mr. Brougham enjoys or affects an entire ignorance respecting all that has been done in other quarters, in aid of cottage libraries, and books of useful knowledge. He describes the state of affairs in Scotland. He furnishes long details respecting libraries at Glasgow, and Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but not a single syllable can he remember, or has he heard, respecting the parochial libraries established and patronized by the Church of England. Nearly a thousand of these libraries have been furnished by one society alone ; the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. The books, if not strictly speaking scientific, are calculated to foster a love of science. Histories, voyages, and other works of entertainment and utility, are circulated in large numbers ; and because this happens to be done by members of the Church of England, our honest advocate for adult instruction, knows no more about the matter than the child unborn.

With the exception of these striking examples of fair dealing, we concur in the greater part of the foregoing remarks. The work recommended by Mr. Brougham is wanted ; and whoever supplies it, will be a public benefactor. The labouring classes can, and it is to be hoped they will read.

Books suited to their leisure and progress are still a desideratum. And it is right to make such books as cheap as possible, and to circulate them by means of clubs, subscriptions, and every other expedient of a similar nature.

The remaining, and indeed principal portion of the pamphlet, is employed in narrating and commenting upon the proceedings of various mechanics institutions. Some of them are highly satisfactory; and the account of their origin at Glasgow, and subsequent establishment in Edinburgh, deserves to be generally known.

“ It is now fit that we advert to the progress that has already been made in establishing this system of instruction. Its commencement was the work of Dr. Birkbeck, to whom the people of this island owe a debt of gratitude, the extent of which it would not be easy, perhaps in the present age not possible, to describe; for as, in most cases, the effective demand precedes the supply, it would have been more in the ordinary course of things, that a teacher should spring up at the call of the mechanics for instruction: but long before any symptoms appeared of such an appetite on their part, and with the avowed purpose of implanting the desire in them, or at least of unfolding and directing it, by presenting the means of gratification, that most learned and excellent person formed the design, as enlightened as it was benevolent, of admitting the working classes of his fellow-countrymen to the knowledge of sciences, till then almost deemed the exclusive property of the higher ranks in society, and only acquired accidentally and irregularly in a few rare instances of extraordinary natural talents, by any of the working classes. Dr. Birkbeck, before he settled in London, where he has since reached the highest station in the medical profession, resided for some time in Glasgow, as Professor in the Anderson College; and about the year 1800, he announced a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy, and its application to the Arts, for the instruction of mechanics. But a few, at the first, availed themselves of this advantage; by degrees, however, the extraordinary perspicuity of the teacher's method, the judicious selection of his experiments, and the natural attractions of the subject, to men whose lives were spent in directing or witnessing operations, of which the principles were now first unfolded to them, proved successful in diffusing a general taste for the study; and when he left Glasgow two or three years afterwards, about seven hundred eagerly and constantly attended the class.

“ For some time after Dr. Birkbeck's departure, the lectures of his able and worthy successor, Dr. Ure, were well frequented; and when the number of the students began to decline, probably from the circumstance of their having no direct share in the management of the Institution, the Professor happily thought of adding to it a library for the use of the mechanics, and entrusting the direction of it entirely to a committee chosen by themselves. This gave new life to the enterprise, and the Gas Light Company having in return for some services rendered them by the Professor, agreed to light the

book-room two evenings in the week, a custom arose among the men who came to change their books, of remaining to converse upon the subjects of their reading, and an extraordinary impulse was thus given to their spirit of inquiry. The Library Committee, too, being chosen by the whole body, became in some sort its representative, and claimed to interfere in the management of the Institution. It soon happened that some of their suggestions were not attended to; and a difference, at first to be regretted, led to consequences highly beneficial; for a great number seceded from the lectures, and formed an Institution entirely under the management of the mechanics themselves. It has been successful beyond all expectation; a thousand working men attended it last winter, while the numbers of the parent establishment were scarcely diminished. Out of these public associations has arisen one upon a more confined but most useful plan, applicable to every large manufactory. The Gas Light Company's men, between 60 and 70 in number, have formed themselves, on the suggestion of Mr. Nelson the foreman, into a club for mutual instruction; laying by a small sum monthly, they have collected about 300 volumes, and the Company giving them a library room, which they light and heat; the men meet every evening, to converse upon literary and scientific subjects, and once a week to lecture; any one who chooses, giving a fortnight's notice that he will treat on some subject which he has been studying. The books are of all kinds, with the exception of theology, which from the various sects the men belong to is of necessity excluded.*

"It is somewhat singular, that although there are many towns in Scotland, and some within a short distance of Glasgow, where hundreds of artisans are collected, yet twenty years elapsed before the example was followed, and men profited by an experiment, which, for so long a period, was constantly before their eyes, and attended with such remarkable success. It was not till the year 1821, that Edinburgh adopted the plan with some variations, a part of which appear to be improvements.

"The promoters of the measure began by drawing up a short sketch of the proposed institution, and causing it to be circulated among the principal master mechanics, with a request that they would read it in their workshops, and take down the names of such of the men as were desirous of being taught the principles of those sciences most useful to artisans. In the course of ten days, between 70 and 80 names were entered; and a private meeting was held of a few gentlemen who were disposed to encourage the experiment. These resolved to begin a subscription for the purpose. In April 1821 they circulated a prospectus among the mechanics, announcing the commencement of a Course of Lectures on Mechanics, and another on Chemistry, in October following, with the opening of a

* I owe this interesting information to an admirable letter of Mr. D. Bannatyne to Dr. Birkbeck, in the *Mechanics Register*. Mr. B. as early as 1817, strongly recommended to the country the extension of Dr. B's plan, in a valuable paper which he contributed to Mr. M. Napier's *Encyclopædia*.

Library of Books upon the same subjects, for perusal at home as well as in the room; the hours of lecture to be from eight to nine in the evening, twice a week, for six months; and the terms of admission to the whole, both lectures and library, fifteen shillings a year. A statement was then issued to the public at large, announcing the establishment of a '*School of Arts*,' with the particulars of the plan; and so well was it received by all classes, that in September notice was given of 220 mechanics having entered as students, and such a sum having been subscribed by the public as enabled the Directors to open the establishment in October. When 400 had purchased tickets, the two courses of lectures were delivered by Dr. Forbes and Mr. Galbraith; to which one on architecture and one on farriery were added, with a class for architectural and mechanical drawing during the summer recess.

"The Mechanical Lectures had hardly begun, when some of the students, finding the want of mathematical knowledge, proposed to form themselves into a class under one of their own number, a joiner, who had agreed to teach them gratuitously the Elements of Geometry and the higher branches of Arithmetic. This suggestion was warmly approved of by the Directors, and some assistance in books being given, thirty met once a week for Geometry, and once for Arithmetic; and adopting the plan of mutual instruction, they arranged the class in five divisions, each under the best scholar as a monitor, and going over in one night the lessons of the night before. The number of this class being limited to thirty, those who were excluded formed another on the same plan, under a cabinet-maker, also a student of the School of Arts. The joiner's name is James Yule; the cabinet-maker's, David Dewar; and their successful exertions to teach their fellow-workmen are deserving of very great commendation. Mr. Galbraith, the Mechanical Professor, adopted the plan of setting exercises to his pupils; and a list has been published of those who chiefly distinguished themselves by the number and accuracy of their solutions, being 25 persons.

"The average receipts of the two first years were, from subscriptions, 448*l.* yearly, and from the students, 300*l.* The average expenditure was about 620*l.* and a saving of 300*l.* was made towards building a lecture-room. The expenditure includes, for furniture and apparatus, 216*l.* a year; for books and binding, 110*l.*; and for expenses incident to the subscriptions, as advertisements, collection and meetings, about 70*l.*; leaving, of current necessary expenses, about 220*l.* only: so that, if the extrinsic subscriptions were at an end, or were confined to the accumulation of a fund for building, the students could themselves carry on the establishment, and have a surplus of 80*l.* a year for the wear and tear, and increase of the apparatus and the library; and if their contributions were increased to a pound yearly, which would probably make very little, if any, difference in the numbers of students, an additional 100*l.* would be afforded for the better payment of the lecturers, or, if they continue satisfied, for the establishment of new lectures. This statement is important, as confirming the calculation formerly given,

and showing, that, in places where the rich are less liberally inclined than in Edinburgh, the same invaluable establishments may easily be formed and perpetuated, by a judicious encouragement given at first to the mechanics, and without the necessity of relying upon continued assistance from those who first promoted and aided them*.

“ As nothing can be more useful to the community of that great and enlightened city, than the formation of this establishment, so nothing can be more honourable to the inhabitants, than the zeal and the harmony with which all ranks have united in conducting it, and all parties among the rich in giving it their support. To Mr. Leonard Horner, in particular, with whom the plan originated, and who has principally had the superintendence of its execution, the most grateful acknowledgments are deservedly due; and I trust, I may so far use the privilege of ancient friendship, as to express my conviction, that there is no one exertion in which his greatly lamented brother would, had he been preserved to us, have borne a deeper interest, and no object which he would more willingly have seen connected with his name.” P. 17.

These are encouraging statements; they prove that the mechanics of the present day understand the value of literature and science, and are anxious to study and cultivate them. The fact is highly honourable to the parties concerned, and bids us augur well of the future fortunes of the empire. If the manufacturing population, which is now in great prosperity, wasted high wages in riot and drunkenness, or worked less because it earned more, the wealth and greatness of the country would rest upon an unsound base; but as long as success is a stimulus to greater exertion, and surplus time and money are devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, we can discover no symptom of degeneracy or decay. To see three hundred mechanics attending a lecture upon chemistry is an extraordinary and delightful sight; and it may be seen, we are assured, in London. Before the experiment was tried, it would have been regarded in most quarters as impracticable. Its success has proved, that our countrymen are not the insensible besotted brutes that some persons chose to suppose them. If proper steps are taken to improve the present advantage; if we persevere in the universal education of the young; provide them, as they attain to manhood, with adequate religious instruction, and encourage the production and circulation of books of useful knowledge, the country

* It has been thought proper to vest the management of this Institution wholly in the subscribers. Local considerations, of which I cannot pretend to be a judge, may have rendered this necessary, but it seems, according to the most obvious principles, inconsistent with the prosperity and permanence of the plan.

may soon reach an unprecedented state of happiness. Strange as such a declaration may appear, we agree with Mr. Brougham in wishing the people to study politics. An educated politician, be his party what it may, is a reasonable, and therefore a manageable being; and all the injurious influence which has been exercised from time to time over the multitude, be it factious, or sceptical, or fanatical, has derived its power from the ignorance of those upon whom it operated. The educated and virtuous portion of the community is friendly to government and religion. Whatever teaches the working classes to think, unites them more closely to their superiors in wisdom and learning; and if they once are well informed, we may be confident that the majority will go on as they ought to do. Conceit, turbulence and wickedness will continue; for some men will always bid defiance to the most obvious motives, the most cogent arguments, and the plainest common sense. But these are the few, not the many; the permanent minority in the senate of mankind; the standing opposition which censures the measures of society, and perhaps is permitted to mismanage them once in twenty years. The existence of such a party is an evil that may be endured. It will fall lower and lower as wisdom increases; and the spread of science, literature and religion will, ultimately, put it out of its pain.

Our general agreement with Mr. Brougham on the subject of the Mechanics Institution, must be qualified by one important exception. He lays great stress upon the propriety of managing the business by the workmen themselves; more than his own facts authorize; much more than the analogy of our national customs will justify. The mischievous love of novelty or of power appears to mislead him on this as on former occasions. All our antient establishments have been superintended and controlled by the upper classes. The people have their voice, and their influence; and they ought to have them. But the guiding and restraining power is in better hands; and we trust it will continue there in spite of Mr. Brougham. Why should he desire us to destroy a valuable link in society, by making the labourer independent of his employers? On one occasion Mr. Brougham owns, that such independence is impracticable, for he says, that the gentry must set the new system to work. And if they must give the impetus, why must they refrain from all subsequent interference? Unless we are answered by the old bugbear of "civil and religious liberty," no answer can be returned. The example of Edinburgh, one of the earliest and best conducted institutions, is against him. At Glasgow, where the workmen order what

books they please, the first volume they purchased was "The Loves of the Angels." The benefit societies to which he appeals, as a proof, how well labourers can manage their own business, were described in the Edinburgh Review, possibly by Mr. Brougham himself, as wasting their funds, misunderstanding their interests, and loudly calling for the interposition of Saving Banks, to prevent the mischief which was at hand. On these various grounds we object to leaving the controul in the hands of the mechanics themselves. But the plan, under proper guidance, has our sincere good wishes. It is a symptom of that general improvement which it contributes to extend and perpetuate. If we do not hail it with Mr. Brougham, as the death-warrant of tyrants, and the "instant destruction" of bigots, we like it much better than a parochial nursery, or parliamentary charity school; and it will do ten times as much good as a London University.

ART. II. *A Pastoral Letter on The Word of God; addressed to the Catholics of the Midland District of England; by the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, Bishop of Castabala, Vic. Ap. &c.* Keating & Brown. 1825.

HIS present Holiness, Pope Leo XII. having witnessed, it seems, with no small anxiety the efforts which are now making to disperse the Scriptures in all quarters, and amongst all classes of society, in a late encyclical letter directed the attention of the bishops of his communion to this important subject. In obedience to the papal injunction, Dr. Milner addressed to his flock this pastoral letter; which therefore deserves to be noticed, as it presents a brief summary of many of the principal arguments which he had before maintained with great erudition and acuteness, and with a polemical dexterity that was little scrupulous in the choice of its weapons, both in his well-known "Letters to a Prebendary," and in a later work which he has modestly entitled "The End of Religious Controversy." In that work, of which it is affirmed by Mr. Butler, in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," that "it is the ablest exposition of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, on the articles contested with her by Protestants; and the ablest statement of the proofs by which they are supported, and of the historical facts with which they are connected, that has appeared in our language;" the points which in this pastoral charge are dogmatically asserted, Dr. Milner has endeavoured to

maintain with all his skill. By the consentient testimony of the Scriptures and the fathers he attempts to prove, that oral tradition, since the promulgation of the Gospel, is an essential part of the rule of faith, equal in authority to the written word, and altogether independent on it. In support of this position he adduces the following arguments, which occupy a conspicuous station in the "Pastoral Letter;" 1st, that "the whole doctrine and practice of religion, including the rites of sacrifice, and, indeed, the whole sacred history, was preserved by the patriarchs in succession, from Adam down to Moses, during the space of 2,400 years, by means of tradition." 2dly, that "they are not Catholics alone of different ages and nations, who vouch for the traditions rejected by Protestants, but all the subsisting heretics and schismatics of former ages, without exception. The Nestorians and Encyclians, for example, deserted the Catholic church, in defence of opposite errors, near 1,400 years ago, and still form regular churches under bishops and patriarchs, throughout the East; in like manner the Greek schismatics, properly so called, broke off from the Latin church, for the last time, in the eleventh century. Theirs is well known to be the prevailing religion of Christians throughout the Turkish and Russian empires. Nevertheless, these, and all the other Christian sectaries of ancient date, in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants (except that concerning the Pope's supremacy), agree with the former, and condemn the latter."

This is a mere tissue of misrepresentations. His whole proof from Scripture is comprised in this single text: "*Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the tradition ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle;*" 2 Thess. ii. 15, where St. Paul, he says, "speaking of both the unwritten and the written word, puts them both upon a level." The true sense of this passage is given in the Bishop of Peterborough's "Comparative View." The Epistles to the Thesalonians were the very earliest which this apostle wrote. And how is Dr. Milner to show, that the rules of moral conduct (for such are the *traditions* of which St. Paul here speaks), which at first he had taught them by word of mouth, were not afterwards committed by him to writing; or that they are not contained in this very epistle; c. iii. v. 6-10, &c. Till he has proved this, we shall continue to believe with Irenæus, that "what the apostles then preached, they afterwards, by the will of God, delivered to us in the Scriptures, that, for the time to come, they might be the foundation

and pillar of our faith.”* Neither do the fathers render him any better service. The first passage which he alledges, to establish the divine authority of tradition, and that it is a safe and sufficient vehicle of the divine revelations, makes directly against him. “I begin,” says Dr. Milner, End of Controversy, let. x. “with the disciple of the apostles, St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch. It is recorded of him, that in his passage to Rome, where he was sentenced to be devoured by wild beasts, he exhorted the Christians, who got access to him, to guard themselves against the rising heresies, and to adhere with the utmost firmness to the tradition of the apostles.” We will finish the sentence—“WHICH, FOR THE SAKE OF SECURITY, HE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY SHOULD BE ACCURATELY DRAWN UP IN WRITING.”† Now Ignatius suffered martyrdom A. D. 108, just nine years after the death of Saint John at Ephesus; and even then, addressing himself to those very Christians, who had so lately lived under the immediate charge of that blessed apostle, he thought it incumbent on him to give them this urgent advice. Such was his opinion of the security of oral tradition. After this specimen of Dr. Milner's method of citing the fathers and ecclesiastical history, we may well be excused the task of following him through his other quotations; and shall content ourselves with affirming, that not one of the passages to which he refers establishes his position; and that in those which, at first sight, appear to his purpose, it is only because he has artfully availed himself of the equivocal signification of the word tradition; which, in those passages, is used in its most extensive sense, and means doctrine in general, whether written or unwritten,‡ but which he applies to oral tradition alone. We would, however, particularly direct the attention of our readers to the hypothetical assertion of Irenæus, which Dr. Milner has thought fit to print in capitals, that “if the apostles had not left us the Scriptures, we ought to have followed the ordinance of tradition;”§ and to the passage from Tertullian, where he confutes Marcion, who rejected the Scriptures, and other heretics, who

* Irenæus Advers. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 1.

† Euseb. H. E. Lib. iii. c. 34. Ed. Paris, 1544, p. 31. ἢν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως ἢδὲ μαρτυρούμενος διατυπώσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἦγεῖτο. In whatever way this passage is translated, it makes against unwritten tradition. We have here followed the sense which Grynæus and Bishop Jeremy Taylor have given. Lardner's translation is very erroneous. In the word διατυπώσθαι, there is an evident allusion to those τίποί διδαχῆς, “forms of doctrine,” which St. Paul speaks of, Rom. vi. 17; such, for instance, as the Apostles Creed.

‡ Bellarmin. De Verbo Dei. Lib. iv. c. 2.

§ Irenæus Advers. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 4.

depraved them, by alleging the received interpretation which had been faithfully handed down, from the days of the apostles, as ancillary to the written word, and a safe guide to the real sense of it: "for that doctrine," as he justly argues, "is evidently true which was first delivered; on the contrary, that is false which is of later date. This maxim stands immoveable against the attempts of late heresies," and especially, we will add, against the heretical innovations of the Church of Rome.

To Dr. Milner's other arguments a short answer may suffice: for even should we admit, considering the vast longevity of the patriarchs, and the extreme simplicity of their worship, that the whole of religion might have been safely handed down from Adam to Moses, for 2,400 years, by tradition alone; it would by no means follow, that it might have been safely trusted, *since that period*, to the same channel of conveyance. But what is the fact? Under the most favourable circumstances that can possibly be imagined, tradition worked so ill, that the whole antediluvian race, with the exception of one single family, fell into a total apostasy; after the signal visitation of the Deluge, the whole world, in the days of Abraham, were become idolaters; and in the time of Moses, having nothing but tradition to trust to, had so entirely perverted the history of the mystical offering of Isaac, that the nations of Phenicia and Canaan, who lived nearest to the scene of that memorable action, had perverted the imitation of it into an atrocious custom of sacrificing their best-loved and first-born children to Moloch or Saturn.

As for the assertion, that "all the subsisting heretics and schismatics of former ages vouch for the traditions rejected by Protestants, and in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants agree with the former, and condemn the latter;" there are few persons, we should imagine (except Mr. Butler, who every where follows Dr. Milner with the blindest confidence, and is led by him into enormous mistakes), with whom it would have the smallest weight. Will Dr. Milner have the kindness to inform us particularly, and with a specific and intelligible reference to his authorities, how long it is since the Greek church, for instance, has admitted the Romish doctrine of indulgences, of the celibacy of the clergy, and of the *corporal* presence of Christ in the eucharist? To confess the truth, we are somewhat shy of trusting to his references; he has a trick of quoting parts of sentences, of stopping short in the middle, and, if that will not do, of altering and mistranslating, to make the fathers speak for him. His falsification of a well-known passage in

Justin Martyr, to prove that the worship of angels and saints is an apostolical tradition, is almost incredible. "We venerate and worship the angelic host, and the spirits of the prophets, teaching others as we ourselves have been taught." End of Controversy, letter 35. We will give the entire passage; premising, that Justin is defending the Christians from the charge of atheism, which was brought against them because they refused to worship the heathen deities. "With respect to these reputed gods, we confess that we are atheists; but not with respect to Him who is the most true God, the Father of righteousness, sobriety and all other virtues, in whom is no mixture of evil; but Him and his Son, who came from him (and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels, who minister to him and resemble him), and the prophetic Spirit we worship and adore, honouring them in word and in truth*." There is some obscurity in the words included in the parenthesis; but they can by no possibility bear the sense which Dr. Milner has attempted to affix to them. Πνευμά τε τὸ προφητικόν, "*the spirits of the prophets!*" By the same rule, had Justin chanced to have written, πνευμά τε τὸ ἅγιον, Dr. Milner would have translated it, "*the spirits of the saints.*" Does not Dr. Milner see, that, if his translation were admissible, it would make Justin affirm, that Christians worshipped and adored the angels and saints with the very self-same honour that they ascribed to God the Father, and the Son? Or does he mean to tell us, that this is Catholic doctrine?

The "Pastoral Letter" next informs us, "that the divine revelation, or word of God, does not consist in *the terms* in which it is delivered, but in *the sense* of those terms, because, as his present Holiness has remarked, after the fathers, the terms of Scripture ill applied, may become the words of Satan himself, as in fact they were, when they were made use of in tempting Christ." It was hardly worth while to introduce his Holiness himself, the Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, for the solemn enunciation of this obvious truism, except for the sake of the momentous consequences which were to follow; for, upon Dr. Milner's principles, it is impossible for any man to understand the most trivial even of the verbal difficulties of Scripture, till the Pope and a general council have authoritatively decided upon them; and, in perfect consistence with him-

* Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ σωφροσύνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε κακίας θεοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπαιμένων καὶ ἐξομιοιούμενων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν, πνευμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες. Justin. Apol. 11. Ed. Columbia, p. 36

self, he seems to consider the unrestricted diffusion of the Bible to be so injurious to public morals, that the alarming increase of crime, which has peopled the prisons, and of heesies, which have filled the conventicles of the metropolis, may justly be imputed to this single cause. "The fruits of this unrestricted and presumptuous Bible reading," he also tells us, "are not less visible, nor less fatal, in that pure, orderly and learned portion of Protestantism which the legislature protects, than in that which it disowns. Thus, we have an established church which is not even agreed as to the deity it worships, one part of it adoring Jesus Christ as true God of true God, the other condemning this as gross idolatry, and worshipping a distinct deity, in whom is no distinction of persons." Now, to a slander like this, though it would be almost allowable in the indignant words of Warburton, to "give the lie direct, *mentiris impudentissime*," we shall rather answer with Mr. Butler, "Individual Catholics of the reformed Church of England may have maintained unjustifiable doctrines, or have been guilty of unjustifiable practices, but we insist on the production of *the tenet*, either in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Homilies, or the Liturgy, to which any such doctrine or practice can fairly be attributed. We aver, that not one such tenet can be produced; if it cannot, we claim for our church an acquittal from your charges." See Introduction to the Book of the Roman Catholic Church.

The concluding passage of the "Pastoral Letter," in which Dr. Milner asserts, that "no Roman Catholic ever wished to die in any other religion than his own, whereas the conversion of Protestants to the Roman Catholic church, on their death-bed, is a fact of constant recurrence," may seem hardly to deserve an answer. Instances enough we can produce, of men in the vigour of their age, and in the full enjoyment of their faculties, who have quitted the Romish church, to enter into the communion of the Reformed Catholic church of England. But the histories of death-bed conversions are always to be received with extreme caution, especially when the proof of them depends solely on the evidence of such mere partisans as Dr. Milner. This general assertion of the "Pastoral Letter" assumes, in the "End of Controversy," a tangible shape, and thereby admits of a direct confutation. In the last note appended to the ninth letter of that work, he affirms, that "some bishops of the established church, for instance, Goodman and Cheyney of Gloucester, and Gordon of Glasgow, probably also King of London, and Hallifax of St. Asaph's, died Catholics." In the third note to the thirty-second letter, he says, "he has been informed on good au-

thority, that one of the bishops whose calumnies are here quoted, when he found himself on his death-bed, refused the proffered ministry of the Primate, and expressed a great wish to die a Catholic. When urged to satisfy his conscience, he exclaimed, *What then will become of my lady and my children?* At the close of the forty-fifth letter, Dr. Milner, for the third time, recurs to the same slander, and endeavours to stigmatize this most exemplary man with the brand of the deepest hypocrisy. Of the opponents of the papal church, who speak of her as the "*Mystic Babylon*," and of the Pope as "*the Man of Sin*," he says, "they do not really believe what they declare. I have sufficient reason to affirm this, when I hear a Luther threatening to unsay all that he said against the Pope, a Melancthon lamenting that Protestants had renounced him, a Bera negotiating to return to him, and a late Warburton-lecturer lamenting on his death-bed, that he could not do the same." That Bishop Hallifax is the person alluded to in the two last extracts, is acknowledged by Dr. Milner himself, in a letter which is now before us. From the diary of Bishop Hallifax, and from the information of those who were with him constantly during the whole of his short, but fatal sickness, and received his last sighs, we are able to give a direct contradiction to every circumstance respecting him, which Dr. Milner has either insinuated as probable, or asserted as true. The clumsy fabrication confutes itself. The bishop *could not* have used the expressions imputed to him. He died as he had lived, a true son of the Reformed Catholic church of England, and with such a full assurance of his pardon and acceptance with God, that Dr. Milner himself, whose pleasure it has hitherto been to malign him as the blackest hypocrite, may do well to make it his humble prayer to God, that in his death he may resemble him. Meanwhile, for Dr. Milner's proneness to credit this base slander, (for we do not accuse him of inventing it), for his assiduity in propagating it, and his unwillingness to retract it, we can find no excuse: nevertheless, we shall cheerfully admit, that he is the ablest living advocate of the Romish church, notwithstanding the inconclusiveness of his reasonings, and the frequent perversion of his authorities; "for in this," as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, on a similar occasion, charitably observes,* "he is less to be blamed, because better arguments than they have, no men are tied to make use of."

* Dissuasive from Popery, sect. iv.

ART. III. *Hele's Select Offices of Private Devotion.* New Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 546 pp. 10s. 6d. Rivingtons. 1825.

A WRITER upon what Mosheim terms the internal history of Christianity, might form a curious chapter respecting the rise and fall of domestic and individual devotion. Even in this country there have been many remarkable changes with regard to it, and a slow unobserved alteration has been gradually going on. The Reformation produced of course a very decided improvement upon the practices which preceded it. The Catholics were never inobservant of the outward forms of worship; but in many cases respect for the form got the better of attention to the substance. The Protestants not only adopted a purer and simpler ritual for public devotion, but increased the fervour and spirituality of private prayer. The duties of sabbaths and festivals were no longer confined to attendance upon mass, nor were the offices of domestic worship or penitence tied down to the bidding of beads, or the observance of some fanciful penance; prayers were composed and circulated for the use of all classes; the primers and other works of a similar character, taught the poorest and the most ignorant to pray to God in their own tongue, and to worship him in spirit and in truth, while the higher ranks did not disdain the assistance of a regularly appointed minister, and the devotions of every family of consequence were directed by the chaplain or confessor who taught them both how to pray, and how to live. The Puritans made a formidable inroad upon this system. When they were supported by the clergy, the clergy were treated, for a time at least, with deference; but the spirit of the party was a spirit of self dependence, and contempt for authority, and the opinion that every man was his own priest, gained ground among them to a great extent. Hence the morning and evening sacrifice was turned into a conventicle meeting. The religious exercise, as they cantingly called it, was an opportunity for each individual to exhibit his gifts; and extempore prayer, preaching and expounding, succeeded to the simple worship which had been prescribed by the authors of the Reformation.

If we turn to the writings of Jeremy Taylor, we may see how the duties of a chaplain were performed in the age of the great Rebellion; if we look into the works of his only equal in learning, eloquence, and poetry, John Milton, we shall see how such duties were disparaged by the violence of

party; if we turn to the lives and writings of a Hammond or a Saunderson, we shall see how the piety of a parish was fostered by the ministers of the Church of England; if we look to the life and journal of Laud, we shall perceive with what zeal and constancy he pursued his private devotions, and with what insolence those devotions were mentioned by Prynne.

The result, as might have been expected, was this: the long prayers of the Puritans degenerated into hypocrisy, and became the laughing stock of the profane and the inconsiderate. At the Restoration the clergy endeavoured to bring back the people into their old paths, and their endeavours were attended with considerable though partial success. The families of the nobility and gentry returned for the most part to their antient customs; the people were again instructed by such prelates as Bull and Pearson, and the practice of private devotion was extensive, if not universal. But two fatal mill-stones were grinding it to powder: fanatics made religion ludicrous, and philosophers and profligates laughed at it; it was easy for the latter to confound the unsophisticated worship of the hall, or the closet, with those prayer-meetings which were often the cloak, and oftener the cause of sedition. It was easy for the former to assume a grave air, and ask whether the devotion which had ended in civil war, was a blessing or a curse to the nation. Infidelity in principle, and vice in practice, sapped the foundations of national piety; and a neglect of domestic worship, beginning with the highest orders, and gradually descending through every rank, brought the country at last to that perilous state in which she was found by the French Revolution.

Subsequently to that event, a gradual but decided improvement has taken place; and among other proofs of the fact, the increased practice of family prayer, and we trust of private and secret prayer also, deserves to be particularly noticed. The devotional treatises, and formularies of antient times, have been sought after with avidity, and in many instances reprinted. The eloquent Prayers of Jeremy Taylor, inferior only to the public liturgy of the Church; the simple comprehensive Devotions of Bishop Wilson, and the Works of Nelson, Kenn and others, have been circulated in immense numbers throughout the country. And the republication of the work before us, at the sole expense of an individual, while it proves that neither piety nor charity are extinct, must contribute at the same time to their further increase. The entire impression of this handsomely printed volume has been made over to the *Clergy Orphan Society*. and the

publishers liberally undertake to account for the entire proceeds of every copy they may sell. If the work had no intrinsic merit, these circumstances would suffice to recommend it. When we add, that its contents are most valuable and interesting, nothing more can be wanting to invite the attention of our readers.

The precise nature of the publication may be best understood by an extract from the Analytical Table of Contents prefixed to this edition. The work being divided into three parts; the third section of the first part contains the following heads:—

“ The practice of Christian holiness is recommended and enforced from several considerations,—in passages *wholly* taken from *Scripture*, divided into portions for the ~~six~~ days in the week, (*with prayers suited to each portion*,) viz.

“ 1stly, (*Monday*)—from a consideration of the several parts of our *Baptismal Vow*, viz. p. 90—101.

“ 1. that we renounce the devil and all his works, p. 90.

“ 2. that we renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, p. 92.

“ 3. that we renounce all the sinful lusts of the flesh, p. 93.

“ 4. that we believe all the articles of the Christian faith, p. 96.

“ 5. that we keep God's holy will and commandments, p. 98.

“ The Lord's Prayer—with a profession of our sincere purpose to live answerably to our Baptismal Vow, p. 100.

“ Prayer for grace to fulfil the solemn promises made at our Baptism, p. 101.

“ 2dly, (*Tuesday*)—from a consideration of the infinite excellency and perfections of God; and of the virtues we are obliged to exercise in relation thereto, p. 103. viz.

“ 1. in that God is the Maker and Preserver, and the Supreme Governor and Disposer of all things, p. 103—(*with practical inferences*, p. 105.)

“ 2. in that God is Eternal and Almighty, p. 106—(*with practical inferences*, p. 108.)

“ 3. in that God is every where present, and knoweth all things, p. 109—(*with practical inferences*, p. 111.)

“ 4. in that God is most pure and holy, most just and righteous, most true and faithful, p. 112—(*with practical inferences*, p. 114.)

“ 5. in that God is most gracious, long suffering and merciful, p. 116—(*with practical inferences*, p. 118.)

“ The Lord's Prayer,—with a Prayer for such becoming apprehensions of God as may beget in us a holy fear of His majesty, and trust in his power, p. 119.

“ Prayer for such a lively sense of God's excellency and goodness as may excite in us an earnest desire to please Him, and to be made like unto Him, p. 120.

“ 3dly, (*Wednesday*)—from a consideration of the excellency and advantages of the Christian Religion.

B R

“ 1. in that it contains a full and clear revelation of all truths and doctrines necessary to be known and believed by us in order to our attaining everlasting salvation ; p. 122.

“ 2. in that it gives us a plain and perfect law for the direction of our practice and the government of our lives ; p. 125.

“ 3. in that it assures us of the forgiveness of our sins and our reconciliation to God, through the mediation of His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ ; p. 127.

“ 4. in that it affords us sufficient power and ability for the performance of our duty ; p. 129.

“ 5. in that it gives us the highest *assurance* of the immortality of our souls, and of the judgment of the last day, and of the everlasting rewards and punishments of the world to come ; p. 131.

“ The Lord's Prayer—with a Thanksgiving for the benefits of the Christian Religion ; p. 134.

“ Prayer that we may walk worthy of the vocation wherewith we are called ; p. 134.

“ *4thly*, (*Thursday*)—from a consideration of the peculiar obligations of Christians to holiness of life.

“ 1. in that to persuade and oblige us to lead holy and virtuous lives was the principal design of our Saviour's coming into the world, to the promoting of which not only His doctrines and precepts, but His life and death, His resurrection and ascension have a manifest and direct tendency, p. 137.

“ 2. in that every one of us was engaged to its practice at our Baptism, p. 139.

“ 3. in that a holy life is essential to the character of a Christian, and is made the condition of salvation in the Gospel Covenant, p. 142.

“ 4. in that without holiness we shall not be capable of the happiness designed for pious Christians in Heaven, p. 144.

“ 5. in that disobedience in a Christian is a crime of a more heinous nature, and will be more severely punished in the day of Judgment, p. 146.

“ The Lord's Prayer—and Prayer for grace that we may live answerably to the obligations of our Christian profession, that so we may be entitled to the promises of the Gospel covenant, p. 150.

“ *5thly*, (*Friday*)—from a consideration—

“ 1. of the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ ;—p. 153.

“ 2. of His death upon the Cross for us ;—p. 154,

“ 3. of the duty and reward of taking up our Cross and following Him, p. 157.

“ The Lord's Prayer—and Prayer for grace that we may be entitled to the benefits of Christ's sufferings and death ; and that we may be willing, if need be, to lay down our lives for Christ's sake, who so freely laid down His life for us, p. 159.

“ *6thly*, (*Saturday*)—from a consideration of the duty and reward of constancy and perseverance in the faith and obedience of the Gospel, p. 162.

“ The Lord's Prayer—with a solemn dedication of ourselves to God, and Prayer for grace to make a faithful and blessed use of all

those means and helps, whereby we may be enabled to persevere in the faith and obedience of the Gospel, p. 167." P. x.

The spirit in which this admirable design is executed may be estimated by attending to another brief extract from the author's Introduction:—

" 1. Without a good life there can be no true devotion.

" II. Supposing there could, we have no warrant from Scripture to believe that it would be either acceptable to God, or of any benefit to ourselves.

" And *First*, Without a good life there can be no true devotion. Be we ever so frequent and punctual in our prayers, if they do not influence our lives, they are but *vain repetitions* at the best. An *unholy life* is a plain demonstration that our *prayers* are not holy. These cannot be *pure*, as long as that is *defiled*. It is morally impossible he should *worship* God aright, who does not concientiously endeavour to *obey* Him too.

" Can he be supposed, even in his most solemn acts of worship, to have his heart affected with those reverend and awful thoughts of God, and with that humble, lowly sense of his own vileness and indigence, and absolute dependence upon Him, which become creatures and sinners addressing themselves to their Maker, and their Judge; whose *life* is a continued affront to the infinite Majesty he adores, a deliberate contempt of His authority, a bold defiance of His Almighty power, and a most ungrateful abuse of the exceeding riches of His goodness?

" Is it reasonable to believe that he *bewails* his sins with that unfeigned grief and compunction of heart, which are the necessary qualifications of a true *penitential* sorrow; who makes it his daily practice to *repeat* those very sins, which he pretends daily to *bewail*.

" Can we think him really *in earnest* when he *prays* for the pardon of his sins, and the assistance of God's Holy Spirit; who obstinately persists in such a wicked course of life, as, he very well knows, does utterly *incapacitate* him for either?

" *Lastly*, Can he be thought sincerely to desire, or to have any value for that inestimable crown of glory which God has promised to those that serve him faithfully; who is so far from making it the constant employment of his *whole* life to *work out* his salvation, that he can hardly ever afford himself *leisure* so much as to ask himself that short, but most necessary question, *What shall I do that I may be saved?* so far from being willing to *sell all that he hath*, in order to purchase this *pearl of great price*; that he is ready every hour of the day to sell the *invaluable privileges* of his Christian birth-right for any the most worthless trifle; and to sacrifice all his hopes of *eternal happiness* to the *transient gratification* of a sinful appetite, and the *momentary enjoyment* of a forbidden pleasure? A very small degree of serious consideration will soon convince us that such *practices as these* are so directly opposite to, so entirely inconsistent with those *pretences*, that it is impossible they should ever be reconciled, unless it can be proved that we may be truly said to *worship*

God without an *inward veneration* of His adorable excellencies, to pray to Him without a *heartly desire* of the things we pray for, and worthily to *lament* our offences against Him without being *grieved* for those sins whereby we have offended Him.

“ But now should we make this *contradictory supposition*, that a man may be as *wicked* as he please in his *life*, and yet be very *sincere* in his *devotions*; that he may *pray* with all the *fervency and zeal* imaginable, at the same time that he is resolved to go on in his *sinful courses*: yet what would *such an one* be the better for all his *devotions*? What grounds have we to believe that God would answer the requests of such a prevaricating supplicant. P. xxxii.

There are two other points upon which we must touch:—the scriptural selections, which form the characteristic and most valuable portion of the work, may instruct and assist the most accomplished theologian, as well as the humble penitent or supplicant. They comprise all the fundamental doctrines and most important duties of our religion; they are put together with great care and judgment, and afford, in the compass of a few pages, a summary of scriptural declarations and authorities, which may be compared to a Concordance, with the texts printed at full length. The obvious uses of such a collection are alone sufficient to recommend the present work.

The other point to which we alluded, is the length of the devotional exercises provided for the readers of “Hele.” The author inclines to agree with those who think like ourselves, that with reference to the generality of persons, the returns of devotion in the daily office are too frequent, and some of the prayers too long. He defends their insertion in a satisfactory manner, by observing, that in an attempt to serve the *devout*, he is bound to make provision for those that are most eminently such. And with regard to the prayers, he observes, that the paragraphs, into which they are divided, will enable every one to reduce them to such a length as his circumstances may require.

Both these observations appear to us of importance. Some strenuous and able advocates for private and family devotion have carried the duty beyond its natural limits, and laid burdens upon men's backs which they were never intended to bear. The best model for Family Worship, as well as the best storehouse whence particular prayers may be selected, is the Liturgy; and there we neither find long prayers, nor according to the original appointment of the Church, long services. In the absence of an authorised form of Domestic Devotion, the best and most permanent effect will be produced by imitating this excellent model; of which the spirit is fully preserved in the work we have had the pleasure of introducing to our readers.

ART. IV.—*The Italian Novelists; selected from the most approved Authors in that Language, from the earliest period down to the close of the 18th Century, arranged in an Historical and Chronological Series. Translated from the original Italian. Accompanied with Notes Critical and Biographical. By Thomas Roscoe. In four volumes. London. Prowett. 1825.*

THE economy of nature, in adapting to every species of animated beings the peculiar element of their destiny, is remarkably conspicuous in the case of the Italians. The clear sky, soft climate, blue seas and brilliant landscape of Italy, harmonize eminently with the character of a people exquisitely susceptible of external impressions, and passionately devoted to the beautiful. So complete, indeed, is the harmony which subsists between Italy and the productions of Italian genius, that it is scarcely possible to conceive them apart; the luxuriant imagery of the poets and romances of Italy seems to have its home on Italian ground, while the very thought of an Italian landscape awakens in the mind some image which may be traced in the writers of that most favoured land. Yet how shall we account for the fact? This cradle of the muses and the graces has seldom been their native soil; and while intellectual beauty seems always to find her most congenial atmosphere in Italy, she is still most generally an exotic. With respect to Latin literature, this opinion will scarcely be combated; and a review of the literature of modern Italy will shew that the principle has held equally true in subsequent ages. Whether it be that Nature in Italy has supplied so many sources of enjoyment as to leave less scope and necessity for invention, or whether inventive genius is not the national excellence, we may always observe among the Italians the most lively sensibility to all that is beautiful, combined with great and refined powers of improving foreign resources, without any high natural faculty of invention. The literature of the Greeks, it is true, underwent no improvement in the hands of the Romans; but this is to be attributed to its supreme excellence: for in every other age the Italians have scarcely touched a province of literature which they have not improved, and if they have been largely indebted to mankind for their materials, the world is certainly not less indebted to them for the cultivation. Mr. Ginguené with an ingenuousness which would do him credit, even if he were not a Frenchman, admits the obligations under which his countrymen lie to Boccaccio, for having wrought some of their obscurest and meagrest tales into the rich tissue of the Decameron: and if we would imitate his sincerity, we must gratefully acknow-

ledge how much many a master genius of our own land has in turn borrowed from Italian sources; and the Italians may console themselves for deficiency in invention, when they reflect, that they have not only supplied the materials of some of the finest productions of our greatest poet, but have also modelled the taste and guided the sentiments of Spencer, Milton and Gray.

Yet this constitutional want of a quality, apparently necessary to success in fiction, invention, a defect which has thrown the Italians so considerably on foreign stores, has been, in one respect, detrimental to the interests of their fictitious narratives. The philosophical use of fiction is to trace habits of sentiment and action; and on this account, the comedies of Aristophanes are a far more valuable relic of antiquity than those of Terence; because Aristophanes delineates character as it really existed in his age and country, while Terence attempted a picture of foreign manners, and of a distant age. The narrative writers of Italy, it is true, lay many of their scenes in their own country, and by the introduction of historical circumstances and real characters, often furnish us with a portrait of native manners; but almost every anecdote which deserves the name of a tale, has been derived to the Italians from India, Arabia, or those romantic tribes of the south of France, to whom, in some measure, Italy is indebted for the frame of the language of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. These tales, although often adapted with great ingenuity, seldom so entirely lose their oriental or chivalrous character as to acquire the value of genuine Italian fictions: but if they do not always accurately describe the manners of Italy, still they do those of periods, of whose modes of life and thinking we should derive little knowledge from other sources.

With the tales of the Decameron, in substance at least, most readers are acquainted. Those who have not paid any attention to Italian literature, have generally met with them in translations, or in the more attractive habits in which they have been invested by Chaucer and Dryden. But with the other fabulists of Italy, English readers are not generally so well acquainted; especially with that extremely curious and ancient work, the "*Novellino*," or "*Cento Novelle Antiche*," the great fountain of Italian fiction.

This great ocean, however, is itself but an assemblage of streams, most of which arise in the east. One, notwithstanding, regales us with an anecdote of King John of England; another is at least as old as the time of the biographer of Virgil, who is generally supposed to be Donatus: since we find there related of an ingenious Greek the

perspicacity which the grammarian attributes to the poet; and another gives us a version of Petronius's Ephesian widow. Perhaps not one tale in the collection is the invention of the Italian writer, and if it were, it is seldom that it would reflect much credit on his imaginative powers. Some of these tales appear to be mere narrations of matters of fact, and never to have been designed in any other light than as a record for friends or families of what actually happened, and which, though interesting to those for whose perusal they seem to have been intended, have nothing to recommend them to the independent reader. This, indeed, seems to be the origin of the term "*Novella*," a small piece of news, or kind of table talk. The following will serve as a brief illustration:—

NOVELLA XLIV.

"The novel way in which a cavalier recommended himself to the lady he admired*.

"A certain knight was one day entreating a lady whom he loved to smile upon his wishes; and among other delicate arguments which he pressed upon her, was that of his own superior wealth, elegance and accomplishments, especially when compared with the merits of her own liege lord, 'whose extreme ugliness, Madame,' he continued, 'I think I need not insist upon.'

"Her husband, who overheard this compliment from the place of his concealment, immediately replied, 'Pray, Sir, mend your own manners, and do not vilify other people.'

"The name of the plain gentleman was Sicio di Val Buona; and Messer Rivieri da Calvoli that of the other."

Generally speaking, there is little enough intrinsic merit in the *Novelle Antiche*, but, considered as what they certainly are, the rough material from which the greatest minds of Italy formed their most polished and symmetrical structures, they ought certainly to engage the attention both of the student of Italian fiction, and of all who watch with interest the developement of the human intellect, no less in nations than individuals. We will only inflict on our readers one more of these, on which Boccaccio has founded his third tale of the first day, and which we think the best of those which Mr. Roscoe has translated.

NOVELLA LXXII.

"The Sultan being in want of money, endeavours to find means of extorting it from a Jew.

* The suitor here mentioned was Messer Rivieri da Calvoli, of whom the greatest of Italy's poets makes mention, in the fourteenth canto of his *Purgatorio*:

Questi è Rivier, questi è 'l pregio e l' onore
Della Casa da Calvoli, ove nullo
Fatto s' è reda poi del suo valore.

“ The Sultan finding himself at a loss for money, was persuaded by some of his courtiers to seek occasion of quarrelling with a rich Jew, who had amassed considerable wealth in his dominions. The Israelite was immediately summoned to appear before him, when the Sultan insisted upon his informing him, which he believed to be the best creed in the world, flattering himself that if he should prefer that of Moses, he might inflict upon him a heavy fine; and if he should declare for Mahomet's, he would accuse him of professing the Jewish, as he was known to do. But the wary Israelite replied to the question in the following manner:—‘ You must know, great Sultan, there was once a father who had three sons, each of whom had frequently entreated him to bestow upon him a large diamond ring which he possessed, set round with other precious gems; and each was so very pressing, that, desirous of obliging them all three, the father sent for a goldsmith to attend him without loss of time.’ ‘ Do you think,’ said the father, ‘ you could make me two rings exactly resembling this in appearance?’ which the goldsmith promised, and equally well performed. No one being acquainted with his intentions, he sent severally for each of the youths, presenting him, under promise of keeping it secret, with one of the rings, which each of them esteemed the real diamond, and no one knew the truth, except the father himself. And thus do I confess, great Sultan, that neither do I pretend to know it, being unable to throw the least light upon a secret which is known only to the Father of all.’ The Sultan, on receiving this unexpected answer, had nothing further to urge; and was compelled, for want of a reason to the contrary, to let the Jew go where he pleased.”

From the *Novelle Antiche* we advance to Boccaccio, the first great classic fabulist of Italy; and the English reader was never presented with him to less advantage than in the present one. This is no censure on Mr. Roscoe, for perhaps there does not exist in England the writer so generally well qualified to undertake the translation or illustration of any part of the *prose* literature, at least of Italy, as this gentleman. As a translation, the work, probably, could not have been executed better; although doubts may be entertained as to the judiciousness of his selections; doubts which some would, in all cases, entertain, accordingly as they felt impressed by particular passages; and which, therefore, Mr. Roscoe was not bound to remove. But there are graces and amenities inherent in the Italian fabulists, which, in translation, evaporate altogether; and Mr. Roscoe has only failed in conveying these, because, so far as past experience proves, it is not possible to preserve them in mere translation. The English reader, moreover, has become acquainted with these same stories through Shakspeare, Chaucer and Dryden: every one of which writers, so far as Englishmen may be allowed to pronounce, we consider to have outrivalled Boccaccio: and,

indeed, with respect to the first of these, there would, perhaps, be little doubt even among the Italians themselves. Mr. Roscoe has, therefore, much to contend with in the prejudices of those who have not cultivated an acquaintance with the Italian authors in their own language: but those who have will give him credit for the great diligence, fidelity and spirit, with which he has performed his task.

The novelists selected for illustration beside Boccaccio, are Franco Sacchetti, Giovanni Fiorentino, Massuccio Salernitano, Sabadino degli Arienti, Luigi da Porto, Giovanni Brevio, Girolamo Parabosco, Marco Cademosto da Lodi, Giovambattista Giralaldi Cintio, Anton Francesco Grazzini, Machiavel, Ortensio Lando, Bernardo Illicini, Alessandro Sozzini, Giovan Francesco Straparola, Matteo Bandello, Gentile Sermini, Agnolo Firenzuola, Pietro Fortini, Francesco Sansorrino, Anton Francesco Doni, Sebastiano Erizzo, Niccolo Granucci, Ascanio Mori da Ceno, Celio Malespini, Salvuccio Salvucci, an anonymous, but ancient writer, Majolino Bisaccioni, Michele Colombo, Scipione Bargagli, other anonymous authors, Giovanni Bottari, Albergati Capacelli, Francesco Soave, Gianfrancesco Altanæsi, Count Lorenzo Magalotti, Carlo Lodoli, Domenico Maria Manni; another anonymous writer, Girolamo Padavani, Luigi Sanvitale, Count Carlo Gozzi, Luigi Bramieri, and Robustiano Gironi. This list comprizes a number of authors unknown to general readers, and many of whose productions possess very considerable excellence, and afford strong motives for improving their acquaintance.

Among these, with the exception of Boccaccio, we think the best stories are to be found among the later novelists. Boccaccio did not confine himself to the object of the ancient novelists, which, as we have seen, appears to have been the simple commemoration of a fact often intrinsically unimportant, but interesting to individuals connected with the actors. He saw that narrative productions, where they interested at all, engaged the mind powerfully and agreeably: and as painters, by the study of nature, often produce a landscape of greater beauty than any in actual existence, from a judicious combination, and a well regulated invention, he conceived that dry details of matters of fact might sometimes afford materials, which, by happy collocation, aided by a little imagination, might produce in all a higher degree of pleasure than before they had excited in the few. Boccaccio, however, interwove in his stories much history, and much of what was then thought history; for many of the *Novelle Antiche* were regarded in no humbler light, and a considerable

portion of Italian and other European history was then floating in a form equally irregular. But in Boccaccio there is more adroitness in combination than in the generality of his early imitators: and as far as may be judged without knowing the full extent of his resources, he appears to have been gifted in a higher degree with invention. The later writers of Italy, partly, perhaps, from the loss of many of the antiquated sources from which Boccaccio drew, and partly from clearer perceptions of the nature and advantages of invention, greatly enriched and diversified their materials. The improved state of society and manners, circumstances which exercise an almost unlimited controul in the province of fiction, conduced to this advancement; and in the time of Magalotti, the fruits of these combined influences are sufficiently evident.

Among the earlier writers, however, is to be found much of great and obvious excellence, and much for which we, as Englishmen, ought to be particularly grateful. The tale of Masuccio, which was afterwards wrought by da Porto into that exquisite narrative "the novel of Juliet," from which our own great poet has borrowed one of the most luxuriant effusions of his muse, is among this number; and to the tale of Saturnine, among those by Giovanni, the Florentine, we owe much of the plot of "the Merry Wives of Windsor."

We shall conclude by extracting one short novel, as it would be injustice to abridge the longer. Although written before the time of Magalotti, it has much of the character of the more modern tales:—

SOZZINI'S SECOND NOVEL.

Scacazzone returning one day from Rome, found himself, when within a short distance of Sienna, without cash enough to purchase a dinner. But resolving not to go without one if he could avoid it, he very quietly walked into the nearest inn, and, appearing quite a stranger, he demanded a room in which to dine alone. He next ordered whatever he considered most likely to prove agreeable to himself, without in the least sparing his purse, as the good host believed, and eat [ate] and drank every thing of the best. When he had at length finished his wine, and refreshed himself with a short nap, for his journey, he rang the bell, and, with a very unconcerned air, asked the waiter for his bill. This being handed to him, "Waiter," he cried, "can you tell me anything relating to the laws of this place?"—"O yes, signor, I dare say;" for a waiter is never at a loss.—"For instance," continued Scacazzone, "what does a man forfeit by killing another?"—"His life, signor, certainly," said the waiter.—"But if he

only wounds another badly, not mortally, what then?"—"Then," returned the waiter, "as it may happen, according to the nature of the provocation and the injury."—"And lastly," continued the guest, "if you only deal a fellow a sound box upon the ear, what do you pay for that?"—"For that," echoed the waiter, "it is here about 10 livres, signor, no more."—"Then send your master to me," cried Scacazzone, "be quick, be gone!" Upon the good host's appearance, his wily guest conducted himself in such a manner, uttering such accusations against extortions, such threats, and such vile aspersions upon his host's house, that on Scacazzone purposely bringing their heads pretty close in contact, the landlord, unable longer to bear his taunts, lent him rather a severe cuff. "I am truly obliged to you," cried the happy Scacazzone, taking him by the hand, "this is all I wanted with you; truly obliged to you my good host, and will thank you for the change. Your bill here is eight livres, and the fine upon your assault is ten; however, if you will have the goodness to pay the difference to the waiter, as I find I shall reach the city very pleasantly before evening, it will be quite right."

ART. V.—*The Diary of Henry Teonge, Chaplain on board His Majesty's Ships Assistance, Bristol, and Royal Oak. Anno 1675 to 1679. Now first published from the Original MS. 8vo. 307 pp. 12s. Knight. 1825.*

THIS is an admirable specimen of the manners of the times to which it relates; and there is a frankness and honesty about the reverend journalist, which, in spite of an attachment to certain secularities and creative comforts which he is by no means solicitous to conceal, and which doubtless, even if he had been so, would have peeped out, in spite of any attempt at dissimulation, render him quite as good company to his readers as he appears to have been to his captain, and most probably gave him far greater influence as chaplain of a man of war, than could have been attained by the crabbed and ascetic habits of a water-drinking puritan.

The manuscript from which this Diary is printed is said to have been in the possession of a respectable Warwickshire family for more than a century. As might be supposed, the particulars of the biography of its writer, which can now be collected, are but few and scanty, and many of them must be gleaned from the little volume itself. In his early years,

Mr. Teonge appears to have served the Royal cause during the troubles of the great Rebellion; and prior to 1670, to have been instituted to the Rectory of Alcester, in the county of Warwick. On the 7th June, in the last-named year, he was presented to the adjoining small Rectory of Spennall. Five years afterwards he vacated Alcester, and undertook his first voyage, being driven from his home by a narrowness of circumstances, which nothing less than the unclouded sunshine of a benevolent and chearful temper could have prevented from casting a gloom over his declining years. This expedition engaged him for eighteen months, and a second but little short of the same time. A few years after his final return home, he lost both his wife and eldest son, and on the demise of the last, he succeeded him in the Vicarage of Coughton. In 1686, he married once more; and "his life of enterprize, wandering and poverty, though not unmixed with enjoyment, was at length closed on the 21st of March 1690," when he is supposed to have been between 70 and 80 years of age.

It was in May 1675, that Mr. Teonge was entered as Chaplain on board His Majesty's frigate *Assistance*, of 56 guns, commanded by Captain William Houlding, forming one of a numerous fleet despatched under the orders of Sir John Narborough, to chastise the Dey of Tripoli, whose corsairs had committed great outrages on the English trade. Mr. Teonge rode to London from Spennall on a slow-footed and lean mare. His *viatica* were rather more money in his scrip than sufficed to convey him to his journey's end, an old coat and breeches both of the same date, and a leathern doublet, which probably exceeded these in longevity, since the precise date, nine years of age, is specified. Five shillings, which he borrowed of his landlady, added to five more of his own, redeemed a cloak lying in pawn, which was immediately *repawned* for four times that sum; his saddle, bridle, boots, spurs, and lean mare, brought in 26 shillings more; and out of this unusual wealth he paid his quarters, and purchased a bed, pillow, blankets and rug, for a guinea. By this fullness of his purse, he was so overjoyed, that, on coming aboard in Long Reach, he drank part of three bowls of punch, a liquor somewhat "strange" to him, and which assisted at bed time in putting his cabin out of order, so "that when I thought to find my pillow on the topp, I found it slipt betweene the coards, and under the bed."

Off Deal Beach a boat was overturned, and two men were drowned; one of them, upon whose head and neck the boat had pressed a considerable time, was at length hauled out, and

his body thrown for dead on the shingles. A traveller "in very poore cloathes," who was accidentally drawn with many others to the spot, immediately pulled out his knife and sheath, and having formed the last of these into a pipe, by cutting off its lower end, he found admission for it, and blew into the corpse with all his force till he was tired, and then gave it to others to do the same. In half an hour's time the dead man was restored to life, by the anticipation of the plans of the Humane Society.

While in the Downs, orders arrived for sailing, and the obedience to them is thus graphically described.

"And now you may see our mornefull ladys singing *lacrimæ*, or *loath to depart*; whilst our trumpets sownd—*Mayds where are your harts, &c.* Our noble Capt. (though much bent on the preparation for his voyage,) yet might you see his hart full of trouble to part from his lady and his sonn and heire; whoe though so younge, yet with his mayd to leade him by his dading sleeves, would he goe from gun to gun, and put his finger to the britch of the gun, and cry Booe; whilst the mother, like a woman of greate discretion, seemes no whit troubled, that her husband might be the lesse so. But our lieutenant's wife was like weeping Rachell, or mornefull Niobe; as also was the boatswaines wife: indeede all of them like the turtle-doves, or young pigeons, true emblems of mourning. Only our master's wife, of a more masculine spirit, or rather a virago, lays no such grieve to her hart; only, like one that hath eaten mustard, her eyes are a little redd. *Σίναπι παρὰ το σίνισθαι τοὺς ὤπας.*

"And now being sayling out of the Downes about 4 of the clock accompanyd with the Sypio, [*Scipio*] the Smyrna merchant; and the Mary, a Maligo [*Malaga*] man; wee are bade good speede with guns from every ship there; whilst wee thank each ship in the same language. Our Capt. intended to set the women all on shoare at Deale; but finding no convenience there of a coach, he carrys them to Dover. About 10 at night (haveing beene hindred by pressing some men as wee went alonge) wee cam to an anchor in Dover roade; where rod severall merchants at anchor, when we cam in; but, for feare of our pressing their men, stole away in the night.

"The sunn riseing gives us a full view of Dover Castle, cituate so on a hill, and with severall other conveniencys, that it commands all aboute that is within its reach boath by sea and land, and itselfe is impregnable.

"The towne (formerly famouse for trading, with many tall ships belonging to her, but now haveing lost it, is much impoverished) lyes in a deepe bay, in a halfe-moone, incompassed with steepe hills on boath syds; and, to prevent invasion, is fortified with 3 severall block-houses, commaunded by 3 severall commanders; so that a boate cannot pas without leave from these. By 6 in the morning all our ladys are sent on shoare in our pinnace; whose weeping eys bedewed the very sids of the ship, as they went over into the boate,

and seemed to have chosen (might they have had their will) rather to have stuck to the syds of the ship like the barnacles, or shell-fish, then to have parted from us. But they were no sooner out of sight but they were more merry; and I could tell with whom too, were I so minded.

“As soone as the boate was put off from the ship, wee honour their departure with 3 cheeres, 7 gunns, and our trumpetts sounding. They in the interim (as farr as they could see us, holding up their hands with Eola, saying *Vale longum*!) doe close the devotions not as of olde the hethens used—*Dii Deaq; omnes, &c.*! but Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be with you all! But soone forget us. Now haveing done with our Dalilabs or Myrmidons, and our pinnace being com againe from shoare, wee hoyst up our maine sayle, &c. and make way as fast as wee can.” P. 12.

And now every week, to the worthy chaplain's great content, is finished with wine and bowles of punch, which he carefully enters in his note-book. Off the Rock of Lisbon, the noble Captain Houlding feasted the officers with the following good fare: “Four excellent hens, and a piece of pork, boiled in a dish; a giggett of excellent mutton and turnips; a piece of beefe, of eight ribbs, well seasoned and roasted; and a couple of very fat greene geese; last of all, a greate Chesshyre cheese.” “His liquors were answerable; viz. Canary, Sherry, Renish, Clarett, whyte wine, syder, ale, beare, all of the best sort; and punch, like ditch water.” But this is nothing to the chear with which he meets a little onward at Tangeare, from Captain Charles Daniell. We preserve the name of this Nasidrane, from a fellow feeling of gratitude for his hospitality.

“There the doctor and I (desyring to see the fort) were invited into a fayre roome by Captaine Charles Daniell himselfe, and nobly entertained, after he had shewed us the strength of his fort.

“Where first of all he gave us a crust of excellent bread and two bottles of claret, then tooke us into his gardens, which lye clearly round about the fort, and shadowed with an arboure of vines of all sorts, and of his owne planting. Where he hath also all sorts of sweete herbes and flowers, and all manner of garden stuff; with strawburys and mellons of all sorts, figgs, and fruit trees of his own planting. Here wee drank severall bottells of wine. After this he took us into his sellar, where he feasted us with rost beife cold, Westfalia polony pudding, parmezant; gave us cucumbers, musk-mellons, salletts, and a reive of Spanish onions as thick as my thigh; stowed us with good wine; and then, loath to let us goe, he sent one of his corporalls with us to see us safe to our pinnace. Such a harty entertaynment I never saw before from a meare stranger; nor never shall againe till I returne to the prince-like Capt. Daniell.” P. 32.

"Giblettore" is described as a very high rock, and a place of great strength, with a fair haven; the summit of which was, at that time, occupied by a pilgrim, whose employment consisted in giving notice to the town and castle below of the number of ships which he could discover coming either way, by hanging out balls. "Aligant," also, was in possession of an impregnable castle, accessible only by a single path. When the Moors were driven out of the town by the Spaniards, 6,000 of the fugitives maintained this castle till, by fatigue and disease, they were reduced to one man only. By laying several trains of powder leading to different parts of the castle, this extraordinary man was able to fire as many guns as he pleased, either at once or together, and by his vigilance and courage, he deceived the Spaniards into a belief that the fort was defended by a large garrison, and protracted his defence for *more than a year* after all his companions were dead, and then made very advantageous terms for his surrender. It is but just to add, that this marvellous narrative appears to depend upon tradition only, since no trace of it is to be found in the Spanish histories.

Aligant, moreover, is distinguished by another romantic legend of a personage who, in various annals, has not often, we believe, been noticed by his poetical *agnoman*.

"Sir Orlando Furioso being by the multitude of Moores driven betweene these mountaines (which are a woonderful height, and very steepe,) and the sea with his army, and being there shutt up betweene the impassible hills and the sea, he makes a spech according to the occasion; and (when as the Moores lay in that narrow passage betweene the hills and the sea, so that he could by no means force a passage that way, and intended to starve him and his army there,) hee with his men clambers up those craggy rocks, as high as he could possibly go; and then (with what tooles he had) hewed his way through the topp of those rocks, through which passage he and his army escapes; and fell upon his enemys unawares to their greate damage." P. 40.

On the 10th of August, the fleet came within musket shot of the walls of Tripoli, where it continued cruising till the middle of September; the *Assistance*, in company with two other ships, was then ordered to pursue two Turkish vessels which had escaped out of the harbour, as far as "the Arches;" and afterwards to rendezvous on "Scandaroon." The Ionian islands appear to have delighted Mr. Teonge in his passage, and he expands much of his academical learning in a geographical description of Greece; but this fit of erudition soon passes away, and he falls naturally again into his own merry views.

"A brave gale all night, which brought us this morning neare Candia, to a small iland called Goza, and another a little more eastward, called Anti-Goza. More myrth at dinner this day then ever since wee cam on board. The wind blew very hard, and wee had to dinner a rump of Zante beife, a little salted and well roasted. When it was brought in to the cabin and set on the table, (that is, on the floore, for it could not stand on the table for the ship's tossing,) our Captaine sent for the Master, Mr. Fogg, and Mr. Davis, to dine with him selfe and my selfe, and the Lieuetenant, and the Pursor. And wee all sat close round about the beif, som securing themselves from slurring by setting their feete against the table, which was fast tyd downe. The Lieuetenant set his feete against the bedd, and the Captaine set his back against a chayre which stood by the syde of the ship. Severall tumbles wee had, wee and our plates, and our knives slurred oft together. Our liquor was white rubola, admirable good. We had also a couple of fatt pullets; and whilst we were eating of them, a sea cam, and forced into the cabin through the chinks of a port hole, which by lookeing behind me I just discovered when the water was coming under mee. I soone got up, and no whitt wett; but all the rest were well washed, and got up as fast as the could, and laughed on at the other. Wee dranke the King's and Duke's healths, and all our wives particularly." P. 78.

Arrived at Scanderoon, Mr. Teonge, and the chief officers, were entertained by the British Consul with "a prince-like dinner;" and in conformity with one of the mad whims of the *bons compagnons* of the day, "every health that wee dranke, every man broke the glasse he drank in; so that before night wee had destroyed a whole chest of pure Venice glasses."

Scanderoon or Alexandretta, is the port of Aleppo, built by Alexander to commemorate his victory over Darius, in the *Pylæ Ciliciæ*. In its neighbourhood stands an old brick castle which, not long before Mr. Teonge's visit, one of the Gaws began to repair and fortify. The Grand Signor, it appears, has a mortal aversion to private military architecture, and as the surest mode of stopping the progress of the new ravelins and bastions, he sent for their projector's head.

"The headsman that was sent for this Gaw's head, had commaund to bring four other Gaws' heads also, which order he executed; but going over the plaines of Antioch, he had accidentally lost one of them: he knowing not what course to take, (knowinge also that his owne head must goe for that which he had carelessly lost,) did in his jurny lye of a poore Arabian, who had a lawdible black beard; the headsman makes no more a doe, but strangles the man, and takes of the skine of his head and face, and stuffs it with cotton, (which is their way of beheadding, and they do it so artificially that the very countenance and complexion of the man remaineth

firme,) and brought it amonge the rest, and it passed currant. The heads-man himselve tolde mee this sam story at Aleppo." P. 107.

Christmas-day was celebrated with becoming festivity off the cost of Candia.

" At 4 in the morning our trumpeters all doe flatt their trumpets, and begin at our Captain's cabin, and thence to all the officers' and gentlemen's cabins; playing a levite at each cabine doore, and bidding good morrow, wishing a merry Christmas, After they goe to their station, viz. on the poope, and sound 3 levitts in honour of the morning. At 10 wee goe to prayers and sermon; text, Zacc. ix. 9. Our Captaine had all his officers and gentlemen to dinner with him, where wee had excellent good fayre: a ribb of beife, plumb-puddings, minct pyes, &c. and plenty of good wines of severall sorts; dranke healths to the King, to our wives and friends; and ended the day with much civill myrth.

(26.)—Summer weather. I preacht a sermon; text, Jobe's sonns feast." P. 127.

After this they do not appear to have had any extraordinary cheer, till a visit from some sea friends on the 4th of February, tried the strength of Captain Houlding's larder; and who shall venture to deny its excellence? "Wee had a gallant baked pudding, an excellent legg of porke and colliflowers, an excellent dish made of piggs' petti-toes, 2 roasted piggs, on turkey-cock, a roasted hogg's head, 3 ducks, a dish of Cyprus birds, and pistachoes and dates together, and store of good wines." We think we see the worthy chaplain *satur altitium*, and hastening to commit to paper this *catalogue raisonne* of delicacies! How far he considered the enjoyment of them, one full half of his professional duty may be determined from the following entry:—" (Feb. 27) I preacht a sermon. Wee had at dinner, a dish of greene beanes and pease brought from Malta."

On the 4th of March 1675-6, the *Assistance* once again joined its comrades before Tripoli. Within the walls of that city were the King of Tunis and his Queen; "his name is Hopsiby, and 'tis related that he hath 700 concubines." He was negotiating a peace between the English and the Dey of Tripoli, to which the latter was sufficiently well inclined to accede, in consequence of Sir John Narborough's continued successes. The terms were very honourable to the blockaders; the Tripolese agreed to pay 80,000 pieces of eight, to release all slaves belonging to the Crown of England, and to permit the ransom of four merchants of Leghorn and a Knight of Malta; "and this did bite sore, for betweene the Maltees and the Turks this is their absolute law, that whosoever of them is taken in actuall armes is never to be ransomed."

C c

After the signature of this Treaty, the *Assistance* sailed again for Scanderoon. On entering the port, Mr. Teonge accompanied his Captain overland to Aleppo. The caravan to which they joined themselves amounted to about 600 persons, all armed, and escorted by 50 soldiers. The first night of this tour of pleasure had very few *agrémens*.

“ The Captaine and I have a tent pitched over us ; an old Turkey carpett spread under, and a rowle of matting layd to lay our heads on. But what with the fleas and lyce that were in that carpett, and the froggs that were croakeing all about us, as also the hooiteing of the jack-calls, I could not sleepe on winke, but wee sat up and drank wine and brandee, of which wee brought good store with us ; and there I did eat polloe with the Turkes.” P. 153.

An Arabian lady, whom they met on the road, seems to have astonished, and perhaps frightened the good Chaplain. She was tall, slender, “ sworfy,” and thin faced. She had nothing on but a thin loose garment, and a girdle. She wore a ring in her left nostril, hanging below her bottom lip ; also globes, as big as tennis balls, hanging from her ears as low as her yellow bosom ; and gold chain on her wrists and ancles ; her nails were dyed red ; her lips blue ; and her body, which she was no what anxious to conceal, was coloured like strawberry leaves. “ The rest of the women were all alike for their painting in all places, but farr fowler.” Neither party appears to have admired the other, and the strangers made haste to get to their horses.

At Aleppo, they encountered many English, who received them magnificently. At one house they found two Dutchmen, who had just come up from Jerusalem, and who, from a motive of convenience in travelling, in order that they might look more like Turks, had permitted their beards to grow. On going to the barber at Aleppo, in order to disencumber themselves, he refused the office, saying, “ God forbid that he should do such a foul thing as that was, to cut such beards ;” and asking what affront they had received, which should induce them to give up their shaggy honours. On their persisting, he called in two Turks as witnesses, and very unwillingly proceeded in his work. When he had finished, the Dutchmen were not a little alarmed at the probable imposition of a fine, for they learned that about a month before a Frank had been mulcted 100 dollars for cropping his horses ears. An unanswerable question we put to the offenders : “ Are you wiser than God Almighty ?”

The English Consul one day gave them an entertainment, which, as a mark of great honour, is noted as below *literis majusculis*

" A DISH OF TURKEYS.	A DISH OF TARTS.
A PLATE OF SAUCEAGES.	
A DISH OF GELLYS.	A BISQUE OF EGGS.
	A DISH OF GAMMONS AND TONGS.
A DISH OF GEESE.	A DISH OF BISCOTTIS.
A PLATE OF ANCHOVIES.	
A DISH OF HENS.	A VENISON PASTY.
A PLATE OF ANCHOVIES.	
A DISH OF BISCOTTIS.	A DISH OF GREEN GEESE.
A GREAT DISH WITH A PYRAMID OF MARCHPANE.	
A DISH OF TARTS.	A DISH OF HENS.
A DISH OF HARTICHOCKS.	
A PASTY.	A DISH OF MARCHPANE
A DISH OF SAUCEAGES.	IN CAKES.
A DISH OF GAMMONS.	A DISH OF BISCOTT.
A PLATE OF HERRINGS.	
A DISH OF GEESE.	A DISH OF TURKEYS.
A PLATE OF ANCHOVIES.	
A DISH OF MARCHPANE.	A PASTY.
HARTICHOCKS.	
A DISH OF HENS.	A DISH OF GELLYS.
A PYMAMID OF MARCHPANE.	
A DISH OF BISCOTT.	A DISH OF GAMMONS.
* * *	* * *
ANCHOVIES.	

P. 162.

Mr. Ivatt and Mr. Delew invited them to "greate plenty of good canary;" which was no small rarity, since it all came from England. Mr. Browne gave them a banquet, at a table 24 yards in length, on which were placed 100 dishes, besides cheese and sweetmeats, as close together as possible. Here they drank parting healths till many could drink no longer; but their hope of parting was not to be gratified as soon as they expected, for in the evening they were surprized by a command of the magistrates not to stir from the city.

On the next day, as a merry pastime to lighten their detention, Mr. Teonge was installed Knight of the Mallhue, or Valley of Salt, by the Consul. A dispensation from visiting the Valley itself was first voted, on account of his present confinement.

"Then taking into my mouth som salt from the poynt of the sword, which was in lew of a bitt of the mould of the Vally, which had I beene there I should have taken from the sword's poynt into my mouth, which was as bad as salt could be, I kneeld downe; the Consull takes the sword in his hand, (but it had no hilt on it, yet was it, as they tell you, King David's sword;) and then brandishing it over his head 3 times, and lookeing bigg awhile, at last with a more wild countenance, he pronounces these ensuing words:

"Thou hardy wite, I dubb thee Knight
 With this old rusty blade:
 Rise up Sir H. T., Knight of the Malhue
 As good as ever was made.

"Then I rising up, and kissing the sword with a greate deal of gravity, doe make loe obesance to all the company, and give them all thanks; after which the Chawes first reads these ensuing verses alowd to me, and after presents them fayre written unto me.

"Now heare what y'are oblidge'd to doe,
 Your noble Knights of the Mallhue.
 Or as som others please to call't,
 Brave Knights of the Vally of Sallt.
 First you must love, and help each other,
 With the affection of a brother.
 Anger or wrath must not appeare
 To have a motion in your speare.
 But meeke as lambs, or sheepe, or wether;
 So you must love and live together.
 From virtue let not ought intice,
 Or steale your minds. Eschew all vice.
 Be to all pleasing, gentle, kinde,
 Brave symptoms of a knight-like mind.
 You must indeavour to redresse,
 All that's amisse. And if distresse
 On brother, widdow, wife, or mayd
 Fall, you must stand up to their ayd.
 Your promises to all these rights,
 You must performe as you are Knights.

"These are the orders to be observed by the noble Knights of the Malhue or Vally of Salt, which is 20 miles beyond Aleppo. Dated May 16, 1676." P, 167.

After the ceremony, the Consul, in great state, visited the Cadi, to inquire the cause of his order. He was received with much honour, was presented with chocolate, and had his beard perfumed. A miserable Turk mean time was produced, who was ready to swear (though, as Mr. Teonge declares, he would have sworn to a very lie) that the English were accessory to the capture of a Turkish vessel by the Maltese. His oath was not received, and the Cadi gave them permission to depart, which, however, he revoked in the afternoon. The Consul renewed his appeal on the following morning to the chief Governors of the city, and assured them, that unless he received immediate redress (since he held the false imprisonment to be an affront to himself and the nation which he represented) that he would proceed instantly to Constantinople, and lay his grievance at the foot of the Grand Signor. The Turk still impudently persisted in his charge, when fortunately, in the very heat of the discourse, the Consul received a packet from Constantinople, which he commanded to be opened. It contained a *firman*, establishing all the privileges of the English in their fullest extent. The magis-

trate, on hearing it read, looked very dejectedly, and decreed the freedom of the officers, without demanding any fee for their release. "The order," they said, "is good, and must be observed by our heads," and making each a bow, they dismissed them.

Mr. Teonge describes Aleppo as a very ancient city. Its appearance at a distance is almost white, from the housetops being covered with tarras; hence its name, for *halep* in Arabic signifies milk. It is encircled by a decayed wall; the streets are very narrow, full of corners and turnings, and the buildings, though stately, for the most part in bad repair. No woman must enter into a mosque; the Turks call them "uncleane cretures, made only for the use of man, and doe defyle the moskues by their coming in, as much as a christian doth," a position which we are by no means inclined to combat. The women are celebrated for their intrigues, and are described to be particularly fond of the English. To refuse an invitation from them would be to encounter a certain peril of life.

On the first night of his return with the caravan, Mr. Teonge slept on the bare side of a hill, cold and comfortless. He got but a small nap and awaked quickly, "and opening my eyes I was almost frited, for the ayre was full of sparkes of fyre . . . Then I perceived they danced all about; at which considering, I found them to be a kind of gnat with a tayle like a glow-worm."

"A little farther from hence, I (being the next to our janizary, whoe was the fore most of all the company,) heard him speake strange words to him selfe, and clapt his sturrups to his horse, and charged his pyke towards the ground, and galloped forward. I followed him, and looking before him, I saw a greate serpent, as thick as the middle of an ordinary man; his colour was like blew shineing armour, and his back and syds and head seemed all rugged. He went away to a brake of bushes which were not above 10 yards then from him, and made but small hast, as if he did not much care to goe, or stay; lifting up his head a great deale higher then his body, and his tayle higher then that, and turned in, like a gray-hound's when he stands at gaze; and so he went off, opening his mouth very wide, and chopping his white teeth together, and crept into a greate hollow hole, which went in under a shelf of a rock. He was at least four yards longe as he walked. There were many bones lay there abouts, all broken in pieces; som of them might be easily deserned to be of men or women, and som of sheep, and of severall other cretures. And this place of his abode was on a plaine, and in the midst of the roade way." P. 183.

Musquitoes, wild swine, and prowling Arabs deprived him of sleep on the following night; nevertheless he got safe on

board once more, where, not less to his consternation, he was hailed by a cricket and a death-watch. "*Deus vortat bene,*" he exclaimed with much ardour and piety. His fears, however, were vain; after some hazard in a storm he anchored, on the 25th of October, in Falmouth roads, and on the 17th of the following month he left "the rottenest frigate that ever came to England."

By the first voyage, Mr. Teonge informs us he "gott a good summ of monys," and frankly adds, that he "spent greate part of it;" on which account he wisely resolved "to make another voyage, with a full intention to keepe what he could gett. Accordingly, after supping with his son George off "a shoulder of mutton, a most excellent pike stewed and another fried," he set off for London in April 1678, having engaged with Captain Antony Langston, who was promised a ship for Virginia. On his arrival—

"Our noble Captaine made my son Thomas a waterman, and tooke him and my selfe with him to White-hall, where (after a little stay in the long gallery) our Capt. cam to mee and told mee I should kisse his Majesty's hand. He had no sooner sayd so but the King cam out; my Capt. presented mee to the King, saying, An't please your Majesty, this gentleman is an old cavalier, and my chaplen. I kneeled downe; he gave me his hand. I kist it, and said, Pray God blesse your Majesty! He answered, God blesse you boath together! twice; and walked alonge the gallery his woonted large pace." P. 232.

This condescension of the King prepared the good Chaplain with a right loyal appetite for the 29th of May, on which festival he regaled on "an excellent sallett and eggs, a fillett of veal roasted, a grand dish of maccarell, and a large lobster . . . all washt down with good Marget ale, March beere, and best of all, a good boule of punch."

The desire which he felt to visit the West was disappointed; for Captain Langston was countermanded to the Mediterranean. Nothing remarkable occurred till Mr. Teonge arrived at Spithead, where, on the 15th of September—*ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius*—he "preached a sermon on the word Our."

In spite of his eccentricities, we always feel an affection and admiration for the gallant and romantic Earl of Peterborough, and we never turn to Carleton's *Memoirs* without ranking him with the Black Prince and the Bayards. We regret that he does not appear in bright colours in the following little story. Mr. Teonge had been employed on a somewhat unspiritual work (if Bishop Watson will permit us so to say). "Now I began to make cartridges for the Cap-

tain's guns," and probably had caught cold, for on Saturday night we find that he took a sudorific. Lord Mordaunt (afterwards Earl of Peterborough) who was on board,

"Taking occasion by my not being very well, would have preacht, and askt the Captaine's leave last night, and to that intent sate up till 4 in the morning to compose his speech, and intended to have Mr. Norwood to sing the psalme. All this I myselfe heard in agitation; and resolving to prevent him, I got up in the morning before I should have done, had I had respect to my owne health, and cam into the greate cabin, where I found the zealous Lord with our Captaine, whom I did so handle in a smart and short discourse, that he went out of the cabin in greate wrath. In the afternoone he set on of the carpentars crewe to worke about his cabin; and I being acquainted with it, did by my Captaine's order discharge the woorkeman, and he left woorking; at which the Reverent Lord was so vexed, that he borrowed a hammar, and busyed himselfe all that day in nayling up his hangings; but being done on the sabbaoth day, and also when there was no necessity, I hope the woork will not be long lived. From that day he loved neyther mee nor the Captaine. No prayers, for discontent." P. 261.

The transaction speaks highly for Mr. Teonge's proper sense of the dignity of his profession.

Once again, a visit from some Captains in company furnishes a *carte* of the entertainment. "Wee had an achbone of good beife and cabidge, a hinder quarter of mutton and turnips, a hogg's head and haslett roasted, three tarts, three plates of apples, and two excellent sorts of cheese."

Christmas-day, alas! brought with it disappointment.

"Wee had not so greate a dinner as was intended, for the whole fleete being in this harbour, beife could not be gott. Yet wee had to dinner, an excellent rice pudding in a greate charger, a speciall peice of Martinmas English beife, and a neat's tounge, and good cabbige, a charger full of excellent fresh fish fryde, a douzen of wood-cocks in a pye, which cost 15*d.*, a couple of good henns roasted, 3 sorts of cheese; and last of all, a greate charger full of blew figgs, almonds, and raysings, and wine and punch gallore, and a douzen of English pippens." P. 269.

Soon after an exchange of ships took place. In consequence of the Admiral's vessel not proving seaworthy he removed into Captain Langston's ship, the *Bristol*, and Captain Langston took possession of the *Royall Oake*, "a stately ship and of great force."

Off Port Mahon two of the officers quarrelled, and we have seldom heard, in any statement, countersigned by seconds and surgeons, a juster account of a duel than is contained in the following words; "Collyer and Coolen went to fight, but were loath to hurt one the other, and so came

back, like two fooles, well drunken." The Duke of Grafton, (at that time serving under Sir John Narborough in the fleet, "to see fashions," although he held the distinguished place of one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral,) was equally bloodless, and celebrated a mock fight with great diligence and courage.

The remainder of this cruise has nothing to attract attention: it closed in June 1679, and appears, from the number of deaths, to have been not a little unhealthy; among them were those of the Lieutenant of the *Royal Oake* and Captain Langston himself. We subjoin the Epitaphs with which Mr. Teonge distinguished them, as specimens of his scholarship and poetical abilities.

"Fortis in hoc tumultu GULIELMUS NEW jacet, Anglus,
Hectoriasque manus, corque leonis habens.
Nobilis hic natus; fortunâ splendidus; ultro
Dispersens liberè; cuique benignus erat:
Divinare licet nunc hujus Religionem;
Proh dolor! huic puppis vix habet ulla parem.

HENRICUS TEONGE.

ANTONIUS LANGSTON mæstissimus hoc posuit;
December 28, 1678." P. 281.

EPITAPH.

"ANTONIUS LANGSTON Generosus (proh dolor!) ille
Quem nemo potuit vincere, morte jacet.
Obiit decimo nono die Martij, paulo post decimam horam vesp'tinam. An: D'm^o 1678-9.

In Obitu ejus Carmen Funebre.

"Non tibi luce quies, nec erat tibi tempore noctis;
Dura fuit pariter nox, et amara dies.
Lux tibi Christus adest (peccati nocte relictâ),
Nec dolor ullus erit, sed sine fine quies.

Pro terris cælum; post luctus gaudia nactus:

Ossa tegit fluctus; spiritus astra petit.

Vita beata satis, dum vix'ti vivere Christo;

Sed summo melior vivere vita Deo.

Cur tristes decorent lacrymæ tua funera? Dormis

In Domino, dum te litua clara vocet.

Dulce jugum Domini est patienter ferre; tulisti,

Euge, ferox cessat pugna; corona manet."

"Sharpe was the day, and bitter was the night,
And boath were tedious, cause thy paines were stronge;
Now Christ is come, and brings to thee his light,
Dispelling sinn's dark night, though that were longe:
Now neyther grieffe torments, nor pains offend;
Now rest is come; such rest as hath no end.

“ Now hast thou heaven for earth : O happy change !

For grieve thou now ay-la-ting joys hast gott,
Thy soule amidst the blessed troops doth rainge,
Although thy bones in boystrous billows rott.
Happy thy life, whoe liveing livdst to Christ ;
Happyer thy death, who dead, livst with the Highest !

“ Then why should mournful teares bedew thy tombe ?

Full sweetly now thou sleepest in the Lord,
Untill shrill-sounding-trump at day of Doome
Doe raise all flesh according to his word :
Sweete tis to beare God's yoake, though't bee som paines :
Thou didst ; the fight is past, the crowne remaines.”

HENRICUS TEONGE, Mœstissimus.” P. 292.

Besides these Latin exercises, in the course of the volume will be found a few English amatory verses of a pleasing cast, which are creditable to their author. We have been much amused with his Diary ; and it is but just to add, that it is a very beautiful specimen of typography, and that the text is accompanied by very interesting illustrative notes.

ART. VI. “ *Who wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ ?* ” considered and answered ; in two Letters to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D. D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Buxted with Uckfield, Sussex. London. John Murray, 1824. 8vo. 10s. 6d. pp. 413.

THE controversy respecting the authorship of Icon Basiliké, owes its revival at present to the discovery of sundry letters in the Archbishop's library, at Lambeth, and which were published in a Life of Dr. Brian Walton, recently drawn up by the Rev. Henry John Todd. These letters were addressed by Dr. Gauden to the Earl of Bristol, immediately after the Restoration, with the view of setting forth his claims to preferment, as a faithful servant of Charles the First, and particularly for having composed the work which had procured to his Majesty's memory so much reverence and reputation.

We may remark, in passing, that the documents now mentioned were given to the world in print many years before the appearance of Mr. Todd's interesting volumes ; but, except by Mr. Laing, in his History of Scotland, and by Mr. Symonds, in his edition of the prose works of Milton, we are not aware that any use was made of them, in reference to the dispute about the Icon Basiliké. Nor do we believe, that any

material impression against Charles, as the reputed author, was produced on the public mind by the zealous but very unfriendly writers whose names we have just specified. The strong political bias which manifested itself in their publications, counteracted the effect which might otherwise have attended their reasoning; and as their books have never become popular, the discovery of Dr. Gauden's letters became known only to a few; and indeed, the fact that they were in existence was again rapidly passing away into oblivion.

But the author of Walton's life, as he belongs to a different school, and was, moreover, furnished with the best means of information, could not fail to secure a greater number of converts to his particular conclusions, as well as to shake the general confidence in regard to the claims of the royal martyr. Accordingly, when he states, without reserve, and as the result of much painful research and comparison, that, neither on the ground of internal nor of external evidence, can the pretensions of Dr. Gauden be any longer called in question; and that the facts which he now brings forward, "at once decide the controversy that has been long maintained upon the subject;" it will not be thought surprising, that in regard to the main point at issue, the general feeling and presumption should have assumed a strong direction in favour of the Bishop of Exeter.

Were the claims on which we are called to determine confined to the mere honour of authorship, it would be of comparatively little consequence in whose behalf the public should finally decide. But the judgment that is to be given in this case, involves something much more valuable than any degree of fame which can attach to the power of conceiving pious thoughts, and of composing well-turned sentences. It will affect deeply the moral and religious character of him who shall be proved not to have written the celebrated treatise under consideration; and either King Charles or Dr. Gauden must be convicted of having acted a very unworthy part, in a most serious and important matter. We find accordingly, that the truth and sincerity of the former have already been impeached, on the very grounds supplied by Mr. Todd in his *Life of Walton*. Mr. Brodie, for example, in his "*History of the British Empire*," remarks that, "unfortunately for the memory of Charles, though he had no merit in the composition, he had guilt in the publication; for as the manuscript had been shewn to him by Gauden (a gross inaccuracy by the way), and he consented that it should be published in his name, he adopted all the misstatements, accompanied with appeals to heaven for the

truth of the narrative, and prayers which, as they abound with untruths, can be viewed in no other light than as a mockery of that Supreme Being, for whose worship in purity, he affected such zeal.”

But there is more at stake than even the character of a king or of a bishop. The faith of history is assailed by the same weapons which attack the authenticity of the Icon; and the friends of monarchy are included in the same sweeping condemnation which loads the memory of the first Charles with the imputation of literary fraud. “ This is not the only Tory attempt to falsify English history,” says a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, “ which has been detected during the present year. The once famous controversy concerning the author of *Icon Basiliké* is at length decided. It had been disputed for a century and a half, whether that book was the genuine work of Charles the First, whose name it bears, or the composition of Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which, by a pious fraud, he ascribed to that monarch, in order to increase its effects on the public feelings. That it was, however, the composition of Gauden is now certain, from some of his letters to the Earl of Bristol, preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.”

Besides the letters to Lord Bristol, there are others addressed to the Earl of Clarendon; from one of which, as a specimen of the whole, and as containing the most direct and unequivocal claim to the credit of the work in question, we transcribe the following passage, as given by Dr. Wordsworth :—

“ True, I once presumed your Lordship had fully known that *Arcanum*; for so Dr. Morley told me at the king’s first coming, when he assured me the greatness of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your Lordship (as I supposed) and Dr. Morley, made me confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and, he thought, deserved. Hence my silence of it to your Lordship. As to the King and Duke of York, whom, before I came away, I acquainted with it, when I saw myself not so much considered, in my present disposeure, as I did hope I should have been: what sense their royal goodness hath of it is best to be expressed by themselves; nor do I doubt but I shall, by your Lordship’s favour, find the fruits as to something extraordinary, since the service was so. Not as to what was known to the world under my name, in order to vindicate the crown and the church, but what goes under the late blessed king’s name. The ΕΙΚΩΝ, or *Portraiture of his Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*. This book and figure was wholly and only my invention, making and design, in order to vindicate the king’s wisdom, honour and piety. My wife, indeed, was conscious

of it, and had a hand in disguising the letters of that copy which I sent to the king in the Isle of Wight, by the favour of the late Marquis of Hertford, which was delivered to the king by the now Bishop of Worcester. His Majesty graciously accepted, owned and adopted it as his sense and genius; not only with great approbation, but admiration. He kept it with him; and though his cruel murderers went on to perfect his martyrdom, yet God preserved and prospered this book, to revive his honour, and redeem his Majesty's name of contempt and abhorrence or infamy, in which they aimed to bury him."

The strength of Dr. Gauden's claim is contained in the above extract. In the other letters, both to Lord Clarendon and the Earl of Bristol, the same service is indeed repeatedly alluded to, as the ground of his expectations; but there is no other instance in which the Icon is mentioned by name, or where an appeal is made to Duppa, or to the Marquis of Hertford, or to any other person besides those already enumerated, as being privy to the facts asserted.

It must have been remarked, that Gauden, in his letter to the chancellor, mentions, that his wife "was conscious" of his great service to the king: and in another epistle, he states that, "her pious, loyal and generous spirit, is too conscious " to what I have done, both known and *unknown* to the world, " in order to buoy up the honour of the royal family, the " church and episcopacy, to bear with any temper, the " straits to which she sees me, herself and her children " exposed."

Mrs. Gauden fortunately left at her death, a narrative respecting her husband's share in producing the Icon Basiliké; which document has been preserved in one of Mr. Toland's pamphlets on the controversy to which that work gave rise. That the reader may have before him all the facts which have been supplied by the family of the bishop, we think it right to transcribe from the said narrative, the main points of the lady's deposition.

After stating that the people had come to have a very high opinion of Cromwell and others, in the army, for their parts and piety, and that Dr. Gauden was well assured it was one of the principal objects of those wicked politicians, to give to the world a false representation of his Majesty, and to injure his character by all the means in their power, she adds, "he, that he might do his Majesty right, did pen " that book, which goes by the name of the King's book."

"When my husband had writ it, he shewed it to my Lord Capel, who did very highly approve of it; and though he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so,

without his Majesty's approbation; and to come to speak to his Majesty in private, was then impossible, in regard of the strict guard which they kept about him.

“ Immediately after this, there was a treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, whereupon my husband went to my Lord Marquis of Hertford, that then was, and to him delivered the manuscript, and he delivered it to the King, at the Isle of Wight, and also told him who the author was.

“ When my Lord Marquis returned, my husband went to him; to whom my Lord said, That his Majesty having had some of those essays read to him, by Bishop Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them, and asked whether they could not be put out in some other name. The bishop replied, that the design was, that the world should take them to be his Majesty's. Whereupon his Majesty desired time to consider of it; and, ‘ *This (says my Lord) is all the account I can give of it. What is become of the manuscript, I know not; and what will become of his Majesty, God knows.* ’ Upon this, my husband told my Lord Marquis, that in his opinion, there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's life, as by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people, as much as might be, towards him; and that he also thought, that that book would be very effectual for that purpose. Then my Lord bade my husband, *to do what he would, in regard the case was desperate.* Then, immediately, my husband resolved to print it with all the speed that might be, he having a copy of that which he sent to the King; and he printed was just the same; only he then added the essay *upon their denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains, and the meditation of death*, after the votes of the non-addresses, and his Majesty's close imprisonment at Carisbrook castle.”

“ Now, the instrument which my husband employed to get it printed, was one Mr. Symmonds, a divine, and a great sufferer for his Majesty; and he got one Mr. Royston to print it; which Royston never knew any thing but that it was of his Majesty's own penning. My husband did then alter the title of it, and called it *Icon Basiliké* (he had at first, she tells us, meant to call it *Suspiria Regalia*.) Now, when it was about half printed, they who were in power found the press where it was printing, and likewise a letter of my husband's which he sent up to the press. Whereupon they destroyed all that they then found printed, but could not find out from whence the letter came, in regard it had no name to it. Notwithstanding all this, my husband attempted the printing of it again; but could by no means get it finished, till some days after his Majesty was destroyed.

“ When it was come out, they who were then in power were not only extremely displeased at it, but also infinitely solicitous to find out the author of it, thinking it very improbable that his Majesty should write it, in regard of the great disturbances and troubles which, for many years, he had suffered; or at least impossible that he should have writ it all; for, after the attendance of his chaplains was denied him, and he a close prisoner, they well understood that

he could not write any thing without their discovery. They also took that very manuscript which my husband had sent his Majesty, and saw that it was none of his Majesty's hand-writing. Upon this they appointed a committee to examine the business; of which my husband having notice, he went privately in the night, away from his own house, to Sir John Wentworth's, who lived near Yarmouth, and him he acquainted with the business, and the great danger he was then in, when Sir John did not only promise to conceal him, but also to convey him out of England, it being in his power to give passes to go beyond sea. About this time Mr. Symmonds was taken in a disguise: but God in his providence so ordered it, that he sickened immediately, and died before he came to his examination, nor could the committee find out anything by any means whatever; which altered my husband's resolution of going out of England. Now, besides these circumstances, to assert the truth of what I say, I can produce some letters which I am sure will put it out of all dispute."

The rest of the narrative respects matters which took place after the Restoration, when Dr. Gauden, who was at that time Dean of Bocking, began his importunities for preferment, as the reward of his services to church and king. Mrs. Gauden asserts that her husband, when admitted to an audience of Charles II., "told him the whole matter as I have related it."

Following the example of Dr. Wordsworth, we shall bring forward the only remaining portion of evidence in favour of the bishop's claims, which can be regarded as either direct or positive. We allude to that which was supplied by Dr. Walker, an Essex clergyman, who, in early life, had been about three years tutor in Dr. Gauden's family, and his curate at Bocking. The Reverend Doctor deposeth as follows:

"I know and believe the book whose author is enquired after was written by Dr. Gauden (except two chapters writ by Bishop Duppa), so far as the subjoined means may produce such knowledge, and the reasons may induce such belief. First, Dr. Gauden, some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint me with his design, and shewed me the heads of divers chapters, and some of the discourses written of them; and after some time spent in perusal, he vouchsafed to ask my opinion concerning it: and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts, I told him I supposed it would be much for the king's honour, reputation and safety: but I expressly added, I stuck at the lawfulness of it; and modestly asked him, how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world? To which he so readily replied, that I concluded he had thought on it before. *Look on the title; 'tis the portraiture, &c.; and no man draws his own picture:* which satisfied himself; and though we might argue it a little, did at present silence me, my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole.

“ Secondly, some good time after what had passed as is related in the preceding paragraph, we being both in London and having dined together, Dr. Gauden, in the afternoon, desired me to walk with him to a friend. When we were gone part of the way, he told me he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury, *Dr. Duppa*, (whom he had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his lordship to be perused; or to shew him what he had farther written. And as we drew near his house, he desired me, that after a little general conversation, I would withdraw and leave them two alone, which accordingly I did: and when they had been some considerable time together, he came forth, and we returned. As soon as we were in the street, he gave me this account of their conference: ‘ My lord (said he) told me there were two subjects more he wished I had thought on, viz. *the ordinance against the common prayer book: and the denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains*, which are now the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book, and desired me to write two chapters upon them, which I promised I would. But before we parted he recalled his request, and said I pray go you on to finish what remains, and leave these two to me, I will prepare two chapters upon them: which accordingly he did, as Dr. Gauden owned to me and others, whom he had made privy to the whole; and never pretended to have written these as he did all the rest.’

“ Thirdly, Dr. Gauden some time after the king was murdered, upon my asking him whether he (the king) had ever seen the book gave this answer: I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquis of Hertford when he went to the treaty at the Isle of Wight, and entreated his lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty’s pleasure concerning it. But the violence which threatened the king hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make farther noise about it by enquiry.

“ Fourthly, I once asked him (for we seldom were in private but somewhat was discoursed of this book, even to the last time I saw him after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester *elect*), whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it? he gave me this answer: I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me. But I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

“ Fifthly, Mrs. Gauden, his wife, Mr. Gifford (who transcribed a copy of it, if I be not much mistaken, and which copy I think was that sent to the Isle of Wight, though in this I am not so positive,) and myself believed it as much as we could believe any thing; and when we spake of it in his presence, or in his absence, did it without

the least doubt of his having written it; being as much assured of it as it was possible we could be of any matter of fact. And it is unaccountably strange, that all we who had the best reason, and fairest opportunities to know the truth, should all be deceived or imposed upon, which we were to the highest degree imaginable, if Dr. Gauden wrote it not.

“ Sixthly, Dr. Gauden delivered to me with his own hand what was last sent up, after part was printed (or at least in Mr. Royston’s hand to be printed), and after he had shewed it to me and sealed it up, gave me strict caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it: and according to his direction I delivered it, Saturday, December 23, 1648, in the evening, to one Peacock, (brother to Dr. Gauden’s steward or bailiff, some time before deceased,) who was instructed by what hands he should transmit it to Mr. Royston; and in the same method, a few days after the impression was finished, I received six books by the hand of Peacock, as an acknowledgment of that little I had contributed to that service, one of which I have still by me.”

Nothing could be more direct or explicit than these statements and claims. Dr. Gauden himself declares, that the book and figure (meaning the frontispiece) were wholly and only his invention, making and design. His wife confirms his statement as from her own personal knowledge; adding a great variety of minute circumstances relative to the motives whence the undertaking originated; the progress of the composition; the title which first suggested itself; the name of the printer, the agents employed, and the difficulty of getting it carried through the press; and, finally, the sensation which was produced by the work when it actually appeared, and the danger in which her husband imagined himself to be thereby placed. Dr. Walker again asserts, that, while the book was still unfinished, Dr. Gauden was pleased to acquaint him with his design, and shewed him the heads of divers chapters, as well as some of the discourses, which were in a state of greater forwardness: and in making these declarations, he appeals to the “ Searcher of hearts, Avenger of falsehood, and Revealer of secrets;” asseverating, that he “ will write nothing of the truth of which he is not thoroughly persuaded, and that by as full evidence as such a matter of fact needs, or is capable of at such a distance of time.”

In arranging the multifarious proofs and arguments which the master of Trinity College has brought forward in reply, we shall follow the division of the subject which has been formed by the history of the controversy itself, as consisting of three epochs; namely, that which immediately succeeded the death of the king, and which is occupied by Milton, by

the author of the Princely Pelican, and by those pamphleteers on both sides who wrote on the Icon Basiliké prior to the Restoration; secondly, that which commenced a short time after the Revolution, and presents on its arena, Walker, Toland, Hollingworth, Long and Wagstaffe; and, lastly, that which has recently taken its rise, and which may be dated from the publication of Gauden's Letters to Clarendon and the Earl of Bristol.

In regard to the first division of evidence, it is especially worthy of remark, that the Icon Basiliké came out within a few days after the king was murdered. Nay, there is good reason to believe, that it was in the hands of the public the very next morning after that event; a circumstance which agrees remarkably with the declaration, which Royston, the printer, is said to have made; that he had orders not to publish it till after the fatal deed was done. From the moment it appeared, a resolution was taken by the regicides, to call in question the authorship of it; to deprive the king of the credit which could not fail to attach to a performance, breathing a spirit at once so mild and so full of Christian principle: and, for this purpose, to ascribe it to some household priest who had fallen upon this device, to “beget an esteem of piety and learning in his master,” and to woo his enemies to commiserate his condition. At one time they assigned it to Dr. Harris, at another to Dr. Hammond.

To expose these insinuations, there appeared, in less than six months after the death of the king, a pamphlet, entitled the Princely Pelican, containing “sundry choice observations extracted from his majesty's Divine Meditations, with satisfactory reasons to the whole kingdom, that his sacred person was the only author of them.” In reply to this publication, there was put forth, in the course of a month or two, an angry tract, entitled Εικων αληθινη, the Portraiture of Truth's most Sacred Majesty, &c.; which last, again, found a speedy answer in a spirited piece, which bore for its title Εικων η πιστη, or, the Faithful Portraiture of a Loyal Subject, &c. In the second of the works now specified, there is an engraving, which represents the king placed at his desk, writing; and a clergyman is introduced (Bishop Juxon, it is supposed), dictating to his majesty, from behind a curtain, to which is added the motto, *Spectatum admissi risum teneatis?*

Until Milton's famous *Iconoclastes* made its appearance, the tracts we have now described were the principal publications on the authorship of Icon Basiliké, which occupied the zeal or curiosity of the nation, immediately after the murder of Charles. It is deeply to be regretted, that all of them are

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anonymous; as we are thereby deprived of the means of ascertaining the degree of weight and credibility which is due to them respectively. The author of the Princely Pelican, indeed, speaks of himself as “having been for many years a constant servant to his majesty’s sacred person, and to whom his majesty was oft-times pleased to communicate his private councils and addresses.” And he also informs us, that “he remained constantly in his attendance on his majesty, even to the last man, when they were all expressly enjoined to be removed from their gracious master.” In reference to the Icon, he gives, what may be called, a History of its Origin and Progress; telling us, that so early as March 1642, Charles had conceived the design of his book, and was beginning to make arrangements for its successful execution. “In the deluge of his sorrows, when he was deprived of all outward supplies, was it not needful for him to have in store some inward comforts, to refresh his troubled spirit? And these he found plenteously and preciousely treasured in those divine ejaculations, which, as he many times confessed, breathed to his languishing soul most hope when least appeased. He acquainted us what incomparable comfort he received from that brief manual, which he had in part composed, and meant to continue it; not only amidst those brackish and distempered seasons, to allay his discomforts, but to communicate it likewise to such as were jealous of his safety, and tender of his innocency. He told us, that as his morning devotions took up the first, so he ever reserved the next for those meditations which he had now in hand.”

The author of the Faithful Portraiture, whom Dr. Wordsworth conjectures to have been Endymion Porter, speaks out still more boldly and decidedly: “I take it to be the King’s book. I am sure of it. I knew his hand. I have seen the manuscript. *I have heard him own it.*” But perhaps the particular of greatest weight in both these pamphlets, is the passage in which they refer to a copy of the *Icon*, which, they say, was taken at Naseby. That battle was fought June 14, 1645, long, as Dr. W. observes, before there is any pretence of Gauden having thought about writing any such book as *Icon Basiliké*, and more than three years before the manuscript (according to all the accounts on the side of Gauden) first came to be seen by the king at the treaty at the Isle of Wight. The passage from the Princely Pelican is as follows:—

“In the field at Naseby—there, I say, at Naseby, upon the discomfiture of his majesty’s forces, amongst other rich prizes, was

this inestimable gem, the continuation of his Divine Meditations, which he had gone along with to this success of that day, seized upon by the enemy, with other papers and characters of concern, being inclosed in a cabinet reserved for that purpose. But such was the benignity of the conqueror, or Divine Providence, that would not suffer so excellent a work to perish in oblivion, nor to be exposed to the rude razing hand of an illiterate soldier, that it was recovered above all expectance, and returned to his majesty's hand; though the perusal of his papers were left to a more racking censure. Which infinitely cheered him amid those insuccessive events that accompanied his forces, using these or the like words upon the occasion of regaining them: *I see the gracious eye of Heaven will not suffer me to be deprived of all comfort, though my own subdue me. Posterity shall see by these papers, that I know how to subdue my own passion, and solace myself with divine comforts in the height of my affliction.*"

The second writer expresses himself on the same point, not only with an equal degree of force and explicitness, but with the valuable addition of certain direct and intelligible allusions, which go a great way to connect, beyond all reasonable doubt, the important fact in question, with a variety of other facts, which have long since been established on the broad basis of history. "I do verily believe," says he to his antagonist, "you think this is the king's own book, as much as I do, or any man else. There are some in the army" (here, says Dr. W. I believe he alludes to Fairfax, and perhaps even to Cromwell) "that know it to be true enough, and some have been converted by it," (here the allusion is to Major Huntington, and perhaps to Fairfax also) "*or the king had never had it again after it was lost at the battle of Naseby.*"

Before we proceed to draw any inferences from the statement just made, we shall confirm it by one or two authorities selected out of a great number adduced by Dr. Wordsworth. The first shall be from the hand of the celebrated Bishop Bull, who wrote from the mouth of Dr. Gorge, one of the king's chaplains, and who was employed by his Majesty to endeavour to recover some papers which were lost in consequence of the defeat at Naseby. We may remark in passing, that he was the son of Sir Thomas Gorge, by the Marquis of Northampton's widow, and was thereby related to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the commander of the victorious army. Bishop Bull, in the document referred to, which is in the form of a letter to Mr. Cornelius, once his curate, and at the date of the communication (19 July 1701) Rector of Buckfastleigh, says:—

“That about the year 1656, while he was vicar of St. George’s, near Bristol, he had frequent conversation with Dr. Gorge, a learned divine and a gentleman of a very worthy family of that name, in Somersetshire, and of credit answerable to his quality and character; who told him that being chaplain to King Charles, and in his army at the fatal battle of Naseby, he was employed after that defeat by his majesty, to retrieve certain papers lost in his cabinet, in which some private thoughts and meditations of that good king were set down; the loss of which troubled him more than all the other papers of his which fell into his enemy’s hands that day. It was with some difficulty that they were obtained from the conqueror, but restored they were; and Dr. Gorge did most solemnly profess to this informant, that having an opportunity to peruse them, he found they were the same, as to the matters preceding that dismal day, with those printed in Icon Basiliké.

Sanderson in his *Life and Reign of King Charles*, which was printed in the time of Cromwell, speaking of the Icon Basiliké, says, “This book, whilst in loose papers, ere it was complete, and secured into his cabinet, that being lost, was seized by the enemy at Naseby fight; but these papers, happily rescued, and so came to his majesty’s hand again; who, in the end, commended them to his faithful servant, that minister of God’s word, Master Symmons, with command to see them imprinted.”

Dugdale, again, in his *Short View of the Troubles in England*, corroborates the foregoing statement. “I shall make it appear,” says he, “from the testimony of very credible persons, yet living, that the king had begun the penning of these meditations long before he went from Oxford to the Scots. For the manuscript itself, written with his own hand, being found in his cabinet, which was taken at Naseby fight, was restored to him after he was brought to Hampton Court, by the hand of Major Huntington, through the favour of General Fairfax, of whom he obtained it; and that whilst he was in the Isle of Wight, it was there seen frequently by Mr. Thomas Herbert, who then waited on his majesty, in his bed-chamber; and also by Mr. William Levett.”

Such statements and declarations, as most of them are at second-hand, ought to be received with some degree of allowance for the possibility of mistake, or misinformation, or of political and religious bias, on the part of the narrator. But when we consider, in the present case, that the assertions in regard to the copy of the Icon, which was said to have

been captured at Naseby, were made public within a few months after the murder of the king, and were repeated from time to time during the whole life of Cromwell, without being once contradicted; the force of the evidence which Dr. Wordsworth has collected, must be pronounced altogether irresistible. The Princely Pelican, and the Faithful Portraiture united in giving the assurance, that a copy of the work had been found in his majesty's cabinet, in an unfinished state, and was afterwards restored to him : and it is well known, that the celebrated Milton was employed by Cromwell to write against the authenticity of the Icon, or at least to arrest its influence, and impair its credit with the people ; a task, which the great poet, very little to his honour, performed with so much assiduity, that he was ready to give his production to the world, while the state of public feeling continued at its highest excitement. What a fine opportunity was thus afforded to the republican faction for convicting the advocates of Charles of gross ignorance, or of still grosser falsehood ! Two writers, who claim the honour of having been about the person of the king, and of having been admitted to his private councils, declare in the face of the world, that his majesty was the author of the book which bore his name ; that they had seen it in manuscript, heard his majesty own it and converse about it ; and as a proof that it proceeded from his pen, they assert, that a copy of it was taken by his enemies from a cabinet which fell into their hands, at a certain place, and on a certain day ; and that they at length yielded to his solicitations, and actually returned it to him ; and one of these writers, appealing to their consciousness, and alluding to indisputable facts, adds ; “ *there are some in the army who know it to be true, and some who have been converted by it, or the king had never had it again, after it was lost at the battle of Naseby.* ” Milton was instigated by the chieftain of the parliament to come forward as their literary champion ; he acknowledges that it was a ‘ *work assigned*, and not one chosen or affected by himself.’ And is it not certain, that if Cromwell could have contradicted the assertion respecting the Naseby copy, he would have authorized, nay commanded, his mercenary penman to do it. What a triumph must they have gained ! The simple announcement, that no portion whatever of the royal meditations had fallen into the hands of the victors, and been restored to their author, would have silenced all the confidential friends of Charles, whatever might have been their rank, and instantly thrown into contempt and derision, the able, generous and manly defences of his character, his motives and his claims,

which had already appeared. The Princely Pelican and the Faithful Portraiture, would not only have been deprived of every title to public confidence, but would have been despised and execrated as the organs of posthumous deceit, falsehood, hypocrisy and revenge.

But neither Cromwell nor Milton—and they were not disposed to be very nice in the means which they employed to blacken the memory of Charles—dared to deny the fact, that a part of the *Icon Basiliké* had been seen and read by their associates immediately after the battle of Naseby. The following paragraph on the subject, is so very much to the purpose, that we cannot withhold it from the reader. Alluding to the statements contained in the two pamphlets already so often named, Dr. Wordsworth pursues his argument in these words:—

"The assertions, I say, are important. We inquire, then, were they ever contradicted? were they ever disproved? Had they been false, this was very easy to have been done, and very likely to have been done. The parliament, who had published the letters taken at Naseby, were competent to have done it, and interested to have done it. That victory was an exceedingly important one; and yet perhaps the parliament relied more upon the uses which they should derive from the papers in the cabinet, than even from the victory itself. It is certain that their whole tone, both to the king and the people, was quite changed, when they had once secured that precious prize. All that related to the cabinet, therefore, was subject of great importance, and of urgent and immediate curiosity. Hence it is very improbable that an assertion could have been *made*, that an article of so much importance as the *Icon Basiliké* constituted part of that spoil; and that the assertion could have *remained uncontradicted*, unless in fact it were so. Fairfax and Cromwell, one the general, and the other the lieutenant-general at that battle, why did they not deny these assertions. Rushworth, the general's kinsman and secretary, the voluminous compiler of all the facts relating to these times, and who was present at the battle, why was he silent; and why does he repeatedly cite the *Icon* as the work of the king? But Cromwell, especially, promoting, as he did, all the proceedings which had been taken against the life, and those other steps which his ambition made necessary to be further taken against the fame and honour of the king; and, as part of this necessity, he, doing at this very time, all that he could to brand the *Icon Basiliké* with the stigma of forgery, why did not *he* take care that these declarations should be disproved, if he were

not conscious that they were true: and further, that their truth was *known* by such persons, that even his unscrupulous and undaunted boldness durst not venture upon the denial? I suspect that he dreaded General Fairfax; and for reasons which will appear below, I suspect that he dreaded another man more fearless than himself, the famous William Prynne. And therefore he judged silence to be the prudent part; and all his endeavour was to suppress the books in which these assertions were made."

It is abundantly clear, at the same time, that though Milton allowed himself to become the tool of Cromwell, and to make his pen the channel through which the malignity and spleen of the Protector sought a vent, he did not in his conscience believe the calumnies which he was compelled to introduce into his *Iconoclastes* against Charles the First. He never, in fact, appears to have seriously doubted that the king was the author of the book which he was hired to abuse. It is true, as Dr. Birch observes, in his *Life of the Poet*, that in some few passages of his pamphlet he has insinuated as if there were some doubt whether Charles was really the composer of *Icon Basiliké*, but his scepticism hardly ever rises above a mere hypothetical uncertainty. For instance, in his preface he says: *As to the author of these soliloquies, whether it was the late king, as is vulgarly believed, or any secret coadjutor; and some scruple not to name him.* And again, in the fourth section, *whether the king or household rhetorician*: and afterwards, in the same section, on the word *demagogue*, he remarks, *It is believed this wording was above his known skill and orthography, and accuses the whole composure to be conscious of some other author.* And again, in the eighth section, concerning the fate of the Hothams, are these observations: *So like the quibbles of a court sermon, that we may safely reckon them either fetched from such a pattern, or that the hand of some household priest foisted them in.* Notwithstanding this, continues Dr. Birch, in a great many other places he owns the book to be the king's; and when he quotes passages out of it, he generally uses these expressions, *the king's own language, his own testimony, his aphorism, his own rule, the discourses of a prince, the reason by himself set down, &c.* Besides, in his *Pro populo Anglicano Defensio*, printed in 1654, he refers to it as the king's work; as he does likewise in his *Ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth*, published in 1659, where he hath these words: *Episcopacy, which no son of Charles returning but will certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father; and then*

quotes the very words out of the chapter to the prince, and prints them in the *italic* character.

Well may Dr. Wordsworth exclaim, “ And truly, is this all? Wherefore no *confutation*? Wherefore no *mention* of the history of the Naseby copy? Assuredly, my lord, when I reflect upon the circumstances in which Cromwell and the council of state found themselves now placed; knowing that all hearts were against them, hearing themselves pursued to their privy chamber by curses loud and deep, not only from their own country, but from all quarters of the civilized world: when therefore they were called upon by every consideration to do their uttermost, and yet so little was effected: when their endeavours to cause a diversion in their own favour, by attempting to excite suspicion of forgery in the king, totally failed; then, assuredly, if on this account only, I shall require strong and indisputable evidence, if I am to be brought to believe that the book is not the king’s.”

How, then, does the case stand with regard to Gauden? We find, that from the first moment the book appeared it was universally ascribed to the king; that within a few months afterwards several pamphlets came out, asserting that it was written solely by his majesty; that the manuscript had been seen and read by friends and foes; and even that a portion of it had been some time in the hands of the latter, and actually returned by them to the royal sufferer. We find that the greatest genius in England was employed by the government to excite suspicions of its authenticity; to persuade the people to regard it as a forgery, the work of some cringing prelate, of some venal chaplain; and yet that the impression produced on the mind of that distinguished genius himself, as it may be gathered from his various publications, was, that the Icon Basiliké really and truly proceeded from the head and heart of Charles Stuart. We find that the tongues and pens of those who were most eager to deprive the king of the honour of composing this little volume, were bound up by the consciousness that the truth was known, and could not possibly be altogether suppressed; and that the utmost which they expected to gain, even by employing the perverted ingenuity of a powerful writer, was to raise doubts, to throw out hints, and above all, to attack the purity of the motives whence the soliloquies originated.

But of Dr. Gauden not a word is heard. Harris had been mentioned; Dr. Juxon had been suspected; and the name of Dr. Hammond was bandied about, as the probable author of those mysterious meditations, but no record remains to

convey to our times the slightest surmise that the zealous and loyal Dean of Bocking had lent his heifer to the royal husbandman. If Dr. Walker and he talked about it continually, and Mrs. Gauden was permitted to have her share in the domestic gossip, is it not surprising that the secret never by any means escaped: that no side wind conveyed to the protector's ear the important tidings, that a certain clergyman, who had once got a silver tankard from parliament for preaching popular doctrines, might be induced, for a suitable consideration, to render him a service a thousand times more valuable than could be derived from all the learning and talents and republicanism of Milton. If *they* had a secret to keep, the family of Gauden succeeded in keeping it so well, that, during the twelve years which elapsed between the death of Charles the First and the restoration of his son, the name of that clergyman appears not to have been once publicly mentioned in connection with the *Icon Basiliké*. In truth, the charge of forgery seems to have been gradually relinquished, the enemies of the king having adopted a different mode of attacking his memory, and chiefly by accusing him of deceit and falsehood. “Mr. Robert Sparham, of Tunstall, in the county of Suffolk, often told that he, being with his relation, the Lady Winwood, Oliver Cromwell came in, and, taking in his hand a book lying on the table, which was Εικὼν Βασιλική, he said, *Madam, I see you have Charles Stuart's book: to which she replied, My lord, do you believe the late king to be the author of it? To which he replied, Yes, most certainly; for he was the greatest hypocrite in the world.*” At the era of the Restoration, indeed, all doubts appear to have passed away; and, as a proof of this, we find a violent presbyterian, who was writing against Gauden on another subject, acknowledging in the strongest terms, that the date of all reasonable scepticism as to the authorship of the *Icon*, had quite gone by. “If that book, called Εικὼν Βασιλική, be the king's, which, we think, *none in their wits doubt, then, &c.*”

Dr. Wordsworth brings forward a great mass of contemporary evidence, which we cannot even attempt to abridge, to prove, that, from the battle of Naseby to the 30th of January 1648-9, the manuscript of the “Meditations,” in some form or other, was never lost sight of. Colonel Hammond, the king's keeper in Carisbrook castle, declared that he found in his chamber many sheets of the *Icon*, in his majesty's own hand-writing; and “*which, said he, I have at this time by me.*” On another occasion, the same Hammond expressed himself to Ludlow, the regicide, in the following

terms: "Nay, colonel, according to the old English proverb, *Give the devil his due*. Part of that book, if not the whole, was written when he was my prisoner in Carisbrook castle, where I am sure he had nothing but a Bible, pen, ink and paper; and, going to call him out of his closet to dinner, which I always did, I found him still a writing; and, staying behind to see what he writ, the paper being still wet with ink, I read at several times most of that book."

As there is in Hammond's testimony mention made of a Bible, it may be worth while to observe that the king, about the period in question, presented a copy of the sacred volume to a gentleman in attendance upon him, to whom he considered himself under some obligation. "In this Bible were many verses marked with a pen, especially in the book of Psalms. The gentleman (Mr. Anthony Mildmay) to whom the gift was made, concluding this was the king's own doing, compared the Bible with the verses cited or referred to in the Icon, after its publication. *I found, says he, they did exactly agree; I have the Bible to show, and can give any man satisfaction.*"

The only other fact we have room to record is, that the manuscript was seen, during several days, by Wade, a captain of the parliament army, who, being converted by the sight, gave up his commission, saying, "*he would no longer be such a prince's gaoler.*"

Before we proceed to give the real history of Gauden's connection with the Icon Basiliké, we shall make a few remarks, abridged from Dr. Wordsworth, on the evidence which was supplied in support of his claims by his wife and Dr. Walker, and which we have given at considerable length in a former section of this article.

In the first place, the depositions of Mrs. Gauden and of the Essex Doctor, as he was called, are at variance with the statement of Dr. Gauden himself, in regard to the very important point, whether and to what extent the king knew and approved the supposed design of publication entertained by the Dean of Bocking. Gauden, in one of his letters already quoted, says, that "his majesty graciously accepted, owned, and adopted it as his sense and genius, not only with great approbation, but admiration!" Mrs. Gauden, on the other hand, tells us, that, "having had some of those essays read to him by Bishop Duppa, he did exceedingly approve of them;" but then she adds, that "he asked also whether they could not be put out *in some other name?*" This is very different from *accepting, owning and adopting, as his own sense and genius*. But hear Dr. Walker on this weighty topic.

“ Some time after the king was murdered, Dr. Gauden, upon my asking him whether he (the king) had ever seen the book, gave me this answer: *I know it certainly no more than you*; but I used my best endeavours that he might, &c. And then the doctor goes on to inform us, that the violence which threatened the king hastening on so fast, he (Dr. Gauden) ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For, when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it by enquiry. It is unnecessary to dwell on the glaring discrepancy between not knowing whether the king ever saw the manuscript, and his owning and adopting it, as his own sense, with excessive admiration !

Again, Dr. Walker relates, that, *some time before the whole was finished*, Dr. Gauden was pleased to acquaint him with his design, and shewed him the heads of divers chapters, and so forth, and then comes to the matter of delicacy and unlawfulness, asking his principal how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world ? To which the dean replied : “ *Look on the title ; 'tis the Portraiture, &c. and no man draws his own picture.* ”

Now this is downright fiction, and betrays either a very deceitful memory, or a very accommodating imagination and moral sense. It is acknowledged, on both sides, that the original title of the royal meditations was *Suspiria Regalia*; and that, for the purpose of secrecy, as long as the book should be in the hands of the workmen, it was altered to *Εικὼν Βασιλική* while passing through the press. How, then, was it possible that Dr. Gauden could refer to the “ Portraiture,” and talk of a man drawing his own picture, when the title of the supposed treatise was *Royal Sighs* ! “ My husband,” says Mrs. Gauden, “ first gave it the title of *Suspiria Regalia* ; ” and that, as we have already remarked, was actually its title when the manuscript happened accidentally to be in the hands of the Dean of Bocking.

The Essex Doctor further narrates, that Bishop Duppá wrote the two chapters in the Icon, on the denying his majesty the attendance of his chaplains, and on the ordinance against the book of Common Prayer; and that Dr. Gauden never pretended to have written these, as he did all the rest. But we find in Gauden’s own letter, in which too, he appeals to Duppá for the truth of what he asserts, that, (speaking of the Icon), “ This book and figure was *wholly and only* my invention, making and design : ” and Mrs. Gauden, in her narrative, declares, that “ *when the book was in the press*, he (her husband) then added the essay upon their denying him the attendance of his chaplains ! ! ”

There is another fact concerning which Dr. Walker has fallen into a material inaccuracy. “ I am as sure,” said he, “ as I can be of any thing, that Dr. Gauden made the extract out of this book (*the Icon*) called, I think, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana* ;” after which he proceeds to the inference which it was his object to establish, namely, that Dr. Gauden could “ with such readiness take it (*the Icon*) in pieces, and digest it into wise and weighty sentences, who had (originally) put it together, and whose thoughts had dwelt so long and so much upon it.” But we are assured, on unquestionable authority, that the said extract was made by Dr. Hooker, “ the same Dr. Hooker who corrected the sheets when the book was printed at Mr. Dugard’s press ; and Dr. Walker himself tells us, that the *Apophthegmata* was printed by Mr. Dugard ; and Dr. Hooker hath attested this several times, and given it under his hand, and which I (Wagstaffe) have at this time in my hands.”

So much for Dr. Walker’s accuracy ! But an apology may be found for his blunders in the very important fact that he did not write his pamphlet till he was past seventy years of age ; that fifty years had elapsed from the time at which the conversations in question took place ; that he wrote reluctantly, and not till such fierce assaults were made upon his veracity, that a continuance of silence would have been held tantamount to a positive conviction ; and, finally, that he died while his pamphlet was in the hands of the printers.

But, at the best, neither Dr. Walker nor Mrs. Gauden add any thing to the testimony of Dr. Gauden himself. Their united evidence amounts to nothing more than that the matter was talked of in the family, and that the manuscript of the *Icon*, or at least a part of it, had been in Dr. Gauden’s hands. Now, all this we are perfectly ready to admit ; for it has been proved that Mr. Symmons, to whom the king committed his papers, with the command to get them printed, entrusted them for a short time to the custody of Dr. Gauden, who was his neighbour ; and further, that the Doctor availed himself of that opportunity to copy the *Icon Basiliké*. “ This appears,” says Mr. Wagstaffe, “ from a letter which I have now in my hands, of Mr. La Pla, minister of Finchingfield, to Dr. Goodall. This letter bears date November 26, 1696, and the passages in it that concern this matter, are as follow :—

“ William Allen was born in this neighbourhood, where sundry of his relations have lived with good credit. He had two uncles, tradesmen in London ; one of them a draper, to whom he was an apprentice ; but, upon the breaking out of

the civil wars, he shut up shop, and his kinsman, William, some time after, was servant to Dr. Gauden for several years, and at last married one of the family, who is still alive, and tells me Dr. Walker lived there part of the time with them, and went thence to my Lord of Warwick's. Her late husband, Allen, collected tythes for me the two first years after my coming hither, by which means I afterwards received several visits from him, wherein he would talk much of his master Gauden, and the many messages he had been sent upon in the night, between the Doctor and his family, in those times of difficulty; the dangers he had incurred on his account, having more than once saved him from being robbed, and been wounded in his defence, once, particularly, by a pistol shot in the face, the scar whereof he carried to his grave. About ten years ago he had some small estate befallen him in Wethersfield, a town about a mile and a half from this place, upon which he lived the rest of his days, and died there, in May last, in good and honest repute, for any thing I ever could hear to the contrary. I beg your pardon for troubling you with this long story, which might seem impertinent, if it did not shew the great confidence the Doctor reposed in him, and the reason he had to do so. But that which is much more to the purpose, and which I am ready to make oath of, if desired, is,—

“ *That this William Allen coming one day to see me, and, after dinner, being alone with me, I fell into discourse with him about Dr. Gauden and the king's book. He said most people thought his master to be the author of it, or to have had the chief hand in it, or to that purpose. I told him I could never believe it, for some reasons I then gave him, whereupon he smiled, and told me he believed he could say more to that business than any man besides him: for that Dr. Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and was obliged to return it by such a time; that besides what other time he might employ in it, he sate up one whole night to transcribe it; that he, William Allen, sate up in the chamber with him, to wait upon him, to make his fire, and snuff his candles.*” This I am ready to depose, if required.

“ I think he said (continues Mr. La Pla) this book was borrowed of Mr. Symmons, of Raine, one of the king's chaplains; but it being some time ago, I cannot be so positive in that as I should have been, had I, &c. But that which makes it very probable that Dr. Gauden had the book from Mr. Symmons, is the very near neighbourhood and great familiarity which I am told was between them.* One thing

* The distance between Raine church and Bocking church does not exceed a mile and a half. Finchingfield is about six miles from Bocking; and Wetherfield is about a mile and a half nearer to it.

I had forgot, namely, that, to my knowledge, Allen could read and write very well, and so could not easily be deceived either in the book, or in his master's hand, though the doctor had not told him that it was none of his.”

Both Toland and Mr. Laing endeavour to depreciate this testimony, on the ground that Allen, being a mere servant, was not likely to be made the confidant of Gauden in a matter of so much importance. But it will be seen from the former part of Mr. La Pla's letter, which we transcribed at length, for this very reason, that Allen was a person of good descent and education, and that he had even married into the family of Dr. Gauden; on which account, the communication of the secret, as the cause of his nocturnal task, is not by any means to be made a subject of surprise or of scepticism. Besides, there is no reason to believe, that the Dean of Bocking had, at so early a period, turned his thoughts to the scheme which he afterwards devised for advancing his preferment; in which case, secrecy was of no great consequence, as the action which he wished to conceal could not have been regarded as a very serious misdemeanor.

We have now come down to the Restoration; and Dr. Gauden, who had not failed to watch the signs of the times, is prepared to come forward with his claim, privately and confidentially, as a “ secret fit only for royal and noble bosoms.” He had observed, that, soon after the death of the late king, the authorship of *Icon Basiliké* was made the subject of much bitter dispute and controversy; and he was perfectly aware, that the point at issue was so circumstanced, owing to the troubles which marked the conclusion of the civil war, and to the concealment which was necessary in carrying the book through the press, that it was impossible to determine it with any such degree of certainty, as to preclude the pretensions of any individual whose rank or profession gave him access to the sovereign, or even to the knowledge of his sentiments and condition, when under the pressure of adversity, of personal grief and apprehension. Twelve years had passed away since the heat of disputation agitated most keenly the public mind; and much of the original evidence and many of the original witnesses had disappeared: Symmons was dead, and his deposition had never been taken; and, at all events, it was not the intention of Dr. Gauden to revive public curiosity, or to awaken discussion; he meant nothing more than to whisper in the ear of the Chancellor and of the Earl of Bristol that he had written the *Icon Basiliké*, and therefore, for their own sakes as well as his, for the honour of the royal family at large, and particularly to shield the memory of their late

head, it behoved them to grant him speedy and high preferment. There were twenty men in England at the time who might have made the same claim, and whose claims would have produced the same embarrassment which was created by the pretensions of Gauden. The minds of the nation had been studiously and perseveringly assailed by sophistry, by ridicule, and even by learning, to unsettle their opinions in regard to the Meditations of Charles, and to throw doubt upon their authenticity; and the effect produced by such means, so long employed, could not but be so great, as to suggest to an ambitious unprincipled man the very line of conduct which Dr. Gauden pursued, and to insure him too beforehand of its complete success.

In truth, there are many books in the hands of the public, of which the authorship might very easily be called in question; and concerning which it would be very difficult, after the lapse of a few years and the death of the author, to produce such evidence as would satisfy even the candid and impartial. Manuscripts are handed about for advice or correction; the press is superintended by a friend who enjoys experience or local conveniency; while modesty or other causes may keep in the back ground the name to which all the honour and responsibility of the work ought to be attached. A bold man in such a case has only to say, *I wrote that book*, and can shew part of the manuscript, and can prove that it was in my hands before it was sent to the printer; and therefore I insist upon having all the fame and all the emolument. Now, what might be done, in numerous instances, was, we sincerely believe, and are perfectly satisfied, that Dr. Wordsworth has placed it beyond the reach of cavil, was actually done by the Dean of Bocking, with reference to the Icon Basiliké. There was doubt at the moment respecting the authorship; and he availed himself of that doubt, so far, at least, as to found on it a confidential claim for church preferment and professional affluence.

But, does the character which Dr. Gauden bore among his contemporaries justify this inference; and are there to be traced in his public conduct any symptoms of that unscrupulous ambition, or vacillation of moral principle, which would carry a man to sacrifice truth and honour to the promotion of his worldly interests. We shall answer this question by and by: mean time, we must advert briefly to the state of the controversy relative to the Icon, during the period which extends from the Restoration to the year 1690.

It appears, then, that the secret communicated to Clarendon was confined to his own breast; and that he never insti-

tuted any investigation, nor so much as exchanged an opinion on the subject with any human being. The painful alternative placed before his eyes was, to expose to the scorn of the world either the memory of a king whom he revered, or the dignified member of a church, which, from affection and principle, he felt himself bound to support. He therefore resolved to let the secret die with him; or, at the farthest, to reveal it to the reigning monarch, whose pride and interest were equally concerned in preventing all discussion on a matter so extremely delicate. Nor was it difficult for Gauden to foresee, that such would be the predicament in which he was to place every sincere friend of Charles the First, and that their utmost endeavours would be used to preclude the remotest chance of again agitating a question, in which the name and character of that unfortunate king were likely to be compromised.

That the secret was known to Charles the Second and his brother, is made manifest by a variety of historical facts, and particularly by the conversation which the latter held, in regard to Gauden's claim, with Bishop Burnet, as detailed in the familiar pages of that gossiping prelate. But after all, there is great reason to doubt whether James did in reality accede to the pretensions of Dr. Gauden; for, in his “ Letters to the Lords and others of the Privy Council, &c.” dated 14 January 1689, he cited the *Icon Basiliké* as the work of his father. “ Together,” says he, “ with a serious reflection on a saying of our royal father, of blessed memory, when he was in like circumstances, *That there is little distance between the prisons and the graves of princes*; which afterwards proved too true in his case.” He likewise listened to an appeal made to the same authority by Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Morley, who, at the suggestion of the king his brother, made an attempt to reclaim the duke to the protestant communion. They quoted these words from the address *To the Prince of Wales*; “ If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father and as your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or disaffection from the true religion established in the church of England. I tell you I have tried it; and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world.” The duke admitted the adjuration, and never insinuated that the sentiments were not his father's, or that the book in which they are contained was apocryphal.

(To be continued.)

Art. VII.—*Le Diable Diplômé. Par un Ancien Ministre.*
Londres 1825. Schulze, 8vo. pp. 144.

FATHER SATUTTO, an excellent old gentleman, who died only a few months back, in the odour of sanctity, placed the MS. of this volume in the hands of its editor, not long before his last illness. Satutto was well known for his skill in exorcising, and the manner by which he became possessed of this treasure depended upon these his antiphlogistic powers. One fearful night in mid-winter, just as he was comfortably stepping into bed, a knock at the door arrested him, and a piteous voice outside solicited him, by his love of God and his hatred of the devil, to hasten to the spiritual aid of a veteran Diplomatist, who had long been suspected of possession, and at that moment was in the last agonies. The good Satutto dressed again rapidly, snatched up his Breviary, and a vessel of holy water, and hurried to the sick man's chamber. There he found two devils roaming up and down, and very impertinently reading the correspondence of the unhappy Diplomatist. One of them, careless of the presence of the Priest, approached a table, and placed upon it a MS. volume, which Satutto, watching his opportunity, eagerly pounced upon. The grisly guardians disputed its possession briskly, and heaven knows how the contest might have ended (for their claws were already fixed on the good father's person), had he not adroitly dashed the holy water in their faces. Hissing like hot coal from the affusion, they uttered a loud cry and disappeared, while the patient almost at the same instant breathed his last. The manuscript was written in a cabalistic character, probably by the hand of an infernal secretary, in black and bituminous ink. In spite of the sulphuric odour which it exhaled, and which might easily have killed any other scholar less versed in *Diablerie*, Satutto unravelled and decyphered it, and the fruit of his labours is now before us.

Satan, it informs us, had been giving a series of gallant fêtes at his Court, in which all was splendid and magnificent, and nothing was troublesome, save the excess of heat, when a courier arrived one day in haste from a foreign Cabinet, on a high-blooded and fine figured winged dragon. A Council sate on his despatches, and it was then determined to fill up some vacancies which had occurred in the diplomatic department, by appointing Asrasrafel ambassador, and Duriaux-Hommes as his secretary, and dismissing them to the earth with a general roving commission. Their first descent

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was in a nameless city, the Capital of Africa, in which the Pacha appeared to be a promising instrument. Here they presented themselves as travellers of distinction on a tour of pleasure. In a short time they raised an insurrection, by advising the Pacha to vaccinate all his subjects by force, and at the same time stimulating the people to resist. The malcontents, by the aid of devils, in one night destroyed every cow in the kingdom. A few days afterwards the small-pox and the plague broke out together. The Pacha enraged, marched his troops to massacre the factious populace, impaled his Muftis, and put all his Santons to the torture. Dur-aux-Hommes, as a *coup de grace*, set fire to the city, and the Diplomatsists, warned by a talisman which they bore with them, that fresh game was started in the West, took their leave of this happy country, upon which they had commenced their experiments, with that inward placidity which the consciousness of duties fully performed necessarily brings with it.

Greece was their next destination; and Dur-aux-Hommes having pointed out to his principal the beauty of the country, continued in the following strain respecting its inhabitants:—

“Voyez-vous ces bâtimens là-bas qui vomissent le feu? Eh bien, c’est la flotte des croyans et des non-croyans qui se détruisent entre-eux, les uns au nom de Mahomet les autres au nom de Jésus.”—“Et la cause de cette boucherie?”—“Ils se battent pour avoir la liberté de se tyranniser eux-mêmes.”—“C’est toujours un privilège pourtant, il faut tâcher de le leur ôter.”—“Arrêtons-nous sur ce promontoire d’où nous pouvons jouir de l’acharnement avec lequel les hommes aiment à s’égorger.”—Les cris de victoire et de douleur, l’explosion des bâtimens qui sautent en l’air, la foule des malheureux nageant et se noyant dans les flots, composaient un tableau tout à fait dans le goût des deux observateurs. “Le coup d’œil est agréable,” dit Dur-aux-Hommes, “mais je remarque que ceux qui arborent le pavillon avec une croix peinte dessus, poussent leurs adversaires à bout; ce sont pourtant de bons Musulmans et cela ne doit pas être.”—“Les soldats de la croix!”—“Ah ça racontez-moi l’histoire de ces Messieurs là, je n’en ai guères entendu parler, si ce n’était par ces charlatans de Hakims qui s’obstinaient à arracher l’Afrique à la petite vérole.”—Il allait satisfaire sa curiosité aux dépens des chrétiens, quand une forte détonnation coupa court à l’entretien; le vaisseau de l’amiral musulman venait de sauter avec quelques centaines d’hommes. Des membres, et deux ou trois têtes horriblement mutilés tombèrent à leurs pieds. Le secrétaire les contempla avec regret; son chef lui demanda la raison de ce sentiment chez lui? “Oui,” répondit-il, “je regarde ces restes avec douleur, car nous n’avons guères de meilleurs alliés que ces braves Osmanlis. Ils sont les racines de notre arbre politique: la trahison, la cruauté, l’avarice, toutes les grandes qualités se trouvent réunies

chez eux. Qui pis est, ces chrétiens combattent pour leurs droits, comme s'il était permis d'en avoir; pour leur liberté, comme si cela valait la peine d'en parler à l'heure qu'il est!"—Asrasrafel qui se sentait attristé de ces réflexions tira sa montre politique pour se distraire, mais il trouva la tête profondément endormie, car, une victoire sur le despotisme est le plus grand bien du monde!" P. 21.

Passing onward, Asrasrafel cannot avoid exclaiming, "*Quel beau pays!*" Dur-aux-Hommes replies, characteristically, "*a ravager;*" their aerial voyage was pleasantly illuminated by the flames of burning villages, and they arrived at their resting place just in the nick of time, a few minutes after a father had been impaled for sedition, in rescuing his only daughter from the lust of the Pacha. This Pacha, of whom we suspect Ali of Iannina is the prototype, is an *élève* of Dur-aux-Hommes, and he has just learned the agreeable news, that the Sultan, without taking the trouble of consulting him on the subject, has appointed himself his heir, and is about to send a pretty, blue bag, in order to convey his head, with fitting ceremony, to Constantinople.

Asrasrafel soon ingratiated himself in the favour of Rustan, (such is the *nom du guerre* of the Pacha), who in gratitude filled his seraglio with the prettiest women which his dominions could furnish. The husbands and parents came in troops to complain, but they were soon dispersed by a few seasonable volleys of musquetry; the women themselves did not murmur at all; the married were delighted, for they had long been tired of their spouses; the maidens were satisfied for it was a change of state; and Asrasrafel had taken care to make himself a very likely fellow. By the advice of his new counsellors, Rustan seized certain towns which did not belong to him, and threw his father and brother-in-law into prison, in order that he might manage their estates, and always have them near his person. His friends, who had kept aloof while there was any doubt of his maintaining himself against the Sultan, now perceiving his strength, thronged in crowds to congratulate. Rustan acknowledged their kindness and sincerity by impaling one half, and turning over the other half to Dur-aux-Hommes to hang them. To be sure it was a pleasure to be hanged by him, his workmanship was so neat.

In spite of these and other amusements of a similar character, Asrasrafel soon grew tired of the sameness of his abode, and he requested leave to absent himself on the Pacha's affairs at Constantinople. Rustan cheerfully consented, but requested to detain the secretary for a few days longer, on important business connected with his new

ministry. Asrasrafel, while on his journey, consulted his talisman, and found that a country still more west (Naples), was likely to afford equal sport with the Capital of the Faithful. Thither accordingly he directed his steps, and passed the night pleasantly enough with a few old friends on foreign missions, whom he found in the crater of Vesuvius. By one of these a messenger, *du cabinet du ministre infernel des affaires étrangères*, he sends information of his new route to Dur-aux-Hommes, by whom he is joined on the following morning.

“ Ils poursuivirent leur chemin en silence quand quelques coups de fusil se firent entendre. Un instant après ils arrivent sur les lieux pour voir expirer deux jeunes et belles personnes assassinées avec un jeune homme leur cavalier. Les cadavres mettaient en évidence la plus horrible violence. Un demi-douzaine de francs brigands font cercle autour de leurs victimes, et se disputent leurs dépouilles. Ce spectacle mit Dur-aux-Hommes de bonne humeur. Il causa familièrement avec les voleurs, s'intéressa beaucoup à luer histoire, et leur donna quelques conseils pour éviter la justice. “ Hé l'ami,” répondit leur chef, “ s'il y en avait, ces conseils là seraient excellens, mais comme nous vivons dans un pays, où Dieu merci on n'en a jamais entendu parler, ils sont fort inutiles.” — “ Allons ! tant mieux. Je ne croyais pas qu'on était si avancé dans la civilisation. Adieu, mes amis, assassinez le plus possible ; puisque vous n'aimez pas la justice vous pouvez compter sur ma protection.” — Il leur donna pour boire et s'en alla.” P. 33.

Naples was in insurrection at the moment of their arrival, the populace was raging and shouting *Vive la liberté*, till it was dispersed by the musquetry of some Austrian grenadiers ; and the envoys having gratified their curiosity, set off for a Metaphysical College in the neighbourhood.

We have not space to follow them through their adventures with the Professors, which are, however, not a little *piquants*. We shall go on with them at once to Constantinople. Here they found the Janissaries in tumult, and demanding the restoration of their Aga, whom the Sultan had sent for in a hurry, and detained longer than was pleasant either to himself or his comrades. On the application of the troops, however, which was offered after the national manner, he came back to them, without more hurt than the loss of one of his ears ; if indeed it could properly be called a loss, since it was carefully and with many excuses delivered to him in the evening, wrapped up with much taste in a rich scarlet cachemire shawl.

Asrasrafel, without loss of time, got well acquainted with all the ambassadors, who nevertheless were not a little perplexed respecting him and his purpose ; some thought him

the Emperor of China in disguise, others the Sovereign of Morocco, and a third party the King of Japan; he dined every day with one or other of the *corps diplomatique*; and on one occasion they endeavoured to fathom him, by pushing the bottle quickly, but the wary minister turned the tables, by mixing a potion with the wine, and avoiding it himself.

“ Pendant le diner la conversation s'engage, s'échauffe, chacun fait le rusé avec son voisin ; à force d'être de sangfroid, on s'emporte ; la potion commençait à faire son effet ; c'était une belle confusion, toute réserve fut mise de côté, chacun prenait la parole, et trouvait fort impertinent que les autres ne l'écoutassent point ; ils disaient tout ce qu'ils savaient et bien au-delà. Tous veulent faire d'Asrafel leur confident. “ Voyez-vous,” lui dit à oreille l'envoyé des Centaurs, (English) “ ce brave diplomate Ostrogoth (Russian)? Eh bien, je suis ici pour le déjouer ; je fais semblant de me charger de ses affaires, ce n'est que pour mieux faire les miennes, sans moi ses différends auraient été arrangés il y a dix ans.”—“ C'est ma foi fort plaisant,” observa l'Ostrogoth à l'autre oreille, “ que de voir un homme donner si complètement dans le panneau : je le charge de négociations épineuses, comme autrefois le jardinier chargea son âne, pour lui faire croire que nous désirons un accommodement ; Dieu nous en préserve ! ce serait notre ruine ; nous travaillons bien mieux au contraire sous ce voile de modération à notre grandeur future, tout sera bientôt prêt, vous verrez qui de nous deux aura raison.”—“ Messieurs,” dit alors un gros ministre chamarré de rubans et de décorations, “ je vais vous parler en franc Vandale (Austrian), comme j'ai l'honneur de l'être. Vous avez des buts particuliers ? c'est fort bien ; moi, pas du tout. Mon maître est magnanime et ne désire point étendre ses conquêtes. Il veut seulement que tout revienne comme dans le bon vieux temps, époque que nous ne pouvons jamais assez regretter ! (sensation et attendrissement dans l'auditoire). Oui, Messieurs, je le répète, il ne veut point des améliorations funestes d'un siècle licencieux, son cœur royal se contente de garder ce qu'il a, chose qui ne laisse pas d'être extrêmement difficile. ‘ Mes enfans,’ disait une fois ce Monarque éclairé, ‘ je ne veux point d'instruction, obéissez et payez, voilà tout ce que je désire !’ Après ces paroles, pleines de bonté, vous trouverez naturel, Messieurs, que je vous dise, et cela ne peut être trop connu, que mon auguste Souverain, que Dieu conserve ! m'envoie ici seulement et uniquement pour entretenir l'amour et l'amitié personnels qui l'unissent avec le Grand Seigneur. Leurs vues, leurs sentimens, sont les mêmes, il travaille tous les jours à imiter davantage les excellentes institutions de l'empire Ottoman.” Tout le monde rit de bon cœur de cette harangue, comme on rit entre amis qui pensent bien et de la même manière, quand l'Ambassadeur des Velches (French), homme poli, se leva et dit : “ Messieurs, j'ai l'honneur d'être ici, parce que c'est l'habitude chez nous de mettre toujours quelqu'un à la Porte ; je n'ai rien à faire ; il n'y a point de spectacle,

je m'ennuie à la mort ; faitesmoi le plaisir de venir danser chez moi demain soir." Là-dessus le Conseil s'est dissout." P. 52.

The envoys amused themselves for a while by promoting the chief baker, who was first cousin to the chief barber, and in high favor at the Seraglio, to the command of an expedition against the Giaours. The baker had already manifested excellent dispositions, and his ears had been nailed to his own shop door for selling bad bread to the believers. Dur-aux-Hommes, who loved to initiate and form the characters of novices, resolved to accompany him. He prompted his pupil to ravage sundry districts, and massacre divers inhabitants, and then blighted his early success by leading him into an engagement which terminated in the entire destruction of the fleet entrusted to his charge. In order that he might finish his career like a good Mussulman, a green silk cord was despatched to him, accompanied by a consolatory letter from the secretary, representing the troubles of life most philosophically ; and stating that there were few pleasanter and no more assured remedy for them than a green silk cord. The baker made no attempt to confute the justice of this reasoning, but cursed the sender, himself, and the day on which he was tempted to quit his shop. His head was sent post to Constantinople, and placed in the hands of his cousin, that he might render it fit for presentation to the Sultan. The task was unexpected, and by no means agreeable ; and appears from the sequel to have disordered the good man's nerves. His razor was no longer sure ; and one morning, in shaving the Sultan's head, he made an unfortunate sliver, which instantly cost him his own, by the hand of the monarch himself. Just at this moment Dur-aux-Hommes was announced ; and the Sultan, indiscriminate in his rage, cut him also in two with a single stroke of his sabre. The secretary calmly re-adjusted his body,

" For airy substance soon unites again,"

and complained of this gross infraction of the law of nations. The Sultan cursed all laws, clapped his hands for his guards, and ordered the two strangers to be crucified : meantime they took refuge in the hotel of the ambassador of the Ostrogoths.

" Tous les ministres étrangers s'écrièrent contre l'insulte faite à leur confrère. Le ministre des Centaures dit, qu'ils avaient tous raison, que c'était chose affreuse, mais qu'il fallait temporiser. Le Velche rejeta cet avis et proposa d'envoyer un cartel à Sa Hautesse. Le bon Vandale soutint au contraire que ce que l'on pouvait faire de mieux était d'oublier cette affaire, le coupable étant un Souverain, et tout leur étant permis, on ne devait pas les juger dans les balances ordinaires ; il fallait respecter jusqu'à leurs voies de fait ; que quant

à lui il ne pourrait jamais s'honorer assez d'un soufflet appliqué par une main royale, etc. etc." P. 61.

In the end the Diabolists took the road to St. Petersburg; here they amused themselves with the *Montagnes Russes*, and roused a storm to overturn the Emperor and his suite, who were careering in sledges. At the first audience Asrasrafel presented the great Autocrat with a small volume of his own composition, entitled "*Des Douceurs de l'absolu, contrastées avec l'absurdité de la Liberté, &c. &c. adapté à l'usage des rois;*" and a new instrument contrived to administer the knout more expeditiously. Both of these offerings were received most graciously: the first was licensed, reprinted, and a copy sent to every *bureau* in the Empire; and the second, as quite necessary to the tranquillity and happiness of the people, was transmitted to the Minister of Police. The Diplomatsists were soon in general fashion; the fine figure of Asrasrafel delighted the Empress, and she judged favourably of Dur-aux-Hommes from the fire which flashed perpetually from his large and brick-coloured eyes. Among her other inquiries, she asked somewhat unluckily whether his native country was very cold; and when he adroitly disembarrassed himself by saying they knew nothing of winter there, she expressed her deep sense of the happiness of such a favoured climate.

Buonaparte's invasion ensued. The devils assisted in burning Moscow, and then stiffened the French troops by frost. So pleased was their great master with the exertions of his Ministers, that he invested Asrasrafel with the grand brimston-coloured *cordon*, and the title of Prince of the Satanic Empire; and despatched to Dur-aux-Hommes by the same extraordinary courier, a grand cross of the first class of the *grille rouge*, and named him *Directeur des menus plaisirs de S. M.*—a term for which we are not sorry that we can find no precise English representative.

In the train of the Sovereigns, the envoys advanced to Paris; they are introduced to Fouché, and find him too thoroughly instructed in his duties to need any farther advice; and after a short stay they proceed to Vienna. Here, after the close of the hundred days, they are present at the Congress, which ratifies the following edict before its separation.

"Vu la tranquillité qui règne maintenant dans l'esprit public, et voulant donner une preuve convaincante de notre empressement à concilier toutes les opinions, nous avons avec l'avis de nos conseils ordonné, et ordonnons ce qui suit :

"Art. I. 'Chacun sera libre de faire tout ce qu'il voudra en se conformant préalablement à nos vues.'

" 2. ' La liberté de la presse est reconnue désormais ; l'on peut publier tout ouvrage, hors ceux que nous signalerons comme inconvenables.'

" 3. ' La liberté individuelle est également garantie.—Défense à tout fonctionnaire d'emprisonner nos sujets sur des soupçons légers, pour moins de cinq ou plus de vingt années.'

" 4. ' Toutes les opinions politiques seront respectées vu la faiblesse humaine ; on se contentera d'une légère confiscation de biens. Pour le reste, oubli et amnestie entière, le passé toutefois excepté.' "

P. 93.

Madrid is their next abode—then Berlin : but we must hasten onwards to England (*le pays Centauresque*) as our own more peculiar concern. Here they first saw a steam-boat ; and naturally enough for awhile believed it to be a species *d'enfer portatif*. Having politely asked a passer by to take the trouble of being kind enough to explain this phenomenon, he d—d them for two outlandish fools for their ignorance, and desired them to leave him alone. A little woman, "*bien propre, bien prude*," who came up at the moment, developed the mystery, and at the same time held out her hand for a few halfpence ; for every thing in England is to be paid for.

On arriving in London, Dur-aux-Hommes regaled in the *carbonism* of the atmosphere, and felt induced to have apartments next door to some gas works, which comforted his lungs, and reminded him agreeably of home. Asrasrafel however was too well acquainted with the English modes to permit so false an arrangement : he knew that character depended mainly upon the quarter in which a man lodged ; he therefore hired a handsome first floor in St. James's, and assumed the title of Count. In due season they were presented to the Minister, who having taken three weeks to assure himself that they were all they pretended to be, in turn presented them to others with his own voucher for their respectability. But the devils by no means comprehended our national character ; and many of the pictures given of it are forced, unnatural, and untrue. Asrasrafel intrigued with a rich man's wife, and was detected in his amour : the husband stormed, and threatened to throw him out of window ; but the payment of his debts, and the offer of a bank bill, pacified his anger, and opened the door quietly. The newspapers spread the scandal ; and every woman in England pitied the unlucky lover, and undertook to reform him. We are then presented with a hypochondriac suicide, whose only reasons for self-destruction were that he is "*trop riche, trop gras*," and that "*les choses vont trop bien*." A boxing match succeeds, which we are by no means surprised to find was altogether after the taste of Dur-aux-Hommes.

A party at the Lord Chancellor's is described according to the vulgar and malignant gossip of the present day. The conversation before dinner turned on the advantage of public and private economy, and the principles inculcated in the withdrawing room, were exemplified to the letter, in the eating parlour. A visit to his Lordship's Court on the next day, might be introduced into Mr. Williams's next elaborate *tirade* in the House of Commons, or in Mr. Brougham's, or Mr. —'s forthcoming peevish and scurrilous advertisement for a silk gown, in the *Edinburgh Review*.

The House of Commons, with some few exceptions, is depicted more justly :

“ Par désœuvrement les deux diables allèrent un soir au sénat centauresque. En entrant cependant ils ne reconnurent aucun indice d'assemblée réunie pour l'expédition des affaires de l'état. Dans la salle il y avait le président qui jouissait du sommeil des justes et des présidens ; sous sa tribune se trouvait un groupe fort occupé à discuter quel serait le cheval gagnant aux courses qui devaient avoir lieu le lendemain, et c'était le seul groupe qui paraissait un peu animé ; d'autres se tenaient difficilement éveillés en fixant avec fermeté le réverbère qui éclairait assez mal la salle. Un orateur, (on voyait bien qu'il débutait,) parlait avec onction des bienfaits de la constitution, et sollicitait l'indulgence de l'auguste assemblée, qui certainement aurait eu de la difficulté à exaucer ses vœux, si elle eut entendu son discours ; heureusement pour lui, on parlait haut dans le corridor qui donne sur le café du sénat. Quelques membres tout bottés, épéronnés, et la cravache à la main, s'étendaient tout de leur long sur les banquettes au fond de l'enceinte ; ceux qui ne ronflaient pas, frédonnaient tout bas un air de leur façon, et faisaient claquer de temps en temps leurs cravaches contre leurs bottes pour se distraire. Le membre qui avait la parole, étant novice, crut que l'on battait des mains pour l'applaudir ; ce fut alors qu'un député qui sortait de table arriva, et éveilla tout le monde en sursaut, par la manière vigoureuse avec laquelle il captiva l'attention de la chambre, en lui proposant d'ajouter s'il le fallait des impôts sur les autres denrées, mais d'abolir pour toujours ceux qui affectaient les vins. On applaudit si fort qu'on éveilla Asrasrafel et Dur-aux-Hommes qui se retirèrent fort contents de leur soirée. P. 125.

The prevalent taste for chimerical inventions and joint stock bubbles, is finely ridiculed, but the passages will not admit abridgment, and are too long for insertion. At a large dinner party, Asrasrafel is surprised at the early departure of the ladies from table ; and the very circumstance which, perhaps, beyond all others gives a high intellectual tone to English conversation, is wholly unintelligible to the French writer. On another point we meet with the following more just observation :

“ ‘Avouez-moi aussi,’ dit Asrasrafel ; ‘ que votre aristocratie est la plus aristocrate, la plus de froidement hautaine, la plus exigeante, et peut-être la plus insolente du monde connu ? ’ ”

“ Quelques jeunes Centaurs nobles qui se trouvaient là, firent mine de s'emporter, mais un coup d'œil de Dur-aux-Hommes les calma. Le ministre, homme très-sensé, et sans préjugés, quoique cela paraisse incroyable, but un verre de vin pour se consoler en avouant que l'Ambassadeur avait raison ; ‘ Mais, ajouta-t-il, ’ convenez que cette aristocratie est aussi la plus patriote de la terre et celle qui sert le mieux les intérêts commerciaux de sons pays. ’ Asrasrafel fut obligé d'en convenir. ” P. 137.

The state of Ireland and the Catholic Question, appear to offer favorable opportunities for the exercise of the peculiar powers, and the attainment of the special objects of the Diplomatsists. It was far beyond their hopes to have found in a free and civilized country, two factions so ferocious and so destructive as those opposed to each other in the western part of the Empire ; and in contemplating their fury they eagerly anticipate the hellish delights of Civil war and massacre—but—we scarcely know how—their dreams melt away, and the Genius of the Empire and “ *un ministre connu par ses grands talens, par son éloquence, par son philanthropie,* ” appear in a clap of thunder like the good Fairy and Harlequin in the last scene of a Pantomime. They assure the diabolical Diplomatsists that they are determined to be just ; and as soon as they have bound themselves by an oath to that effect a tremendous subterranean voice recalls the fiends home, and they vanish with this exclamation : “ *Maudissons le sort ; car La Patrie est sauvée.* ”

The whole of this little volume is written in an agreeable and well sustained irony. It is a magic lanthorn of the present state of all those parts of the world which are connected with European politics ; and the glasses which are vividly coloured, slide smoothly before the eye and present very lively pictures. We believe it to be the work of a Frenchman, and if so, allowing for a few very natural mistakes, the tone adopted in the description of England is far more liberal than we recollect to have seen used by any former writer from the opposite side of the Channel.

ART. VIII.—1. *A Letter to the Right Reverend C. J. Blomfield, D.D. Bishop of Chester; from Charles Butler, Esq. in Vindication of a Passage in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," censured in a Letter addressed to him by his Lordship. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. Murray. pp. 27. 1825. 1s.*

2. *A Letter to Charles Butler, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, in Vindication of English Protestants from his Attack upon their Sincerity in the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church." By C. J. Blomfield, D.D. Bishop of Chester. Third Edition. To which is added, A Postscript, in Reply to Mr. Butler's Letter to the Author. Mawman; Rivingtons. pp. 35. 1825. 1s.*

A CHARGE brought forward by Mr. Butler, in his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," has been already submitted to the attention of our readers. This charge is so utterly at variance with every thing we know and hear and read, that the interference in it of the Bishop of Chester, has been thought by some, unnecessary, and therefore injudicious; to this opinion, however, we are by no means disposed to accede. The question, as will appear hereafter, relates to opinions rather than to facts, on which account it requires the aid of authority and experience as well as that of argument; and though the prelates of our church may well listen in silence, when the miracles of Prince Hohenloe are gravely produced in honour of the Catholic cause, though they may safely delegate to others well qualified, the task of vindicating the memory of our reformers from the errors or the misrepresentations of their adversaries, yet when an attempt is made, as in the case before us, to raise the integrity and consistency of the Catholic clergy upon the ruins of the character of our own, it is surely most reasonable and becoming in those who are the proper guardians of the Protestant cause, and who, from their extensive connections with the different orders of our clergy, are supposed to be best acquainted with their opinions, to stand forward openly in their defence. Times of excitement like these are not times of security; nor are the name and reputation of Mr. Butler such, that his authority should be regarded with indifference, or his arguments combated by inferior pens. As a layman voluntarily withdrawing himself from the concerns of a lucrative profession, to embark in religious controversy, his access to the public mind is unimpeded by those common prejudices which are too apt to accompany the writings of the clergy, of whatever denomination they may be; while on the other hand, as the confi-

dential and favoured advocate of the pretensions of the English Catholics, he possesses all the influence and authority which such a distinction can bestow; but what contributes most of all to conciliate the minds of his readers of every description, is the claim which he sets up of singular moderation and Christian charity, in all that he advances or maintains; a claim which, when partially supported and seconded by smooth and seductive language, secures not only a fair hearing with all, but procures often, with indolent readers, a ready credit for assertions, without due examination of the reasoning on which they rest. Upon these grounds we consider the task undertaken by the Bishop of Chester, as every way worthy of the name and station which he bears; and as it is clear, that apart from the consciousness of having done his duty, he had nothing to gain in such a contest, and no personal feeling to gratify, we consider him entitled to the thanks of every friend to the Established Church. The Bishop's Letter has already been noticed, and we have now before us Mr. Butler's Vindication, with a Postscript from his Lordship in reply; and that our readers may be enabled to accompany us as we trace the progress of the controversy, we shall repeat the passage which gave occasion to it.

“ You more than insinuate, that the great body of the English Clergy disbelieve the vital doctrines of Christianity, and that they subscribe to the Articles which assert those doctrines, with a heavy and unwilling heart, or with contemptuous and careless levity. The passage which contains this insinuation is so utterly at variance with your professions of candour, and is so extraordinary a specimen of gratuitous assumption, that I must transcribe it entire :

“ ‘ From the ‘ Book of the Church ’ I conclude, that you (Dr. Southey) are a sincere believer in the doctrines of the Established Church of England, as they are expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles—the authentic formulary of her faith. *You* therefore believe all that the Roman Catholic Church believes respecting the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement; but are these doctrines seriously and sincerely believed by the great body of the present English Clergy? or by the great body of the present English laity? Do not the former, to use Mr. Gibbon's expression, sign the Thirty-nine Articles *with a sigh or a smile*? Is a sincere and conscientious belief of the doctrines expressed in them, considered by the laity to be a condition for salvation? Indifference to the Thirty-nine Articles being *thus* universal, or *at least* very general among those who profess themselves members of the Established Church, must not you, &c.’ ”

P. 6.

Keeping this in view, and combining it with the observations of the Bishop, it appears to us, that two obvious and distinct methods of reply would naturally present

themselves to the mind of an ingenuous disputant. On the one hand, a candid and gracious apology for the Charge, as having been rashly and unadvisedly made, and without due reflection either upon the ground or the consequences of it; on the other, a manly avowal and repetition of it, supported by such arguments or evidence, if such there were, as might be fairly brought to bear upon it. We wish most sincerely, for the honor of the Christian name, that Mr. Butler had at least profited by this occasion, to support the character of candour which he claims; but he has done neither. He has utterly abandoned his original charge, without having the grace to acknowledge it; he has avoided the noxious matter as if he were afraid to repeat and ashamed to retract it; and so completely has he kept it out of view, that were we to admit every thing which he urges in his answer, either in the way of fact or reasoning, there is nothing which could affect the real question at issue between himself and his opponent, or even soothe the feelings which his Charge was calculated to outrage. He continues, indeed, to argue and to assert, in some respects, as unadvisedly as before, but quite upon a different ground; and having endeavoured to mislead or to confound his readers, by keeping up a running fight about matters either subordinate or irrelevant, he finally escapes from the subject altogether, by declaring, in very smooth and civil terms, his conviction, that there is after all, not the *slightest substantial difference of opinion between his Lordship and himself*, while his offensive charge remains in the back ground, unsupported, unsoftened, and unatoned for. In proof of this assertion, we shall notice the particulars of Mr. Butler's Answer.

First he disclaims the intention imputed to him by his Lordship, of virtually accusing the Protestant clergy of being hypocrites and liars, and expresses his firm conviction that they are not so. To this we answer in the words of his Lordship's reply:—

“ You say, in p. 6, of your letter, ‘ that you do not *believe* that the English Clergy are hypocrites, liars, or Socinians:’ but in answer to your assertion, that you have never *said* so, I beg leave to remind you, that whoever imputes to me a disbelief of those vital doctrines of the Gospel, the Divinity of Christ, and the Atonement, calls me, not indeed *in terminis*, but by implication, a Socinian: and that whoever charges me with having given my solemn assent to articles of faith *which I utterly disbelieve*, calls me, not in so many words, but by inevitable consequence, a hypocrite and a liar. I must therefore continue to maintain, that you have stigmatized the Clergy with these opprobrious appellations, until you shall absolutely

retract that offensive question, of which at present you have given no explanation whatever." P. 26.

But let us take Mr. Butler at his word; and we then affirm, that by this concession, he has virtually retracted all that he insinuated before. If the clergy of the Established Church be not false and hypocritical, if they be indeed true men, they cannot but believe sincerely what they daily profess and teach. But that they do profess, and have always professed, the doctrines called in question, is as certain as if it were declared by a voice from Heaven; we are only embarrassed by the abundance of the proof. We appeal, however, to the Liturgy, that beautiful formulary of faith and prayer, weekly and daily used by them, in which these doctrines are for ever prominent; to the sermons of our clergy and to the charges of our bishops, which are known to all; and, finally, to that great body of divinity accumulated and still accumulating in our church, from which may be extracted more convincing arguments for the truth of these very points, more apt and practical illustrations of them, than can be found in all the works of all the Catholic divines dispersed over the face of Europe, for the same period.

Mr. Butler then proceeds to state what he did mean—"I simply meant to describe," he says, "*the latitude of construction in which the Articles are generally signed*, and the different feelings to which the necessity of recurring to this latitude, unavoidably excites in the subscribers. Without stopping to remark upon the utter inconsistency of this assertion with the words of the original charge, we ask in the name of common sense, if this be really all, how this latitude of construction can possibly be made to prove the offensive matter which is the subject of his Lordship's animadversions? how it can even apply to it?"

It is true, these doctrines are contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, with many others; but unless it can be shewn that the latitude of construction here alleged, is claimed on account of the objections to the specific doctrines in question (a supposition notoriously contrary to the fact), and that the great body of the clergy partake of this objection, he has proved nothing;—he might as well infer, that they objected to the articles on transubstantiation, the marriage of the clergy, or any other.—But to proceed,

Mr. Butler having offered this explanation, goes on to say, that as the Bishop had called upon him to give to the world the grounds of his *insinuation*, he should proceed to do it in as few words as possible. But what *insinuation* does the Bishop challenge him to prove? That the clergy admit a latitude of

construction in signing the Articles? which is all that Mr. Butler applies himself to. No such thing: the insinuation pointed out by his Lordship, reprehended and placed by him in a variety of lights, and impossible to be mistaken even by a child, is contained in Mr. Butler's queries, so often alluded to, viz. ; Are these doctrines, viz. the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. sincerely believed by the great body of the English clergy?—Thus his Lordship calls upon him to prove one thing, and his opponent, affecting to comply with his call, proceeds to prove another ;—another, not only differing altogether from the first, but incapable, by any fair reasoning, of application to it. Nor does Mr. Butler attempt so to apply it.

There is, indeed, one assertion contained in this answer, and only one, which, if true, might by a circuitous induction apply to the point in question, and that is the following:—After describing Chillingworth as the author of the celebrated dogma, that the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants, and Hoadly as receiving and transmitting it, he adds this remarkable assertion:—

—“ that bishop Hoadly is, in respect to theological belief and opinion, the patriarch of nearly the whole of the present ministry of the Established Church of England.” P. 11.

Here again we refer to his Lordship's reply ; and we are certain, that his prompt denial will find an echo in the breast of every English clergyman who reads it.

“ I should call this an *insolent* calumny, were I not persuaded that it originated in *ignorance*. To hold up, as our patriarch in theological belief, a person who denied the Atonement, is a gross insult upon our sincerity and honesty, to be excused only upon the supposition that you have no very exact knowledge of what Hoadly's tenets really were. He had not *many* followers, in *theological belief*, amongst the Clergy of his own day: he has now next to *none*. It is true he was a bishop, though a Socinian ; so was Leo the Tenth a pope, though an infidel ; but the former is no more an exemplar of faith to the Protestant Clergy, than the latter is to those of your own communion.” P. 31.

It is quite unnecessary for us to follow Mr. Butler through the line of argument he has adopted in proof of his assertion respecting the *latitude of construction* claimed by some of our divines ; because if all that he can prove were admitted, and much more, it could not substantiate his charge ; but the instances he cites, and the inferences he draws from, are thus noticed in the Bishop's reply.

“ Positive disbelief of the great and fundamental doctrines of our faith has nothing to do with the latitude of construction, in which you suppose the Articles to be generally signed. You cannot be ignorant that this supposed latitude refers chiefly to the doctrines involved in the quinquarticular controversy; and that those writers, who have termed our Articles—‘articles of peace,’ have so termed them with reference to the points at issue between the Calvinistic and Arminian divines, who were the two parties to be reconciled; and not with the most distant allusion to those fundamental points of doctrine which are controverted by the followers of Socinus.

“ Of Dr. Paley, Dr. Balguy, Dr. Powell, and other writers, to whom you have referred as allowing a certain latitude in subscription, I may remark, that not one of them contemplates the allowableness, or the possibility of that, which you impute to the Clergy in general—*subscription to articles which are not believed*. Dr. Powell, in particular, says, ‘Since it cannot be imagined, that men should explain with clearness, or enforce with earnestness, or defend with accuracy, *such doctrines as they do not believe*, the Church requires of them, who are appointed to teach religion, *a solemn declaration of their faith*.’ In quoting Paley’s opinion, according to which you maintain that the Articles may be subscribed by Unitarians and Arians (why not Jews and Mahometans also?) you *omit* his concluding sentence, which effectually destroys your induction—‘Nor can a subscriber to the Articles take any advantage of any latitude, which our rule may seem to allow, who is not first convinced, that he is truly and substantially satisfying the intention of the legislature.’ This is not the only, nor the most important omission, which, I foretell, will be proved against you.

“ You tell me, in p. 16, of the second edition of your letter, that Dr. Powell and Dr. Hey, ‘neither define the original construction of the Articles, nor the new construction which they assert them to have received, in consequence of an alleged tacit reformation—this they leave at large to the imagination of the subscribers; by these it is to be discovered; by these to be adopted; and by these to be fashioned to their own feelings.’ Really, Sir, this assertion compels me to offer you a piece of advice, of the neglect of which I see many marks in your late publications, viz. to *read* the authors whom you quote, and not to take your notions of them at second-hand from Dr. Milner. I need not inform those persons who *have* read Dr. Hey’s Lectures, that three out of his four volumes are expressly and entirely employed by him in doing that, which you assert that he has not done at all; in giving a very exact historical account of every article, shewing their original construction, the change of construction, which certain of them may be supposed to have undergone, and the modifications which *might* be adopted, in case of a revision, *in order to comprehend those who cannot conscientiously subscribe them in their present form*.

“ As to the different feelings with which you supposed Dr. Samuel Clarke, Dr. Conyers Middleton, Dr. Clayton, and the petitioners of 1772, to have subscribed, they have nothing to do with the belief of the present English Clergy, in the great doctrines before alluded

to; not to mention, that the reception which the opinions of those persons met with at the time, is a sufficient proof that they were not, even then, the opinions 'of the great body of the English Clergy.'

"In 1772, only 250 out of at least 10,000 clergymen petitioned that subscription to Articles should be dispensed with; and it by no means appears that even of them, *all* were Socinians or Arians. The great body of English Dissenters object to subscriptions; but they are neither Socinians nor Arians. Yet upon the strength of this case, where one in forty avowed a dislike of the *principle* of subscription to *any* articles of faith, you build your assumption, that 'the great body of the English Clergy disbelieve the Divinity of Christ;' and, while pretending to disavow the charge, you tell us, as a matter of notoriety, "that BISHOP HOADLY IS, IN RESPECT TO THEOLOGICAL BELIEF AND OPINION, THE PATRIARCH OF NEARLY THE WHOLE OF THE PRESENT MINISTRY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND"!! P. 27.

Of what import is it to the point in question, if, among the thousands and tens of thousands of Protestant clergymen since the Reformation, a few Arians or Socinians may have crept into the church unawares, who in conformity to their principles should have wished to get rid of the Articles altogether; they are indeed but as dust in the balance. Of what import is it, if, at the present day, a few Calvinistic clergymen (not all the evangelical occupiers of our livings, as is erroneously said) should subscribe to the Articles (those we mean connected with the Arminian controversy) in a sense different from that in which they are received by the great majority, and yet conscientiously believing that they receive them in the sense in which they were compiled;—this is nothing to the purpose; and yet it is all that can be proved, and all that he contends for.

Finally, Mr. Butler complains, that he ought not to be pressed with consequences which he does not expressly avow. But this rule does not here apply to him; it is not the words, but the spirit of an accusation to which men chiefly look; and in this view, the consequences are his own,—Who asked whether the English clergy of the present day, or even the laity, believed the doctrines of the Trinity, &c.; who vaunted the superiority of the Roman Catholic faith over the scanty creed of the Protestant, on the ground that the former did believe these doctrines and the latter not? True it is, our creed is scanty, when compared with that of the Catholics; and this is the old grievance between us. We are so far content with the Bible, that whatsoever is not found therein, nor can be proved thereby, is not considered by us as necessary to salvation. Hence we disclaim the bulls of their popes, the traditions of their church, and the decrees of their discordant

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councils, ἡ πίστις παραδοθεῖσο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔτε προσθήκην ἔτε μείωσιν ἀπαιτεῖ. But while we thus refuse a blind submission to doctrines of human invention or authority, we are the more anxious to guard in all their purity and simplicity those which are divine, the faith once delivered to the saints. Such is our creed, and such the foundation upon which it rests; and if indeed, as Mr. Butler insinuates, we have betrayed the sacred trust which has devolved upon us—if we have shrunk for a moment as a body, from the frank avowal and support of those fundamental doctrines he enumerates, the very ground and pillar of our faith, then should we well deserve the punishment he would inflict upon us; then let our necks be bowed down to receive again the yoke which our ancestors have shaken off, and let the Pope and the mass lord it once more over God's inheritance in this land. But if, on the contrary, to use the language of one of the greatest luminaries of the Protestant church, "if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forsaken him; if our priests, the sons of Aaron, minister unto the Lord, and the Levites in their office; if we offer unto the Lord, every morning and every evening, the burnt offerings and sweet incense of prayers and thanksgivings; if the bread be set in order upon the full table, and the candlestick of gold with the lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to say, if amongst us God's blessed sacrament be duly administered, his holy word sincerely and daily preached; if ye keep the watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have not forsaken him, then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a captain; his priests with sounding trumpets, must cry alarm against you—O ye children of Israel, fight not against the Lord God of your fathers, for ye shall not prosper!"

Upon the whole, claiming for ourselves the credit of as much Christian charity as Mr. Butler claims, and more we think than on this occasion he has exercised, we never in the whole course of our experience met with so grievous a charge, so lightly and wantonly made, and so ungraciously abandoned.—Abandoned is not the proper term; for Mr. Butler recurs, at the close of his epistle, to the spirit of his former accusation, and says, that if the Catholics would act upon the principles adopted by our clergy, they might take oaths which they do not believe.

"You know that all the pains, penalties, and disabilities, which the Roman Catholics suffer, are owing to their conscientious objections to taking certain religious oaths; to making certain religious declarations, and conforming to the religious rite of our Lord's Supper, as it is established by law.

" Now, I beg leave to ask your Lordship, why—according to the principles, which I have shown to be generally adopted in the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles—all these oaths, and declarations, and the religious rite of the sacrament, should not be considered by the Roman Catholics, merely as articles and symbols of peace, as much as the Thirty-nine Articles are so considered by members of the Established Church ?

" Upon this suggestion I beg your Lordship's answer.

" Should it be in the negative,—I request your Lordship will inform me what fact, or what mode of reasoning can be produced, which satisfactorily shows, that the cases are substantially different ?

" Should it be in the affirmative,—I request your Lordship will do justice to Catholic honour and Catholic probity.

" By availing themselves of one or other of the saving systems which have been adopted in the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Roman Catholics might, according to the approvers of these systems, have taken the oaths, made the declarations, and conformed to the holy rite, with safe consciences, and have delivered themselves by it from all the pains, penalties and disabilities, to which they have been exposed by their refusal of them.

" But such a proceeding has been always considered unlawful by the Roman Catholics. I believe there has not been a *single instance* in which a Roman Catholic has resorted to any such saving construction.

" Does not your Lordship honour the Catholic body for this conduct ?

" Does not your Lordship think that it recommends them both to God and to man ?" P. 23.

We know not how a more offensive accusation could be brought against the church, than that which is contained in this passage. Nor would it be easy to make a better reply, than the Bishop of Chester puts forward on the occasion :

" You ask me, whether I do not honour the Catholic body, for not having *sworn* that their own opinions are false and damnable ; and whether I do not think that this conduct recommends them both to God and man ? I honour men, who will not renounce their profession of faith, till they are convinced that it is erroneous ; but I do not perceive that any *peculiar* praise is due to Roman Catholics, for declining to swear that they are *not* Roman Catholics. When a man takes *credit* to himself for not having committed *perjury*, we are naturally inclined to suspect his *honesty*. You must excuse me, therefore, if I do *not* consider *this* to be a 'striking,' though it may be a 'long subsisting proof of their integrity and worth,' the evidences of which, fortunately for them, rest on a much surer and more substantial basis than that, upon which you have indiscreetly placed them." P. 33.

One word more before this article is closed : So long as the

Catholic claims, for what is called emancipation, were urged upon their proper grounds of christian charity and toleration; or even of expediency or civil rights, the clergy have little to oppose but what is common; but when the question comes to be mixed up, as is the case at present, with that of the respective merits of the Catholic and Protestant faith, it is high time that they should prepare themselves for their defence; but let us not mistake the comparative value of their weapons, or doubt for an instant in what quarter their real strength and superiority will be found. Much pains have been lately bestowed and considerable light has been thrown upon the character of the events and the views of the persons connected with the reformation; nor can we refuse our testimony to the value of such labours; it is at all times a task worthy of literary men to clear up the obscurities of history, and a generous and noble one to rescue the memory of good men, from the obloquy, which the envy or ill will of contemporaries, or the party prejudices of modern times since have fixed upon them; but something more efficient is required at present, and it is of much less consequence to determine, whether six or seven recantations were signed by Archbishop Crammer, in his momentary weakness, while pursued by the implacable Bonner, than whether the reformation he so greatly contributed to bring about, has been productive of blessings to this free country, or not. If our first martyrs had been infinitely less pious, less intelligent, and less devoted than they were, it would have detracted something from the ornament, but nothing from the merits of our cause; to these then let the thoughts of our clergy, and those of others be directed. Let them point to those great men, who have been the children of the reformation, as well as to those who were the parents of it—to Hooker, Hall, Chillingworth, Bull, Horsley, Paley, and many others; let them dwell upon the genius that has been awakened and the powers which have been developed in its course; upon that enlargement of the mind, and that emancipation of the spirit, which have raised the times succeeding the reformation so much above those which preceded it. And if they are at a loss for language adequate to these conceptions, let them adopt that of the sublime Milton.

“ ‘ When I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how *the bright and blissful Reformation*, by Divine Power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him

that reads, or hears; and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrantcy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon." P. cxiv.

ART. IX. A Bill, as amended by the Committee, for granting Relief to certain Persons dissenting from the Church of England, in relation to the Solemnization of Marriages.

THE Preamble to this Bill asserts the expediency of granting ease in certain cases to scrupulous consciences, "without infringing on the general policy of the law relative to clandestine marriages;" that is to say, the authors of the measure avow their determination to abide by the spirit of the Marriage Act. Of course, therefore, the tendency and effect of that celebrated law must be fully understood, before a proper opinion can be formed upon the Unitarian Bill, now, for a third time, under the consideration of Parliament.

Christianity has taught us, that the marriage state is holy; and the practice of every christian nation requires us to strengthen the contract by a religious sanction. In this country the contract must be made in the presence of a priest, and, except in cases of adultery, cannot be dissolved. Thus far we are governed by the canonical and the common law; but the statute law has subjected us to additional controul. It is the right and duty of the state to prescribe such forms for the solemnization of matrimony, such mode of giving publicity to the contract, and perpetuating the evidence of it, together with such restriction upon persons under age as may be most advantageous to the community at large. The Marriage Act has accomplished this task; it has been in operation the greater part of a century; its defects have been removed by recent amendments; the nation is convinced that it works well; and therefore, in discussing the Unitarian Bill, we shall consider it in reference to the state, rather than the church. Its friends represent it as a measure of toleration; and they are welcome to the relief it can afford. We only wish to stipulate, that the church may not be saddled with the burden which dissenters will cast off. If this prayer

be granted, the ecclesiastical question is at an end; it will remain to examine the civil consequences of the proposed measure.

It sets out with an assurance, that it will not infringe upon the general policy of the marriage law. That law provides one place in every parish for the performance of the ceremony, and appoints one person in every parish to solemnize and record the marriage. It enacts, that the clergy, and they only, shall celebrate lawful marriage; that strict limitations shall be placed even upon them; and that a written instrument, executed at the time of celebration, and copied into the registers of the Ecclesiastical Courts, shall be preserved as a perpetual record, and received as sufficient evidence of every individual marriage. The strictness of these provisions, the notoriety of the appointed place, the respectability of the officers employed, their education, their public character, and their good conduct, have combined to render the system effectual. Minors are seldom able to contract a clandestine marriage; doubtful marriages are unknown; families of natural children cannot be legitimatised suddenly at the expense of a false oath, and to the great encouragement of concubinage. There is hardly an instance of disputed title from marriages solemnized since the passing of the Marriage Act. The law-suits that occur, relate almost without exception to Scotch and other foreign weddings, or to those which took place before the establishment of the present system. The rank, the property, the comfort of our countrymen are secure, for the time to come, against the various interruptions arising out of an uncertain pedigree. The longer the machinery exists, the more beneficial will it become; and its good effects, even in this early stage, are acknowledged by the very men who endeavour to subvert it.

An exception exists with respect to the Quakers and Jews, whose peculiarities are a sufficient guarantee against the abuse of their privilege, and whose circumstances prevent them from producing a general effect upon the transmission of property or of honours. With this inconsiderable exception, the law already described, is the universal law of England. After much deliberation, it has been recently re-enacted. It is the law under which an immense majority of the people wish to live, and it ought not to be tampered with upon trifling grounds.

The Bill under consideration proposes to subvert it, out of respect for the religious feelings of Unitarians.

“Whereas many of his Majesty’s good and faithful subjects,

being Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England as by law established, entertaining conscientious scruples with respect to the doctrine of the Trinity, and commonly called Unitarians, regard on that account the necessity of solemnizing matrimony in a parish church or chapel, according to the rules prescribed by the rubric in the book of common prayer, as a grievance repugnant to their religious feelings, and have at various times petitioned Parliament to be relieved therefrom."

Therefore be it enacted, that the said Unitarian dissenters may be married upon certain conditions by their own teachers, and in their own chapels. The conditions will be examined hereafter. For the present, let us inquire whether the preamble just recited does not strike at the root of the existing law.

The measure stands upon two legs, the conscientious scruples of the Unitarian, and his various petitions to Parliament. It is not stated that his conscience is more tender, or his petition more reasonable than that of other men, that the grievance inflicted upon his religious feelings, results from superior piety, or that the petitions repeatedly presented to the senate, are got up by a meddling attorney of the name of Wilkes. There is nothing peculiar in the case. It is a question of exemption from the established laws, and every individual who entertains a scruple and presents a petition, has just as good a right to relief as the clients of Mr. Wilkes.

In fact, the Unitarians are not his only clients. Two years ago, when the question was last before Parliament, he procured a petition from the Catholics of St. Lukes, in which their grievances in this respect were enumerated, and the privilege of marrying in their own chapels was prayed for. And how can it be denied them, if the present Bill should pass? Catholic emancipation will give them advocates in Parliament, as influential and as persevering as the member for Norwich. They will state, what is perfectly true, that Catholics have always regarded the solemnization of matrimony in our churches as a grievance—that they are accustomed to repeat the ceremony in their own chapels, and with their own forms—that marriage in the church of Rome is a sacrament, and ought not to be celebrated between any of its members through the intervention of a Protestant priest. And how will these declarations be met. They will be met as the Unitarians have been, by concession. The advocates of every different sect will press their different but not dissimilar claim. The patience of our legislators will be exhausted—government will yield for the sake of peace and

quietness. And dissenters of every description, Catholic and Protestant, will be allowed to marry in their own chapels, upon the conditions now elaborated for the Unitarians by Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Smith. It is impossible to believe that this will be the last Dissenter's Marriage Bill. Once let the principle be established, only let the Marriage Act be partially repealed, and the rest will follow as a matter of course. The Unitarians are placed in the front of the battle, because it is supposed they have the strongest case. Their success will be followed up by every description of separatist; and the position which has been taken with so much skill will ensure the success of each. It is impossible to grant a favour to a handful of Socinians, and refuse it to the Roman Catholics of this kingdom. It is impossible to indulge our popish brethren, and deny a similar indulgence to the respectable Protestant dissenters. Lord Holland's friends of the three denominations, will be jointly and separately grieved; and will jointly and separately petition. Scruples, which the Unitarian never entertained till they were put in to his head by Mr. Fearon, will spring up like mushrooms in the hot-bed of dissent. The religious feelings of the Methodist, the Kempite, the Jumper and Southcotian, will revolt at the idea of being married by a priest in his surplice; the abomination of the ring will be forsworn as by the Puritans of old, and Parliament will be compelled to allow all mankind to marry "in accordance" with their respective whims.

Putting the flocks out of the question, and attending for a moment to the shepherds; does any one believe that the Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist teachers will be contented to remain as they are, when the Socinian is permitted to solemnize matrimony in his chapel? Is it in human nature to submit to such injustice? The Socinians are few in number, unsettled in faith, unknown to the constitution, and influenced on the present subject by a handful of factious men. The old congregations of Protestant Dissenters are infinitely superior to them in respectability and importance; their claims upon the country are much greater; their teachers are more eminent men, and have more claim to public confidence. In short, if the Unitarian teacher is licensed to solemnize marriages, the other teacher must and will be licensed also. The Separatists of every denomination will be coupled together out of the church, and not a vestige will remain "of the general policy of the law relative to clandestine marriages." To place this fact beyond dispute, we shall show what is to be done, according to the Bill before us, by the

Unitarian Minister and in the Unitarian chapel. When the system is complete, the same will be done by every other dissenting teacher, and in every other dissenting chapel.

In the first instance, places registered for religious worship, and used by Protestant dissenters of the Unitarian persuasion, may be specially registered for solemnizing marriages under this Act; such registry to be made *in the Court of the Archbishop, Bishop, or other Ordinary*, and the Registrar being required to register and certify accordingly; two such places may be registered in each of the following towns; Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Leeds, and one such place in every other city or market town in England or Wales. In every place so *registered* there shall be placed a notice in the following words; "*Licensed for the Solemnization of the Marriages of Unitarian Dissenters.*" The officiating minister, or *one of the officiating Ministers*, in a place thus registered, may cause himself to be registered *in the Court of the Archbishop, &c.* "as a minister duly qualified to solemnize marriage under this Act," upon making affidavit that he is an officiating minister as aforesaid, and exercises no trade or profession except that of a schoolmaster; and he also is to obtain a proper certificate from the *Registrar*. These preliminaries being despatched,

"It shall be lawful for every or any person who shall have been duly recorded as officiating minister of any place of worship registered under the provisions of this Act, to solemnize marriage in the same place of worship, or in any other place of worship which shall have been in like manner registered, and that such marriages shall or lawfully may be solemnized in every such place so to be registered, in such form, and with such rites and ceremonies, as shall accord with the religious feelings of the parties to be married; provided that every such marriage shall be solemnized with open doors, in the presence of two or more credible witnesses, between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, and likewise subject to the further provisions and restrictions hereinafter expressed or referred to." P 3.

Banns shall continue to be published as at present; and when any two persons of the Unitarian persuasion desire to take the benefit of this Act, the officiating minister is to give a certificate of such publication, provided he has previously received a declaration from one of the parties, that they are both of the Unitarian persuasion; and that such declaration shall be verified by the certificate of some minister duly recorded under this Act, stating that he believes the declaration to be true, and the parties *bonâ fide* entitled to the benefit of the Act.

A similar provision is made for licensed Unitarian wed-

dings. The licence is to be exhibited to the parochial minister, and countersigned by him; and the usual fees are to be paid, both upon weddings by licence and by banns. Matrimony is not to be solemnized, unless with a licence or a certificate of the publication of banns at some church within ten miles of the place of marriage.

“ Provided also, that after the solemnization of any marriage under the provisions of this Act, it shall not be necessary, in support of such marriage, to give any actual proof of the previous residence of the parties required by this Act, nor of their or either of their dissenting from the Church of England and entertaining religious scruples within the true intent and meaning of this Act, nor that the place wherein the minister by whom such marriage was solemnized, was duly registered or recorded for the solemnization of marriages under this Act, nor that such place, in any case of a marriage by banns, was situate within ten statute miles of some church or chapel where such banns had been duly published; nor shall any evidence in any of the said cases be received to prove the contrary, in any suit touching the validity of such marriage.” P. 6.

An unrecorded minister celebrating marriage in a recorded place, or a recorded minister celebrating marriage knowingly and wilfully, contrary to the Act, shall be transported for fourteen years, provided the prosecution commences within three years after the offence.

“ If any persons shall knowingly and wilfully intermarry, under colour of the provisions of this Act, in any other than a place duly registered as aforesaid (unless by special licence of the Archbishop of Canterbury) or shall knowingly and wilfully intermarry without due publication of banns, or licence obtained from a person or persons having authority to grant the same, the marriage of such persons shall be null and void to all intents and purposes whatsoever.” P. 7.

We have thus conducted the Unitarian pair to the end of the marriage ceremony; and before we accompany them to the parish register, must make a few remarks upon this unrivalled attempt at legislation. It will be remembered, that it is not a first attempt. Mr. Wilkes could not have reached such a pitch of ingenious impudence without long experience and repeated trials. We have shewn, that the indulgence now desired by Unitarians will be claimed upon still stronger grounds by other Dissenters; and when every sect is armed with such a marriage law as that before us, to what an agreeable state of confusion will the country be reduced.

The first thing to be noticed is the registry. It is made *honoris causâ*, in the court of the Archbishop, Bishop or Ordinary; that is to say, courts which were established for administering ecclesiastical law, and governing the national

church, are required to gratify the religious feelings of Unitarians, at the expence of the one and the other. Persons whom the canons consider as excommunicated, and whom the clergy regard as denying the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, appear before the ecclesiastical officer, and demand admission to a peculiar privilege in virtue of their heresy. The proposal is monstrous. If Parliament chooses to register meeting-houses, recourse should be had as in former cases, to the lord mayor, the quarter sessions, or the clerk of the peace. Bishops and their courts may find better employment than registering dissenter's chapels, or giving certificates to Unitarian teachers.

Two of these marriage shops may be recorded in certain places; and one in every city and market town. This is much more than is required. The Unitarians in large towns might be contented with one licensed chapel. When their example is followed by other sects, one place in each town for the wedding of each sect, will afford ample opportunities for clandestine marriage.

We proceed to the minister. If such a measure as that before us is to pass in any shape, it would be necessary, of course, to license or register one teacher for each chapel. The registry ought not to be made "in the court of the Archbishop," as the affair is altogether of a civil nature. But one teacher ought of course to be licensed. What says Mr. Wilkes? "The officiating minister or one of the officiating ministers," that is to say, *all the officiating ministers*, to the number, if they please, of a dozen, may demand a registry and certificate, and then every or any such person may solemnize marriage in every or any licensed place. The Unitarian teacher is not restricted to his own proper place of worship, but he carries his certificate in his pocket, as equivalent to letters of orders, and wherever he finds a registered chapel, he is qualified to officiate as a priest. Extend this privilege, as it must be extended, to Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, and there will be no lack of officiating ministers, registered for the solemnization of matrimony. But the individuals of this goodly company may be here to-day and gone to-morrow. And as to preventing clandestine marriages, or recording marriages that have been duly solemnized, they will be utterly unqualified for either. Their station, their simplicity, their occasional poverty, will expose them to powerful temptations from which the clergy are happily exempt. And if any of them are disposed to violate the law, or forfeit their characters by general misconduct, there is no superior to admonish or suspend them. The ecclesiastical registry en-

titles them to celebrate marriage, up to the day of their embarkation for Botany Bay.

Banns having been published in the parish church, (and we protest in the name of the clergy, against having any thing to do with the banns, the licences, or the registry of Unitarians), one of the parties is to declare his or her heresy, and pray to be indulged accordingly. And such declaration shall be verified by the certificate of *some* registered teacher; not of the teacher upon whose ministry they attend; not of the teacher at whose meeting-house they propose to be married. But Mr. A. of London may produce a paper purporting to be signed by Mr. B. of Leeds, and upon this satisfactory evidence the clergyman is to grant his certificate.

In the case of marriage by licence, the same difficulties recur; and the absurdity and injustice of requiring the services of the clergy against themselves and the church, are an additional objection to the clause. Let dissenters marry by licence if they like, but not by licence from a Bishop. The court of quarter sessions should be substituted for the ecclesiastical court. One of his Majesty's justices of peace should unite his Majesty's subjects in wedlock, and the constable should officiate as clerk. This is the common sense mode of going to work; and if the dissenters are resolved to marry out of the church, and the senate chooses to indulge them "to this odour they must come."

It remains to examine the provision respecting proof subsequent to the solemnization of marriage, and the registration at church of marriages solemnized at meeting. But we are this instant assured, that Mr. Smith has reconstructed his Bill; that every clause has been altered; and that the details of the measure now before the committee, are different in every respect from those upon which it has been our wish to comment. This circumstance saves us the trouble of pointing out a few more absurdities and blunders. It also proves what we have long foreseen, that the system invented by Mr. Wilkes, and fathered by Mr. William Smith, is impracticable. The details may be changed a hundred times; but the principle continues. Clandestine marriages cannot be prevented; lawful marriages cannot be correctly registered, unless we abide by the existing law. The ingenuity that has been exercised in endeavouring to dispense with it, has produced no fruit. It is useless to say that parents or children will be safe under any of these provisions. It is tyrannical to employ the clergy in publishing the banns, or recording the celebration of a marriage, which they are not allowed to solemn-

nize. And it is insolent to suppose that the Archbishop of Canterbury will grant a special licence in favour of an Unitarian couple who choose to be married by an Unitarian teacher.

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WE have received a letter from Mr. Faber, calling upon us, in reference to the Review of Mr. Cooper's "*Crisis*," which appeared in the last Number of the *British Critic*, to inform "where he had ever professed an expectation of finding the name of Buonaparte in the Apocalypse;" and also, "where he had expressed an opinion, that we are living in the reign of the Millenium;"—we regret that any expression or our's has given offence to Mr. Faber; but we thought that the sentiments imputed to him in the Review, were distinctly avowed in his writings. We refer him to the "Full Reply to Mr. Whitaker," as the place in which Buonaparte is expressly associated with the events predicted in the Apocalypse; and, in the "*Dissertation on the Prophecies*," it is said, that we are living under the Fourth Vial, and cannot be very far distant from the "*time of the end*." If it is to our words that Mr. Faber objects, we deny all intention of charging him with the use of them.

ERRATA in ART. V.—Teonge's Diary.

P. 379, line 4, for *creative* read *creature*. P. 382, line 26, for *meets* read *met*. P. 382, line 28, for *Nasidranc* read *Nasidiennus*. P. 383, line 23, for *agnoman* read *agnomen*. P. 383, line 41, for *on* read *at*. P. 383, line 43, for *expands* read *expends*.

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The Rev. *Thomas Wood*, Author of the "*Mosaic History*," is about to publish a work, entitled, *The Parish Church, or Religion in Britain*, containing an Account of the Religion, Customs, &c. of the Ancient Britons, the Idolatry and Conversion of the Saxons, the History of Christianity in this country, the Nature of the Sacred Office, &c. &c.

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The Rev. *J. Kenrick*, M.A. is preparing for publication, *A Collection of Exercises, adapted to his Translation of Professor Zumpt's Latin Grammar*.

Mr. *Fraser*, Author of "*A Tour in the Himala Mountains*," has lately returned from travels in the more distant parts of Persia, and will speedily submit to the Public the fruits of his researches. Mr. F. visited the countries bordering on the Great Desert, still inhabited by descendants of the ancient Parthians, &c.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR MAY, 1825.

ART. I. *A Defence of the true and catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ: with a Confutation of sundry Errors concerning the same. By the Most Rev. Thomas Cranmer, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is prefixed an Introduction, historical and critical, in illustration of the Work; and in vindication of the Character of the Author, and therewith of the Reformation in England, against some of the Allegations which have been recently made by the Rev. Dr. Lingard, the Rev. Dr. Milner, and Charles Butler, Esq. By the Rev. Henry John Todd, M. A. F. S. A. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Rector of Settrington, Yorkshire. London. 8vo. 387 pp. 6s. Rivingtons. 1825.*

IN this very judicious and well-timed publication, Mr. Todd has not only rendered accessible to general readers an admirable work, which was become extremely scarce; but in a historical and critical "Introduction" which he has prefixed to it, has brought together, from the records in Lambeth library, the State Paper office, and other depositaries, much original and important matter, by which he has been enabled to vindicate the character of Archbishop Cranmer from the allegations which Dr. Milner and other advocates of the Church of Rome have lately brought against him. Accustomed as we had always been to pronounce the very name of Cranmer with reverence, and to honour him as the chief founder and most illustrious martyr of the Reformed Catholic Church of England, we have not yet forgotten the mingled astonishment and indignation which we felt, when we first read Dr. Milner's account of him in his well-known "Letters to a Prebendary." Since the days of the ever-memorable Captain Lemuel Gulliver no author has arisen, except Dr. Milner, who could, with the most imposing air of gravity and good faith, simply, and as a matter of course, assume the grossest misrepresentations as well authenticated facts; which no man could venture to call in question, without impeaching either his own knowledge or his honesty. Never-

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theless, so powerful is the bias which early prepossessions are capable of giving to the mind, and party spirit casts so thick a mist before the eyes of men, otherwise the most clear-sighted, candid and sincere, that we shall readily admit, that, in the hideous picture which Dr. Milner and his pupils have drawn, they have portrayed the character of Archbishop Cranmer as it really appears to them, though our eyes discover in the picture hardly the slightest trace of resemblance.

Among those eminent divines who were the chief instruments of Providence in reforming our national church, the first, both in dignity and personal exertion in the cause, was unquestionably Archbishop Cranmer. It is very natural, therefore, that the adherents of the Pope's religion should look on him with jaundiced eyes; and that, on the contrary, all true members of the Church of England, should hold his memory in the highest honour, and willingly cast a veil over his frailties and failings—defects from which the wisest and the best of men are never quite exempt. Now, though it is indisputably certain, that the truth or falsehood of a religious tenet is in no degree affected by the personal character of its professors—for men of unimpeachable probity and purity of life have sometimes been advocates of the worst heresies, and even of downright infidelity; and, on the other hand, men, whose religious profession was sound and orthodox, have been guilty of the most atrocious crimes; as the private character of Julian was superior to that of Constantine—and though all history conspires to teach us, that God's overruling Providence makes the vices of individuals co-operate to the general good of all; yet, because we find it difficult to imagine, that persons distinguished rather for their vices than their virtues, should be selected as His more immediate instruments in the mighty work of remodelling a national church, it is of great importance to inquire, whether the long-forgotten charges that have lately been revived against the character of Archbishop Cranmer be founded in truth, or not. In conducting this inquiry, Mr. Todd's "Historical and Critical Introduction" to the present publication will be found worthy of the closest attention.

Dr. Milner, in the fifth of his "Letters to a Prebendary," has drawn a portrait of this illustrious prelate, in which he is represented as a mere compound of incontinency, deceit, hypocrisy, prevarication, obsequiousness to the lust and ambition of his superiors, ingratitude, sacrilege, injustice, cruelty and treason; and the only set-off against this preponderating mass of vice and crime is contained in the cold

and reluctant confession, that "he shewed a resolution at his death, which he had exhibited in no one occurrence of his life." The very first sentence of this "character," which Dr. Milner prefaces by declaring, that he "will not draw it himself, but barefy relate *facts, as he finds them recorded by the most celebrated Protestant writers,*" affords a fair specimen of his impartiality and faithfulness. "The first remarkable circumstance," says Dr. Milner, "which we meet with in the life of Cranmer, was his privately marrying a woman of low condition, whilst he was a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, contrary to the engagements of his admission." For this we are referred to Foxe's Acts and Monuments, who, having told us that Cranmer was descended from a family of great respectability and antiquity, relates that he "came in processe of time unto the Universitie of Cambridge, and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus Colledge in Cambridge. And so being maister of art, and fellow of the same colledge, it chanced him to marie a gentleman's daughter; by meanes whereof he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham Colledge."* His wife, Foxe proceeds to tell us, "died in childbed. After whose death, the maisters and fellowes of Jesus Colledge, desirous againe of their old companion, namely for his towardnesse in learning, chose him againe fellow of the same colledge. Where he remaining at his studie, became in fewe yeares after, the reader of the Divinitie lecture in the same colledge, and in speciall estimation and reputation with the whole Universitie." On this passage we will not trust ourselves to make any further comment, than that the master and fellowes of his College, and the heads of the University, who, be it remembered, were as zealous adherents of the Pope's religion as Dr. Milner himself, and somewhat better acquainted with the merits of the case than he can be supposed to be, viewed the conduct of Cranmer in a very different light from that in which this most prejudiced of writers has endeavoured to place it. But it was right and fit that the panegyrist of Gregory VII. "that great and good pontiff,"† should be the calumniator of Cranmer. Mr. Todd, in his short preface to the present publication, has exposed another unwarrantable assertion of Dr. Milner's to Cranmer's injury. The speech which Bonner fabricated for the martyr, and published as if it had been uttered by him

* "Actes and Monuments," p. 1688. Ed. 1596.

† Dr. Milner's "Vindication of the End of Controversy," p. 342.

at the stake, in Dr. Milner's "Strictures on Dr. Southey's "Book of the Church," is represented as authentic, and stated as existing in Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memoirs" *from the Lambeth records*; "when not a word," says Mr. Todd, "is extant, or known to have been extant, in any record at Lambeth relating to this matter; and no reference is made to such records by Strype. Let it never more be supposed, by the reference of Dr. Milner, that the Lambeth records sustain the wicked fabrication of Bonner."

It is really painful to see history thus perverted, and truth sacrificed on the shrine of religious animosity.

Mr. Butler is an opponent of a very different character; at least Dr. Milner's equal in learning and research, though he sometimes appears to adopt implicitly the confident statements of that artful writer, and very far his superior both in candour and in courtesy. Aversion to the cause of which the Archbishop was the most distinguished promoter, though it causes Mr. Butler to view his character through an unfavourable medium, does not render him blind to his virtues. In the fourteenth letter of his "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," he puts the following questions to Dr. Southey:

"Although he (Cranmer) adopted the Lutheran principles so early as his residence in Germany, on the business of the divorce, he yet continued, during the fifteen subsequent years of Henry's reign, in the most public profession of the catholic religion, the article of the supremacy of the Pope alone excepted;—was this justifiable before God or man?

"Although when he was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, he took the customary oath of obedience to the see of Rome, did he not, just before he took it, retire into a private room, and protest against it?—was this honourable?

"Although he subscribed and caused his clergy to subscribe, the six articles, the third and fourth of which enjoined celibacy to the clergy, and the observance of the vow of chastity, was he not married, and did he not continue to cohabit with his wife?—was not this dissimulation?

"Although he knew Anne Boleyn was under no pre-contract of marriage, did he not, to use bishop Burnet's expression, extort from her, standing as she then did, on the very verge of eternity, a confession of the existence of such a contract?—was not this culpable subserviency to his master's cruelties?—was it not prevailing on the unhappy woman to die with a lie upon her lips?

"Was he not instrumental in bringing Lambert, Anne Askew, Joan Bocher, Van Parr, and others, both catholics and anabaptists, to the stake?

"Did he not make too successful exertions to induce the infant Edward to sign the sentence for Joan Bocher's condemnation?

“ Was he not, in all these instances, guilty, both of the theory and practice of religious persecution ?

“ Did he not, previously to Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, declare, that the negociations for her marriage, with a prince of the house of Lorraine, were not a lawful impediment to her marriage with Henry ? yet, did he not, within six months after the marriage, declare, that they had created such an impediment ?—was not this a deliberate and solemn untruth ? Did he not then solemnize the monarch's adulterous marriage with lady Katherine Howard ?—was not this a sacrilege ?

“ And, finally, notwithstanding the undoubted rights of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the throne, did he not, on the death of their royal brother, strive to exclude them from it, and to place lady Jane Grey upon it ?—was not this both ingratitude and high treason ?

“ Can you justify his conduct in any one of these instances, without incurring the flagrant guilt of making ‘ vice, virtue ?’

“ I have quoted your expression, that ‘ the active part which Cranmer took in the burning of Joan Bocher is the saddest page ‘ in his history ; the only one which admits no extenuation.’ Are not all the parts acted by him in the transactions I have mentioned, very sad pages in his history ? Does any one of them admit of any substantial *extenuation* ?” P. 219.

If we add to these questions, which are fairly put, the remarks of Dr. Lingard and Bishop Milner, on Cranmer's conduct on the divorce of Queen Catherine, and in his last submission and recantation of his opinions, we shall be possessed of all that the utmost ingenuity or prejudice of his adversaries has been able to alledge against him ; and shall find on closer enquiry, that in many of these instances his conduct may be completely justified, “ without incurring “ the flagrant guilt of making vice virtue,” and that in almost all of them it admits of *substantial extenuation*. With respect to Cranmer's supposed adoption of the Lutheran tenets so early as his residence in Germany, in the business of the divorce, it is clearly shewn by Mr. Todd, that he never at any period of his life maintained the doctrines of Luther. The doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, he did, indeed, renounce at that early period ; and in consequence, it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted of the archbishopric on the death of Warham. “ I protest before you all,” said he to Queen Mary's commissioners, “ there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishopricke than I did to that. In so much that when King Henry did send for me in poste, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weekes at the least, thinking that he would be forgetfull of me in the meane time.”* In opposition to Dr. Lingard's

* Foxe, Acts and Monuments.

assertion, that there are few instances of the see of Canterbury being filled so soon after a vacancy as in six months, Mr. Todd has shewn by an accurate enquiry into "the dates of vacancy and succession in the cases of Islip, and Chichele, and Stafford, and Kemp, and Bouchier, and Dean, from 1349 to 1501, that all the formalities of the bull, and the reception of the pall, and the consecration, are *within* the time named." But Cranmer, after all the necessary bulls had arrived, still put off his consecration for another month; when, as Dr. Lingard and Mr. Butler tell us, just before he took the customary oath of obedience to the Pope, he *retired into a private room*, and protested that, by that oath, which for the sake of form he was obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to any thing contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England. Mr. Butler asks, "Was this honourable?" We think Cranmer's real conduct was perfectly so.

"The scruples of Cranmer," says Mr. Todd, "concerning the legality of the customary oath had been communicated to the best canonists and civilians. By their advice he was led to protest against it; *not, however, in a private room*, but publicly and repeatedly; first, in the chapter-house of the church in which he was to be consecrated; and then before those by whom he was consecrated at the altar of the church. The register of the archbishop commences with the declaration to succeeding times, (and yet exists,) that his protestation was thus made *openly* and *publicly*, before witnesses specially and officially named, and doubtless in the presence of many other unnamed. . . . Cranmer, before he took the oath, declared the limitations by which he secured himself in his allegiance to the king, and in his determination to reform the church, against a power which would admit neither the supremacy of the former, nor the necessity of alteration in the latter." Introduction, pp. xli. xlii.

The next ground of accusation against the archbishop is his conduct with respect to the Six Articles. This merciless Act was principally framed and established by the successful activity of Gardiner. "Cranmer," as Lord Herbert tells us, p. 448, "for three days together in the open assembly "opposed these Articles boldly;" and on the last day protested against the bill, though the king desired him to retire, since he could not consent to it; "but he humbly excused himself; for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it."* Is this a proof of obsequiousness or timidity? By his persevering opposition to the measure,

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 258.

and his remonstrances to the king, the penalties of the Act were considerably mitigated; the laity were entirely exempt from their operation; the clergy were in no danger till after a third conviction; and no offences were made cognizable after they had lain dormant a year. But still though Mr. Butler admits, that Cranmer's "long resistance to the passing of the six sanguinary articles, is entitled to a high degree of praise," he proceeds to ask, "although he *subscribed*, and caused his clergy to *subscribe* the six articles, the third and fourth of which enjoined celibacy to the clergy, and the observance of the vow of chastity, was he not married, and did he not *continue to cohabit* with his wife?" Mr. Todd replies in his remarks on these questions, "Let Strype answer Mr. Butler."

"The papist writers say, Cranmer opposed the Six Articles, because himself was a married man, and so it would touch him close: but it is plain that there were other of these Six Articles which he utterly disliked; and especially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the Act. But hereupon he privately sent away his wife into Germany among her friends." *Life of Cranmer*, b. i. ch. 19. Hear also the belief and assertion of Lord Herbert: "It appears not what arguments Cranmer used: only I find the king sent to him for a copy of them, and disliked not his freedom, as knowing all he spake was out of a sincere intention, though some thought he had a private interest as being a married man; though fearing this law, he sent away his wife for the present into Germany, &c." *Hist.* p. 448. As to *subscriptions* to the Act in question, they are the gratuitous appendages to it of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Butler. The Clergy were enjoined by the Act to read it in their churches once a quarter, but they were never required to *subscribe* to it." P. lxxx.

The conduct of Cranmer in the business of Queen Catherine's divorce is most unjustly charged by Bishop Milner, and Dr. Lingard, with hypocrisy and collusion. The chief universities of Europe, to whom, by Cranmer's advice, the question of the validity of the king's marriage had been referred, even those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, and Bologna itself, which was under the Pope's immediate jurisdiction, had without hesitation, and without interest or reward, pronounced his union with his brother's widow unlawful. On the strength of these decisions, and finding it impossible to induce the Pope to pronounce a definitive sentence, Henry resolved, without his permission, to accomplish his marriage with Ann Boleyn. Cranmer, however, perceiving that this bold measure gave great offence, and also exposed the nation to the evils of a disputed succession, besought the king's licence to pronounce an open sentence

of divorce between him and Queen Catherine. Surely this was a wise and prudent step. Still farther to silence these questions, Mr. Todd proceeds to say,—

“Cranmer held another court at Lambeth; and having first heard the king's proctor, officially declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he moreover confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority.” Lingard, *Hist. ut supr.* vol. 6. p. 258. Such also was the professed opinion, at the time, of Gardiner, the admired prelate of the Romanists, (though overpassed by Dr. Lingard,) who “published the king's divorce and second marriage to be done by the undoubted word of God, the censures of the most famous Universities of the world, the judgement of the Church of England, and by Act of Parliament; whereof he himself was the procurer in the Universities, and in all points a *principal doer*.” Or as another prelate, not unbefriended also by the pen of Dr. Lingard, Edmund Bonner, in his preface to Gardiner's printed Oration has related it: “In this Oration *De Vera Obedientia*, that is, concerning true obedience,—he (Gardiner) speaketh of the king's marriage; which by the ripe judgement, authority, and privilege of the most and principal Universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole Church of England, he contracted with the most clear and most noble lady, queen Anne: after that, touching the king's title as pertaining to the supreme head of the Church of England: lastly of all, of the false, pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England, most justly abrogated.” P. 1.

That Cranmer subsequently *extorted* from Queen Anne Boleyn, standing as she did, on the very verge of eternity, a confession of a precontract of marriage, as a ground for pronouncing her marriage with Henry null and invalid, and thus prevailed on her to die with a lie on her lips, is an accusation that rests on no sufficient ground. It does not even appear to have been at his suggestion, that that ill-fated queen had recourse to this last expedient, to save her from the execution of that terrible sentence which had been so unjustly pronounced against her. It is rather probable, that she herself, aware of the entire ascendant which Jane Seymour had obtained over the king, indulged the hope that he would spare her life, if, by the avowal of some lawful impediment to her marriage, she could both exonerate herself from the crime of adultery, and by procuring a sentence of divorce, enable him to accomplish his design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne. “The afflicted Primate,” as Hume remarks, “who sat as judge, thought himself obliged by her confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid.” In all this there is surely nothing to blame. Had Cranmer even suggested

this confession, by way of saving an innocent woman from a dreadful death, he must be a stern moralist, who would affirm that his conduct admitted of no *extenuation*.

Both Dr. Milner and Mr. Butler agree in asserting the especial instrumentality of Cranmer, in bringing Lambert, Anne Askew, Joan Bocher, and Van Parr to the stake ; with this enormous aggravation in the case of the two first, that he caused them to be condemned for opinions which he himself at that time secretly believed. Cranmer, indeed, in common with the other bishops then present, took part in the dispute with Lambert, and endeavoured to convince him, that his opinions concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation were erroneous ; but there is no evidence, that Cranmer's advice, or consent, was either asked, or given, in the condemnation of him, or of Anne Askew. So far was he from concurring in their opinions, that he then firmly believed the doctrine of the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the disbelief of which was the crime imputed to Lambert and Anne Askew. The opinions which Joan Bocher and Van Parr maintained, were such as to overthrow the foundations of Christianity ; and though it is certain, that Cranmer was an active instrument in procuring their condemnation, Mr. Todd has made it at least doubtful, whether the story so commonly received be true, that Cranmer, by his importunities with the young king Edward, prevailed on him to put his signature to the warrant for the execution of that miserable woman. " Whether it be true or no," says Strype, " I cannot tell. The king mentions nothing of it in his Journal, only that she was burnt for her obstinacy in her heresy. And the character is utterly disagreeing from Cranmer's spirit. For none was more tender of blood than he ; none more pitiful and compassionate." Eccles. Mem. vol. 2. p. 473. That he consented to the deaths of these unhappy persons we do not mean to deny ; and God forbid that we should attempt to justify it. But even in this behalf, in which his conduct will now be universally condemned, an impartial judge will perceive that it admits of great *extenuation*. We may apply to him the remarks which Dr. Lingard has, with great justice employed to extenuate the guilt of Queen Mary, in her long and cruel persecution of the Reformers. " The sufferings of the victims naturally beget an antipathy to the person by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. It was his misfortune rather than his fault, that he was not more enlightened in this respect, than the wisest of his contemporaries."

The divorce of Anne of Cleves, which Mr. Butler so severely censures, was brought about with the mutual concurrence of the parties, and Cranmer was merely the instrument to give effect to the sentence; a sentence in which the contemporaries of the Archbishop saw so little to condemn, that the ensuing Parliament made it high treason to deny its validity.

We now come, with Mr. Todd, "to the last days and hour of Cranmer,

"—who 'perished in the flames which' the Church of Rome in earlier times 'had kindled,' and which in the reign of Mary raged with redoubled fury. With no concession to the weakness of human nature, with no acknowledgment of the fallen prelate's self-conviction, Dr. Lingard thus introduces him. 'He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life, he feigned himself a convert to the established creed; openly condemned his past delinquency; and, stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed.' Hist. vol. 7. p. 274. Not a syllable follows of the subtilty, with which the fortitude of the Archbishop had been assailed and subdued; nor of the manner by which the instruments of abjuration were procured, and in which they appeared. Dr. Lingard would not willingly, I am persuaded, augment the degradation of Cranmer: but to the six instruments of the Archbishop's abjuration, published by Bonner, he has for the first time in the page of history mistakingly added a *seventh*." P. cii.

The history of these repeated recantations, rests chiefly on the authority of Strype; but it is hardly possible to reconcile the *dates* of them, with the other circumstance of the narrative; for as Dr. Wordsworth has acutely observed, "the 14th of February, was the day of his degradation, at which time, surely, the Archbishop's behaviour gave no warnings of his lamentable fall: and yet the *fourth* submission, as published by Bonner (and it should seem they are ranged *chronologically*), is dated on the 16th of the same month, only two days after." There is a still more convincing reason for suspecting these reiterated recantations to be forgeries of Bonner's, viz. that in the edition of the speech which the martyr had prepared to be uttered by himself at the stake, and which appeared, together with these recantations, under the sanction of both royal and episcopal authority, some most gross and palpable fabrications of Bonner's have been detected. For a full account of these, we refer our readers to Mr. Todd's "Introduction." Some recantation Cranmer, unquestionably, made; probably more than one; and in so doing, sinned grievously against his own conscience, by

feigning himself a convert to tenets which he, in truth, abjured, and an apostate from doctrines which he inwardly approved. There is, however, a degree of malignity in the satisfaction with which Dr. Milner dwells on this humiliating scene* that is perfectly revolting. Dr. Lingard too, who is a far more candid writer, omits to notice the various acts of subtilty by which the fortitude of the Archbishop was subdued. "Persons," says Hume, "were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed; but by flattering insinuation, and address; by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him; he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to sign a paper, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the Pope's supremacy, and of the real presence." In reflecting on a scene like this, a Christian bishop might, surely, have called to mind St. Peter's denial of his Lord; few, we trust, could look on it without commiseration; and we firmly believe, that there is but one man living who could bring himself to regard it with feelings of satisfaction and triumph.

In concluding our remarks on the allegations which have been made against the character of this distinguished martyr, we would request our readers, whatever their religious persuasion may be, to ask themselves, what imaginable motive Archbishop Cranmer could have to advocate the tenets which he adopted, except the perfect sincerity of his convictions? For, in the first place, he was no enthusiast, and never pretended to be under the influence of any immediate or private inspiration. On the contrary, it was slowly, and after the most mature deliberation, that his opinions underwent a change. The light of truth broke slowly in upon his mind; but, as soon as it enabled him to see his way clearly, he steadily followed it. "After it had pleased God," he says in his answer to Gardiner, "to shew unto me by his word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance; and as God of his mercy gave me light, so through his grace I opened my eyes to receive it; and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain

* See his fifth "Letter to a Prebendary."

in darkness." Neither could he be influenced by the worldly motives of self-interest and ambition; for he was already placed on the highest point which it was possible for him to reach; and if he had consulted his personal security and ease, instead of exposing himself to the enmity and vengeance of the numerous and powerful adherents of the Pope, both in church and state; and not unfrequently risking the loss of all, by the noble opposition which he made, as in the case of the Six Articles, to the wishes of the king; he would have gone quietly with the stream, and acquiesced in all the slavish superstitions of the day. Whatever opinion, therefore, may be formed respecting the truth of those tenets which Cranmer finally adopted, we should think, that prejudice itself could hardly venture to call in question his sincerity in maintaining them. Of the singular acuteness, the profound erudition, and the intimate acquaintance with the writings of the ancient fathers, which he displayed in maintaining them, the work now before us contains abundant proofs. For ourselves, we fully acquiesce in the concluding observations with which Mr. Todd winds up his "Introduction:"

"Whoever attentively considers the character of Cranmer, will agree with one of his biographers, that the light in which he appears to most advantage, is in that of a reformer, conducting the great work of a religious establishment. That work for near three centuries has 'stood like a tower.' And is it now to be assailed, with the hope of shaking it, by the revived enginery of early and midway opponents? Is it possible that the misrepresentations of former days, the distortions of ancient facts, supported by insinuating diction and ingenious arrangement, should lead us to believe that the labours of Cranmer were ill-directed, and that his great work is not worth defence? Forbid it, truth; forbid it honour; forbid it liberty. And to the doubts or queries, whether happiness, and wisdom, and improvement in morals, and the revival of letters, have been promoted by this great work, the Reformation, the sublime words of one of its noblest children might be a sufficient answer. P. cxiii.

"When I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how *the bright and blissful Reformation*, by Divine Power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads, or hears; and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrantcy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs,

with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon." P. cxiv.

The Archbishop's "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament," is contained in five books, in which, that we may use the words of Foxe the Martyrologist, "he refutes and throwes down, first, the corporall presence; secondly, the phantasticall transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the Papistes, that wicked men doe eate the naturall bodie of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the masse." Against the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, it is sufficient to say, that it rests absolutely and exclusively on the authority of their church; concerning the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, we believe, that as the Holy Spirit is present in baptism, so Christ is present in the sacrament of his body and blood; "as in baptism," says Cranmer, "the Holy Ghost is not in the water, but in him that is unfeignedly baptized; so that Christ is not in the bread, but in him that worthily eateth the bread." The Church of Rome, however, is not content with asserting the real presence of Christ in this sacrament, but insists on defining the mode of that presence; which, after much variation in the decrees of Nicholas II, and Gregory VII, is thus defined in the creed of Pius IV; "that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist, there is truly, really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic church calls transubstantiation." Now if any person, on the mere authority of the Church of Rome, is able to persuade himself, that our blessed Lord when he instituted this sacrament, and pronounced the words, "This is my body," forthwith held his own individual human body, together with his soul and divinity, in his own hands; we have no quarrel with him,—*suo sanè judicio fruatur*; but then he must not blame us, if we hesitate to believe, that omnipotence itself can work impossibilities; or if from analogy we conclude, that as Christ is really, though spiritually, present in baptism, to confer on us the grace of regeneration, so he is spiritually, but really, present in the eucharist, to strengthen and refresh our souls by his body and blood.

In conclusion, we beg once more to express our obligations to Mr. Todd, for his able and laborious exposition of some very erroneous statements of Bishop Milner, Dr. Lingard, and Mr. Butler, which were highly injurious to Cranmer's

memory ; and for bringing again to light a work, which, at the present period, is of peculiar importance, and to which in the course of almost three centuries, the ablest advocates of the Pope's religion have never been able to frame an answer.

ART. II. 1.—*Memoirs of the Astronomical Society of London. Vol. I. Part II.*

2.—*Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1824. Part II. Astronomical Papers.*

3.—*An Introduction to Practical Astronomy, &c. By the Rev. W. Pearson, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. Vol. I. 4to. 1825.*

THE volumes which we have named comprize the most material parts of what has been done at the present period towards the promotion of Astronomy. To say any thing of the importance of every addition which can be made to the perfection and application of that sublime science would be superfluous. And we do not doubt, that the general interest which it excites will render acceptable to our readers the brief sketch which we here propose to take of its present state, and the accessions which have been made to its improvement both in theory and practice.

If we view the amazing change which has taken place in our knowledge of the system of the universe during the last 200 years, compared with what had taken place during the whole preceding period from the earliest times, we shall find it altogether unparalleled in the history of any other branch of human knowledge, or the advance of any other department of human civilization. That the observation of the heavens was attended to with the utmost diligence, and the utmost accuracy which the means then attainable would allow, at a period of antiquity almost beyond the records of history, seems well established, and the regularity and assiduity with which the motions of the heavenly bodies were watched and compared, and thence calculated and predicted by the ancients of the most remote age, cannot fail to excite some degree of surprize, when we reflect upon the extremely limited and imperfect means they possessed, and the comparatively little inducement they could have had to stimulate them in the research, from their entire ignorance of the theory of the planetary motions. Possibly, however, this stimulus may have been supplied in an equal or even greater degree from the object they frequently, if not always, had in view, of making their observations subservient to the purposes of

astrology. We have in fact little doubt, that to the blind ignorance of mankind in cultivating this superstitious art, we are mainly indebted for the preservation of the rudiments of the most elevated and enlightened of sciences. And this we have no doubt was the case down to a comparatively recent period. Kepler, Galileo and Newton would not have had the materials to build their system ready to their hands, if the preceding age had not supplied them, while they were industriously labouring at their unstable edifice of judicial astrology.

Thus, for upwards of 2,000 years, astronomy continued nearly stationary. Within the last 200, it has risen at once to a state as nearly bordering upon perfection as we conceive our present faculties and opportunities are capable of raising it. Its advances now are slow and minute: like a mathematical quantity its changes become less as it approaches its point of maximum. But of these changes it is now time to give some account, or, to continue the metaphor, to develop the expressions for them. This we proceed to do by observing, in the first place, that the society which has, as it were, branched off from the parent stock of the Royal Society, devoted to the express purpose of promoting the interests of astronomy has, since our last report of its proceedings, continued its labours with unwearied assiduity and success. We are the more pleased to witness the appearance of the second part of its memoirs (exceeding the former considerably in bulk), since we are well aware that at one time reports were in circulation, that the institution was in a declining state. This idea was in fact supposed to be supported by the considerable interval which elapsed without any publication of the memoirs. But the fact is, the society was in no way pledged to produce a volume at any stated period: and the part now before the public was we believe delayed longer than was intended. At all events it will now speak for itself and for the society. Whilst in this quarter the greatest exertions have been manifested in the extended cultivation of the science, not less do we witness the same pleasing state of things in others. The Royal Society has received communications of a highly interesting nature; and among the papers we shall have to notice from both sources, will be found contributions from the remotest corners of the habitable world.

One or two extracts from the reports of the council, published in the *Astronomical Memoirs*, will serve to give a general view of the nature of the objects which have engaged the attention of astronomers, and of the judicious spirit in which the society continues to prosecute its designs.

"The council take this opportunity of calling generally upon its members and associates, to fulfil the objects of the institution by every means in their power. Isolated facts or observations can be of no use to any one; but if transmitted to a society, as to a focus where they will be registered and compared, they may become important. The entire examination of the heavens is beyond the power of any individual: but on dividing the labour the difficulty vanishes: and while our continental neighbours are each taking charge of the examination of a small portion of the visible heavens, so as to produce a general scrutiny by their conjoint labours, the council are convinced that the Astronomical Society of London will not suffer itself to be called upon in vain to partake in this highly useful labour." Report 1823, p. 499.

The report for the next year is more full and elaborate; a proof that the objects to which the council find it necessary to direct their attention and that of the society, are increasing. The following passages will sufficiently display the various labours which are in the course of prosecution.

"In meeting you at this, the 4th annual general assembly of the Astronomical Society of London, the council have great pleasure in announcing the prosperity of the society's affairs, and the importance into which it has risen in the estimation of men of science. No pains have been spared by the council to promote its utility; and the measures that have been adopted with this view, are such as, they have no doubt, will meet your cordial support and approbation.

"Short, comparatively as has been the duration of the society, it has called forth many ingenious and highly valuable papers from its members and others, which, but for its existence, might never have been given to the world: these have been read at the several meetings, and a list of them is subjoined. A spirit of research has in this way been excited, from which the greatest benefits may be expected to arise to the science of astronomy; and as the society has kept the practical, as well as the theoretical branches of its object constantly in view, several important improvements in instruments as well as in their application, have been developed and explained." Report, 1824, p. 501.

The council then proceed to announce the adjudication of their prizes, to which we shall have occasion to allude more particularly presently. They mention their compliance with a request on the part of the Russian government, to supply Captain Kotzebue with instructions as to the objects of astronomical science, most desirable to be attended to in his expedition first towards the South, and then the North pole. They advert to experiments which have recently been made for the improvement of glass for telescopes; in attaining this object, Mr. Tulley, of Islington, has been eminently successful; and some very promising specimens from M. Guineand are under trial.

After mentioning the completion of a set of tables computed under their direction, to which we shall allude presently, they proceed to state, that in future an alteration will be made in the manner of publishing their memoirs. Each paper is to be printed singly as it is produced; by which means the accommodation afforded to the practical astronomer in having the earliest intelligence, will be very considerable. The losses the society has sustained during the year by the deaths of members are then recorded, and the general state of its affairs described. Its funds are improving; and its library is daily increased by the liberal donations of its members and other lovers of science. The Report concludes in the following appropriate terms:—

“ Enrolling amongst its members and associates, as the Astronomical Society now does, a considerable proportion of the most able astronomers in Great Britain and its colonies, and several of the most distinguished astronomers in Europe; receiving frequent communications from its foreign associates, on the most interesting topics connected with the theory and practice of the science; holding out inducements, as well to sedulous observers as to profound investigators, by its prize questions; and aiming to promote a liberal interchange of correspondence with institutions formed for kindred purposes in every part of the world; your council cannot but entertain the hope, that each successive year in the history of the society, will witness the extension of its utility as well as of its prosperity; and prove that it has been decidedly instrumental in increasing the facilities of the observer, enlarging the boundaries of physical theory, or adding to the catalogue, already rich and splendid, of astronomical facts.” P. 506.

These extracts will afford a very good general idea of the present state of astronomical science, and the progress making in it by this society. With respect to one or two particular points, we must enter somewhat more into detail.

The objects of astronomical research may be distributed under several heads. The accumulation of registered observations; the suggestion of new methods for the improvement of the practice, and new investigations for extending the theory of astronomy; new instrumental contrivances; the calculation of improved tables for facilitating the labours of the observatory: these, perhaps, comprehend the principal classes under which all contributions to the advance of the science must fall, and to each of these different objects we find the attention of the numerous cultivators of the science has been fully directed.

In the memoirs of the Astronomical Society now before us, the most valuable accounts of improvements in the methods

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of observing, and in instruments themselves, appear to be comprized in the following papers:—Mr. South on the adjustment of the transit instrument; in which the use of the method by the circumpolar stars is particularly urged. Mr. Littrow on the correction of the same instrument; another by the same author, on the measurement of heights by the barometer; on the theory of astronomical instruments by Mr. Gompertz; and on the mercurial compensation pendulum by Mr. Baily. To these we must add, as of primary excellence, Mr. Herschel's new method of computing occultations.

In relation to the theory of astronomy, there is an important communication from Mr. Gompertz, on the very curious subject of the aberration of light, comprizing some investigations of a very original and valuable description. Mr. Littrow has also contributed an important paper on the differences of declination of certain stars, according to different astronomers, and on refraction, &c.

In tables for facilitating the labours of the observer and computer, the volume before us is peculiarly rich. To enumerate their different titles would be of little use; we shall therefore only advert to one set, of the highest value and importance. These are subsidiary tables for facilitating the computation of annual tables of the apparent places of forty-six principal fixed stars, &c. with an investigation of the formulæ employed by Mr. Herschel. These elaborate and extensive tables were prepared at the order of the council of the society, under the superintendence of Mr. H.; from his profound mathematical skill and distinguished attainments, the commission could not have been entrusted to better hands: and the execution of it is in every way answerable. The great value of such tables, coming from such a source, will be appreciated by every cultivator of astronomy.

These tables it will be observed are limited to one, though a very important, class. But a great variety of other tables are, it is needless to observe, highly useful, if not absolutely necessary to the observer. We named at the head of this article, the recent volume of *Practical Astronomy* published by that eminent cultivator of the science, Dr. Pearson, treasurer to the Astronomical Society, &c. It is under the head of tables that we may most properly make a brief mention of this work; for these form a very principal part of its contents. Of this long promised production, one volume has at length made its appearance. It comprizes a vast collection of tables for the use of the observer, enabling him to apply to his immediate results, all the various corrections and reductions which are necessary to make them available to the purposes

of scientific comparison. Such a work has long been a desideratum in our observations, and we are convinced nothing tends to discourage the practice of observation, more than the drudgery of complicated numerical computations which in so many instances must follow it. The high reputation of Dr. Pearson, his well known accuracy, and long continued and zealous prosecution of astronomical researches, all point him out as perhaps, without exception, the most proper person in this country, to whom we might look for such a work as the present; a complete body of practical instruction and an extensive apparatus of requisite tables. The volume which has at present appeared, is almost wholly occupied with the tables. The latter portion of it, however, comprizes numerous articles on different topics of practical information; in these will be found, a body of most useful and necessary advice to the observer, which may be safely relied upon as embodying the results of enlightened experience and mature judgment. This work will become an indispensable requisite in every observatory.

Of the calculating engine invented by Mr. Babbage, we have on a former occasion given our readers some account. The purpose for which it is peculiarly adapted, is the computation of tables; and it happens, that those tables of the greatest use in astronomy, are comprized in that class which the machine supplies. Hence two papers on the subject by the inventor have been inserted in the memoirs, and the Astronomical Society has voted its gold medal to Mr. Babbage, for his invaluable, and surprizing invention. A brief extract from the speech of the president on delivering the medals, will appropriately set before our readers the utility of this invention. After enumerating some early contrivances for facilitating arithmetical operations, Mr. Colebrooke continues thus:—

“ The principle which essentially distinguishes Mr. Babbage’s invention from all these is, that it proposes to calculate a series of numbers following any law by the aid of *differences*; and that by setting a few figures at the outset a long series of numbers is readily produced by a mechanical operation. The method of *differences* in a very wide sense is the mathematical principle of the contrivance. A machine to add a number of arbitrary figures together is no economy of time or trouble; since each individual figure must be placed in the machine. But it is otherwise when those figures follow some law. The insertion of a few at first determines the magnitude of the next; and these of the succeeding. It is this constant repetition of similar operations, which renders the computation of tables a fit subject for the application of machinery. Mr. Babbage’s invention puts an engine in the place of the computer. The question is set to the

instrument, or the instrument is set to the question; and by simply giving it motion, the solution is wrought, and a string of answers is exhibited. In no department of science or of the arts does this discovery promise to be so eminently useful as in that of astronomy and its kindred sciences, with the various arts dependent on them. In none are computations more operose than those which astronomy in particular requires; in none are preparatory facilities more needful; in none is error more detrimental. The practical astronomer is interrupted in his pursuit, is diverted from his task of observation, by the irksome labour of computation; or his diligence in observing becomes ineffectual for want of yet greater industry of calculation. Let the aid which tables previously computed afford, be furnished to the utmost extent which mechanism has made attainable through Mr. Babbage's invention, the most irksome portion of the astronomer's task is alleviated, and a fresh impulse is given to astronomical research." President's Address, p. 511.

We have alluded to this subject more in reference to the benefits which are to be anticipated to astronomy from the application of the engine, than from any thing as yet accomplished. Though the invention has been now for some time made known, and a small model tried, and exhibited to the friends of the inventor, with the most perfect success, yet we understand no machine on a large scale has been finished, nor any practical application to the purpose of astronomical tables yet made. The inventor has found it apply to much more extensive purposes in the solution of questions in pure mathematics than he had at first contemplated; and it promises, besides its practical utility, to afford the means of solving many of the higher equations, which have never yet been solved by any analytical process.

From the subject of this curious application of mechanics to the purposes of the astronomer, we must now direct our reader's attention to topics more properly connected with purely astronomical research, and perhaps of more general interest.

In the society's memoirs, we have, under the head of *Observations*, those of Mr. Groombridge of the oppositions of the planets, including the four small ones, for the three last years; and the right ascension and declination of the comet of 1821 are given by M. Nicollet of Paris. It is in this latter department that we propose to offer a few particulars of some researches possessing a peculiar degree of interest and attraction.

No part of astronomy has excited more attention and interest than the study of comets; these singular bodies, as well from the peculiarity of the phenomena they present, as from the difficulty of the investigations respecting the laws of their

motions, have in a peculiar degree called forth the abilities and industry of astronomers ; they have been equally subjects of wonder and terror in ages of ignorance, and of curiosity and indefatigable research, now that a little more of their nature is known. It is evident, that much of the apparent irregularity in the motions of these bodies, and the infrequency of their return within the range of our vision, is attributable to the disturbances which their narrow elliptic orbits receive from their passage near any of the planets. It seems that the only unequivocal instance of a cometary orbit having been verified by the re-appearance of the body, was that of the comet of 1682 ; and which, according to Halley's calculation, re-appeared in 1759. Our astronomical readers will not need at the present period to be informed of the remarkable instance of the same kind, of late years observed by M. Encke ; to him the second gold medal of the Astronomical Society has been awarded ; and his researches are briefly alluded to in the subsequent part of the president's address. A silver medal was voted to Dr. Rumker, who had been mainly instrumental to the enquiry : as also, another silver medal to M. Pons, for contributing in this instance as well as in several others, to extend our knowledge of comets. This comet, and the establishment of its period, present several very uncommon and interesting peculiarities.

On the 26th of November 1818, M. Pons discovered a small comet at Marseilles ; its orbit was computed by M. Encke upon elliptic elements ; which were found to agree with observation in the closest manner. One of its most remarkable peculiarities was the shortness of its period, which was deduced as about $3\frac{1}{4}$ years. Its mean distance from the sun is not much greater than twice the earth's ; and its utmost range would not be beyond the orbit of Jupiter ; so that it seems almost a question, whether it is to be called with most propriety a comet or a planet. The shortness of its period naturally led astronomers to conclude, that it must have been often before observed. Accordingly, on comparing recorded observations, it was at first suggested by Dr. Olbers, that it was the same as that of 1795. This similarity was soon extended to the comets of 1786, 1801, and 1805, all which were found to agree, on the elliptic supposition, very closely with each other, and with that of 1818. Thus, the actual revolution of this small body about the sun seemed completely established. It was accordingly predicted by M. Encke (after whose name it is called), that it would re-appear about the end of 1821 or beginning of 1822. Upon a more minute examination of the data, he subsequently said he had little expectation that it would be

visible in Europe at that time. But that in south latitude 34° the comet in the beginning of June, would be elevated 24° above the horizon at sunset; and would then be as bright as a star of the fourth magnitude.

Under these circumstances, it was with feelings of no common interest that the astronomical world looked forward to the period of its expected return. Sir T. Brisbane, who, as Governor of New South Wales, has been indefatigable in his exertions to promote science, took out with him as astronomer to the observatory at Paramatta, Dr. Rumker, a German, of great astronomical attainments and celebrity; this gentleman, on the 2d of June 1822, had the pleasure of observing a comet, in all respects resembling the one sought for. It is a singular coincidence, that this should have been so exactly at the time and in the latitude (that of Paramatta being $33^{\circ} 48' S.$) specified by M. Encke. It was on this account, as well as for his other important observations, that the medal was awarded to M. Rumker. Immediately on the re-discovery of the comet being made known in Europe, M. Encke compared the data, and found the orbit, &c. to agree with his former calculations to a great degree of precision; thus establishing its identity in the most perfect manner.

When we consider the proximity of this comet's orbit to our own regions, it seems most probable that it must have been observed oftener than in the instances recorded, though probably not attended to. In the course of a century it crosses the earth's orbit more than 60 times; hence it must be evident, that the chances are very great that we shall at some time or other have a much nearer view of it, if not be brought into actual contact. At the same time, from the circumstance of its motions being so much among the bodies of our system, it seems to be apprehended by astronomers, that the attractions of some of the larger planets may sensibly alter its orbit. It has been also remarked by Mr. Colebrooke, in the address before quoted, that this discovery may lead to others of the like nature.

"It is not *likely*," he observes, "that Encke's comet should be solitary of its kind; the only one revolving in a short period; or the only visible one."

"The Astronomical Society is desirous of drawing the attention of observers in an especial manner to this department of research with the confidence that increased vigilance cannot fail of being rewarded by abundant discovery; and I may here take leave to remark, that multiplied observations at very remote stations, determining a greater portion of a comet's orbit, will tend to the earlier and more precise ascertainment of its period." P. 513.

M. Encke, we ought to add, has calculated the places of this comet for some time to come, and it may be expected to be visible in Europe, in August 1825.

We are sure our readers will not think these details longer than the interest of the subject calls for. To find a cometary body so regular in its motions, is an unprecedented circumstance in the annals of discovery; and from the recurrence of opportunities now so often to be expected, we may anticipate a much closer acquaintance than we now possess with the nature and constitution of this singular class of heavenly bodies. The observation of it above mentioned, at the observatory in New South Wales, is one of the earliest fruits of the excellent plan so liberally patronised by our Government, of establishing observatories at distant stations. A plan, the advantages of which, will hardly need much comment to any one who appreciates the objects to which astronomical research is directed, and the means which it is necessary to possess for accomplishing them. This remark leads us to the subject of our astronomical establishment at the Cape of Good Hope. Of this arrangement we believe our readers are already aware, and from the nomination of so able an observer as Mr. Fearon Fallows, many valuable results may be expected. Though the establishment is as yet by no means in a state of forwardness, yet this expectation has been, in some measure, realized by the communications received from that gentleman on several subjects of astronomical research. The importance of observations in the southern hemisphere has been long acknowledged. This induced the temporary residence of the distinguished La Caille in those regions; especially at the Cape; and the results of his labours in improving several branches of the science have been duly valued, and made use of to the full extent. In this important station Mr. Fallows has commenced his labours with great assiduity and success. The peculiarities of the climate in that latitude have afforded several opportunities of observations both of astronomical and meteorological phenomena. But subsequently the attention of the Cape astronomer has been directed to a more systematic plan of proceeding. And in the volume of the philosophical transactions now on our table, we find a communication from him, exhibiting an extended examination of the stars in the southern hemisphere. It is entitled "A Catalogue of nearly all the principal Fixed Stars, between the Zenith of Cape Town and the South Pole, reduced to the 1st of January, 1824." In the introductory part of the paper, we have an interesting account of his pro-

ceedings, the means with which he was furnished, and the diligence with which he has made use of them.

Immediately after his arrival at the colony, in the end of 1821, he lost no time in personally examining different parts of the country, for the purpose of selecting one which might be deemed eligible as a site for the intended observatory about to be erected by Government. After many fruitless endeavours to accomplish the object of his wishes, he had the good fortune, at length, to find a situation in the vicinity of Cape Town, which upon the whole, possessed more local advantages than any he had seen elsewhere. He accordingly drew up a report, which was forwarded to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in March 1822. But as a considerable period must intervene between the date of this report and the time when instructions would be received to commence the building of the observatory, he was desirous of employing the interval in doing what was practicable with the means at his disposal; and he resolved upon forming a catalogue of the fixed stars visible in that part of the globe, which might afford a foundation for subsequent more accurate determinations, when greater means should be placed in his power. By an application to the governor, a temporary observatory was obtained, in a small wooden building, which though extremely confined and inconvenient, yet was soon converted into a receptacle for a small portable transit instrument, a clock, and an altitude azimuth circle. These were fixed as securely as could be done on bases of stone work, and by a careful series of preliminary observations, the instruments were at length brought into a state of correctness, sufficient to allow the observations to commence. The number of stars amount to 273; of all of which the places in right ascension and declination are determined, as well as their magnitudes estimated, and compared with those given by La Caille.

We look forward with much interest to the accounts which we presume may be expected of the progress of the intended observatory, and still more so to the beneficial results which we are convinced must accrue as well to science as to navigation, from the labours of its superintendent.

We have made it our professed business in this article, to endeavour to select for notice, those leading topics of astronomical inquiry which seem best calculated to give an idea of the present state and advance of the science. Those which we have already adverted to, have been in our opinion, some of the principal which the records of astronomy before us,

present to our view. There is one other subject, perhaps of more universal and peculiar interest than any of those; both from its intrinsic importance, and the long time during which it has formed the subject of protracted discussion amongst the highest authorities in the scientific world.

From what we have on several former occasions laid before our readers, they will be sufficiently aware of the existence and character of that principal question, at present agitated among the first astronomers, respecting the parallax of the fixed stars. To this subject we have now more particularly to draw their attention, as the continuance of the discussion between the Astronomer Royal and Professor Brinkley, is a prominent feature in the records of science now before us.

That the apparent place of a fixed star should vary according to the part of its orbit in which the earth may be, would be a necessary consequence of its moving in such an orbit; the only question would be, whether from the immensely great distance of the stars in comparison with the diameter of the earth's orbit, such difference could be sensible or appreciable. If it were detected it would be an absolute demonstration of the earth's motion. It was accordingly an object of great interest to the earliest supporters of the Copernican theory. The method upon which most of the observations for ascertaining this point have been grounded, was originally proposed by Galileo: namely, that of observing the places of certain stars near the zenith, (by which circumstance errors of refraction were avoided), about the summer and the winter solstices. Any apparent difference, after all proper corrections, would be the effect of parallax. This method was first put in practice (at least with any accuracy) by the celebrated Dr. Hooke. He erected at Chelsea, a telescope 36 feet long, for examining γ Draconis; and conceived he had found a very considerable parallax: his observations, however, were contradicted by those of Molyneux. Flamsteed afterwards deduced a similar result for the pole star; but though his observations were much more accurate, his conclusions were explained away by the grand discovery of aberration by Dr. Bradley. Subsequent astronomers, now that some of the principal corrections were understood, continued the enquiry upon much more sure grounds. Cassini estimated the parallax of Sirius at 6", and La Caille at 4". Piazzi engaged in similar researches with a spirit of diffidence fully warranted by the delicacy and difficulty of the undertaking. His observations were continued from 1800 to 1806, and his results were in favour of parallax; he makes that of Sirius 4", Procyon 3", and

Capra less than $1''$. Dr. Brinkley took up the subject with all the advantages which profound mathematical skill, united to the most accurate and indefatigable habits of observation, could give him. In 1810 he rated the parallax of α Lyræ at $2\frac{1}{2}''$.

We need not here enter upon the particulars of the various subsequent investigations in which Dr. Brinkley has been continually engaged, up to the present time, on this subject; nor need we allude particularly to the researches of the Astronomer Royal, who has brought forward numerous observations with that excellent instrument the Greenwich mural circle, and also with a fixed telescope, adjusted solely for this enquiry; the results of all which observations, he conceives directly conclusive against the existence of sensible parallax. For an account of these investigations, we refer our readers to our former numbers. (*See B.C.* 1824, January, p. 31; March, p. 245; September, p. 249.)

Still less shall we here advert to the totally distinct question of the supposed southern motion of the fixed stars; which, as our readers are aware, is asserted by Mr. Pond and denied by Dr. Brinkley. But we proceed to exhibit the question of parallax as it now stands, between the opposing opinions of two such able and distinguished combatants. The Astronomer Royal has relied upon the acknowledged superiority of his instruments. Dr. Brinkley has maintained, if not the equal value of his, yet its remarkable steadiness and consistency with itself; and he has now brought forward two communications, one to the Royal, the other to the Astronomical Society, in support of his own observations, and tending to criticise very fully and minutely those of his antagonist. A very brief statement of these arguments, and the substance of the remarks, will put our readers in possession of the merits of the case.

In Dr. B.'s paper, published by the Astronomical Society, he states, that the opposite results deduced from the observations of the Greenwich mural circle, and of the circle at the observatory of Trinity College, Dublin, relative to the parallax of certain fixed stars, have induced him to examine more minutely the Greenwich observations, and the more especially, since his own results had been lately confirmed by observations upon quite an independent principle. He then finds, that, by adopting one of the most simple methods of deducing results from the observations with the mural circle, conclusions are derived very different from those of the Astronomer Royal, and in a remarkable degree favourable to his own observations. The method of deduction

adopted by Dr. Brinkley is founded on the following principle, which we will give in his own words :

“ From the nature of the mural circle, the arch intercepted between the stars ought to be found the same at all seasons of the year, provided the proper corrections be made for annual variation, aberration, nutation and refraction, and provided there be no sensible parallax. If the arch be not found the same, some cause must exist, either arising from the instrument, or some actual change in the relative position of the stars. With a reference to the question of parallax, α Lyræ has been chosen for examination, because it appears to have the greatest parallax of any star near the zenith. The pole star, when above the pole, from the great number of observations that are to be found of it, from its having no sensible parallax according to my observations, and from some other circumstances, is an eligible star for comparison with α Lyræ. Using one star only as a point of comparison for other stars, reduces in some measure the mural circle to the simplicity of reversing instruments, in which the zenith point is determined by a plumb-line. The pole star besides is particularly pointed out as being the ultimate object of reference for all stars in the use of the mural circle.” (Ast. Mem. p. 329.)

Upon these principles, two methods are pointed out of deducing the difference of the arch, intercepted between the pole star and α Lyræ, between the mean of observations made in the summer and in the winter. The results by each method agree nearly in giving that difference, which in fact is the parallax, at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ second; and this agrees very closely with Dr. B.’s result with the Dublin circle. He then makes some remarks on the source of Mr. Pond’s overlooking the parallax. This he traces to his mode of computing the index error. “ There cannot be a doubt,” Dr. B. observes, “ that Mr. Pond’s method of deducing the index correction is most proper for observations in general, such as the polar distances of the sun, moon and planets, &c.; but when used for parallax, there appear too many sources of error mixed up together, to ascertain their precise effect on the mean index correction.” He concludes by remarking, how strong a proof his computations give of the excellence of the Greenwich instrument.

The other paper to which we alluded is in the second part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1824. It is entitled, “ Observations on the Parallax of α Lyræ.” This communication relates principally to the paper of the Astronomer Royal, given in the Transactions for 1823, and of which we gave an account in a former number. (See B. C. January 1824, p. 31.) This paper, Dr. B. states, from the manner in which the subject is there treated, appears to him likely to mislead, as to

the actual state of the question, relative to the existence or non-existence of visible parallax in α Lyrae. He has given every attention to examining the results, and the mode of computing them, and his principal object in the present paper is to put them in their true light. He conceives, that the Greenwich observations have been represented as opposing his to a greater extent than they really do; and that in the view Mr. Pond has taken of the question, some important circumstances of the Dublin observations are so imperfectly related, that the Greenwich results acquire an apparent weight, much greater than a close examination will shew belongs to them. He then enters upon a detailed examination of the Astronomer Royal's results; and the general tendency of his remarks, is to point out certain discrepancies between the summer and winter observations, which he shews to be of sufficient magnitude to disguise the effects of parallax, supposing it to exist; consequently these observations cannot be considered conclusive, as Mr. Pond maintains they are, against the existence of parallax. He goes into an extensive criticism on Mr. P.'s paper, many remarks in which, on the Dublin observations and instrument, are shewn to be unfounded.

We must give the conclusion in the author's own words.

"If it should appear hereafter, by any decisive observations, that I have been mistaken in having attributed the differences of the zenith distances, which I have met with in several stars to parallax, I trust I shall not be found to persevere in the opinion I at present hold. Recent circumstances have led me to adhere more strongly to that opinion. The alledged permanency of the arc between γ Draconis and α Lyrae, seemed to furnish a powerful argument against me, and I have heretofore represented it as such; now, I consider the Greenwich observations of this arc, if not favourable, certainly not adverse to parallax. The appearance of parallax, which I had found in observations of several stars in the same part of the heavens, also might be thought to afford considerable probability that the explanation by parallax was not the true explanation. The argument furnished by solar mutation seems to produce such additional weight, that at this time, I consider the evidence in favour of parallax greater than ever." (Phil. Trans. 1824, p. 486.)

Some observations are then made on the relative merits of the Greenwich and Dublin instruments, the latter of which Mr. Pond had maintained to be inferior: but from the results of observations here given by Dr. B. it is shewn to be fully equal to the Greenwich one in the stability of its indications, and more especially in reference to the particular purpose of these observations. The whole of these and the other comparisons are comprized in extensive tables.

Such is the present state of the question at issue. If further evidence be wanted, we have no doubt it will be amply afforded in Dr. B.'s paper, to which he here alludes on the subject of the solar mutation, and which will appear in the forthcoming volume of the *Memoirs of the Irish Academy*. It must be obvious that a question like this must be slow in arriving at a decision. When two of the first astronomers, with unquestionably the best instruments in Europe, are at variance, it must be long before any inferior judgments can be allowed to pronounce upon the point. For our own parts we must say, we look forward with no small degree of interest, not to say curiosity, for a reply from the *Astronomer Royal*. We know that it may be easy to criticise results of apparently the most faultless kind: but we must say, we have seldom seen a criticism possessing more appearance, as well of soundness of remark, as of temperance and candour in its spirit, than that which Dr. B. has bestowed upon Mr. Pond. At all events it is highly gratifying, both for the credit of the individuals, and of science, to know that the dispute has been, and is still, carried on with the most perfect cordiality and good understanding.

We have, in noticing these papers, only been led to advert to one method which has been proposed for discovering parallax. To Galileo, however, we are to ascribe equally the first suggestion of another method. This was to examine the relative position of double stars, one of large and the other of small magnitude, at the two extremities of the earth's orbit. The two stars are here supposed to be actually nearly equal in size, but differing in their distance from us. This method was followed up with the utmost assiduity by the late Sir W. Herschel with his uncommonly powerful instruments. Though it has afforded many important results with respect to the proper motions of the stars, and the arrangement and groups of those heavenly bodies, it has yet furnished no observations forming data for reasoning on the distances of the fixed stars from the sun. Though such has been the case with observations of this class, it does not follow that they may not ultimately be found susceptible of some such application. At all events they are enquiries of the highest interest. This is therefore the proper place to mention, that by means of the superb equatorial instruments belonging to Mr. South, Mr. Herschel began, in 1821, a series of most elaborate observations, in conjunction with Mr. South, in order to obtain a remeasurement of the angles of position, and the distances of the double stars discovered by the late Sir W. Herschel and others. The determinations

of the distances and positions of a great number of these interesting objects, being the results of 10,000 individual observations, have been communicated to the Royal Society. The paper is entitled, "Observations on the positions and distances of 380 double and triple fixed stars, made in the years 1821, 22, and 23; by J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. F.R.S. and J. South, Esq. F.R.S." and it occupies the whole of a third or supplementary part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1824.

We cannot close these remarks without expressing our best wishes for the welfare and extension of the Astronomical Society, which has already been the means of doing so much for this invaluable branch of science: and we hear with much gratification, that a proposal is at present under consideration, of applying for a charter of incorporation. Such an application we are convinced would be fully warranted by the important services which the establishment of this association has already rendered this country. We consider the advantages national, because every thing must be so regarded which tends to create a respect for the British name in other countries; and our pre-eminence in astronomical science has surely, in a remarkable degree, such a tendency; to say nothing of the incalculable importance of improvements in this science to our naval interests. From our country the greatest discoveries of the phenomena and laws of the heavens have originated. It becomes us therefore to keep up this proud distinction: it is an object of high gratification to our scientific countrymen; and in every way worthy the notice and encouragement of our liberal and enlightened Government.

ART. III. *Lambeth and the Vatican; or, Anecdotes of the Church of Rome, of the Reformed Churches, and of Sects and Sectaries.* 3 vols. 1l. 1s. Knight and Lacey.

It is not many weeks since that the Sunday Newspapers, influenced by that mysterious and inexplicable sympathy which occasionally may be observed as forerunning the occurrence of events which are to affect the fortunes of mankind, announced, with one common note of joy, first the conception, and afterwards the nativity of the volumes before us. They gave us to understand, that *Lambeth and the Vatican*, which was exciting "such intense interest in the Theological world," was the production of the Rev. Mr. Hussey,

“ the fashionable preacher at St. Marylebone church ;” and that there could be no doubt, in consequence of its appearance, that he would “ soon become as fashionable as an author as he now is as a preacher.” This prophecy, we take it for granted, has been amply verified, for there can be little reason to disbelieve that those who admire Mr. Hussey’s books may admire his sermons also. *Qui Bavium non odit, &c.*

Fashion, indeed, it must be confessed, is somewhat capricious, and, it may be, perverse in the choice of her favourites. This remark, however, is merely incidental, and we must not be suspected of the slightest inclination or intention to derogate from the high rank which we are assured Mr. Hussey has attained on her roll of worthies, or to strip the leaves from the chaplet which he wears with so much honour on his brow, whether in the Pulpit or the Press. We shall be content, without further preface, to lay before our readers some passages from his present work, which seem to us to exhibit the extent of his claims as a divine and as an author ; and moreover fully to establish him in the much-to-be-desired title of Grand Inquisitor of Spiritual *Bons mots*, and Arch-Treasurer of Ecclesiastical Waggeries.

The difficulty is where to begin, for any one page in any of the three volumes is just as applicable to our purpose as another. We must dip, and take our chance for a prize ;—and i’faith we are in luck ; for the first passage on which we open

“ Puts to him all the learning that his Time

“ Could make him the receiver of.”

“ PAGAN.

“ There has been much controversy about the origin of this word. Prætereis, Brissonius, Benecius, Hormasenus, *Cælius de ver. jur. verb Paganus*. Bede in *Cantac. l. 6. c. 30. et in Luc d’cl. l. 6. c. 23. et homil. in Feriam. 3 Psalm. Jean. Treng: in Etymol. s’b. eod. veri* Stephan. de Urbib. Lonrius in *Act. l. 17. v. 19. Gasp. Sanct. in Isai. c. 42. Num. 45. p. 445.* maintain from Servius, and others, that the word was derived from the Greek word *παγος*, a village so named from the springs ; or as others, the hills around which they were used to build their towns. Philaster *Hæres. c. 3.* thinks that they were called so, from a certain Paganus, who, he says, was the son of Ducalion and Pyrrha, and a powerful and famous king, and afterwards worshipped as a God. The writer of this article can find no such name in the *Mythologia of Jo. Natalis, &c.* nor Lemprieres modern work.” Vol. I. p. 10.

Deep indeed must be the researches of that scholar who has acquainted himself with all the authorities here cited, from the “ venerable” Bede to the “ modern” Lempriere !

Here is *Prætereis*, who for ought we know may be no other than Abdias Prætorius, the expounder of Hebrew phraseology, or Pardulphus Pratejus the Jurist; next there is *Bene-cius*, who we feel more sure is Bencius; then *Hormasenus Calinus*, *Jean Treng* and *Lonrius*, with a vast number of their works, concerning whom and which we think it unbecoming to hazard any conjecture; and lastly, *Jo. Natalis*, whose *Mythologia* (which he never wrote) Mr. Hussey has consulted with his own eyes! Of the correctness of Mr. Hussey's similar reference to Dr. Lempriere, we have not the slightest doubt; and if he had turned to *Natalis Comes*, he would have been equally to seek for any mention of *Paganus*; but *Jo.* the namesake of *Comes*, (who really did write the *Mythologia*,) lived and died (as it is unnecessary for us to state) nearly a century posterior to the appearance of that work. And, after all, for what purpose is this cloud of witnesses appealed to? truly, for no other than to establish an etymology from a Greek word (*παγος*) which has no existence save in the addled brains which have coined, or stolen, the pompous list of names upon which the pseudo-derivation is to be rested.

The remainder of this speculation on "Paganism" is equally profound and correct with the passage which we have just cited. Thus we are referred to *Alciati Paserg.* instead of his *Parerga*; to *Paulus Osorius*, instead of *Jerome* of the same name, the learned Bishop of Sylvas; to *Mornacius*, instead of *Mornæus*; and in conclusion, to the *Encyclopedie Methodique*, from which, perhaps (with the exception of the blunders) the whole of this tissue has been borrowed.

But, as the proverb runs, it is not in every man's power to get to Corinth; and Athens assuredly is no less difficult of access. Mr. Hussey, though he shews "a jesting spirit," yet, as we have seen above, is by no means *assuetus Græcari*; and he must be content to expound the Vulgate rather than the Septuagint. In this of course he is well versed; and if knowledge is ultimately attained, it little matters through what channel it is conveyed; for Greek has no claim to be considered one whit superior to Latin, as the medium of intelligence. "O good, my Lord, no Latin!" Mr. Hussey plainly, here also, has but a very general and distantly bowing acquaintance with the authors of Rome; at least, if we may judge from the following choice specimen of application. He is speaking of a dangerous accident which had nearly proved fatal to Pope Alexander VI. by the falling of a chimney in the Vatican. It ended harmlessly to the Pontiff, and Mr. Hussey most pointedly and grammatically observes,

that "the ruins were no sooner removed, than up starts, almost unhurt, this '*nimum dilecte diis.*'"

Come we then to plain English, and first for Ecclesiastical History.

"PERSECUTION.

"The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed and continually practised. An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to absolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege. The persecution of Antioch, as it was called, under Valens, in the fourth century of the Christian era, was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the four first letters in the name of the future emperor Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Theodosius succeeded." Vol. I. p. 53.

Here we confess that we were not a little at fault. Mr. Hussey announces his work as "an Ana of Curiosities in Ecclesiastical History," and "a Parlour Window Book on subjects strictly Theological." "Persecution," therefore, as we supposed, in conformity with this declaration, was used in the "strictly Theological" sense, and of any such Persecution under Valens, a Christian Emperor, those Histories, to which we had access, altogether failed to inform us. But the difficulty vanished on a little closer examination, since, on turning to the xxvth chapter of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (pp. 252-3, 8vo. ed. 1807), the whole passage as given above by Mr. Hussey (without acknowledgment), will be found in the text and notes. The ambiguous word "Persecution," therefore, has either misled the erudite compiler, or he in turn, has been willing, by a pious fraud, to mislead his readers, and to treat, as a Persecution of Christians (in order that he might introduce the story into his own pages), the cruelties which Valens was induced to exercise, not from any religious antipathy, but solely from his superstitious cowardice. We take this opportunity of remarking, that Gibbon has related this incident with unusual carelessness. Zonaras (iii. *Valens*), from whom we derive the facts, expressly affirms that the "criminal consultation" was held by recourse to Alectromancy. The divining Cock, whose verity was so manifestly proved by the succession of Theodosius the Great,

ought not to be rashly deprived of the reputation which he deserves; and we rejoice in being thus able to do him justice.

Furthermore, Mr. Hussey is no less distinguished by the accuracy of his miscellaneous information. Thus we are told of Bentley, that, "from the *severity of his criticisms*, he has been designated as "slashing Bentley with his desperate hook" (l. 170), when all the world hitherto has supposed that it was ~~not~~ his bitterness, but his love of conjectural emendation which exposed him to this sarcasm of Pope. In vol. iii. p. 29, Lord Dunboyne is stated to have "read his *incantation* from the errors of the Church of Rome;" and in the same vol. (195.) the primitive Church is loudly condemned for having invested Michael the Archangel with the title of *Saint*, and having thereby implied, that the immediate messengers of God are believed to be *Holy*.

Of Mr. Hussey's facetiousness, the following examples may be accepted. The reader cannot fail to be instructed by the information which is gravely afforded him in the first citation.

" BISHOP BERKELEY.

" Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, in Ireland, wrote a book proving the non-existence of matter, but taking it down the Strand in the dark, he broke his shins—but, alas! it could not break him of his theory." Vol. III. p. 206.

" REV. MR. SWINDEN.

" A treatise was once written to prove that the sun is the place of punishment, and that its light proceeds from that fire in which the sinful are everlastingly tormented. The hardness of the heart, that could have backed this effort of genius, is uncommon." Vol. III. p. 221.

" MONUMENT AT SARAGOSSA.

" In the cathedral of Saragossa is a sumptuous monument erected to the memory of a grand inquisitor. Round his mausoleum are chained, to each of the six pillars, a Moor preparatory to his being burned. Granted, the Moors are placed so as to be in perfect keeping, as the painters say, and may be very picturesque in some eyes; for Gray tells us, that "even in our ashes live their wonted *fires*," and therefore a dead grand inquisitor must be equally honoured as when alive." Vol. III. p. 228.

" SCOTCH COVENANTERS.

" Having thus spoken of Scotch Presbyterian preachers, we cannot forbear giving the following anecdote connected with a celebrated French Presbyterian preacher, Peter de Bosc, of Caen, a man who was extremely beloved, as much for his abilities as for his urbanity of manners. A letter de Cachet had removed him from his office, but October the fifteenth, 1664, Mr. De Bosc recovered

the liberty of returning to his church, and the joy which was at Caen, when he came there, cannot be expressed. A great many honourable persons congratulated him; but there was a catholic gentleman who then did one of the strangest things ever heard of. He was a man of distinction in the province, whose life was not very regular, but who made open profession of loving pastors who had particular talents, and seemed particularly enamoured of the merit of Mr. De Bosc." Vol. III. p 255.

" IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

" Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the society of Jesuits, although this may perhaps be doubted, they appearing of much older date, since we find, Numbers ii, c. 44, some of the Israelites were " of Jesue, the family of the Jesuits," put himself into the college de Montaigne, at Paris, in 1528; he there began his studies in the sixth class to learn his grammar a second time, and desired his master to set him a task, and whip him as he did the other scholars when remiss in his lesson. He was then thirty-seven years old;— a pretty sight to see this venerable saint's shirt taken up among a company of boys, spectators of the flagellating comedy, we should rather call it farce." Vol. III. p. 234.

Beyond the last decorous witticism we are unwilling to proceed; nor would our readers thank us for citing sundry other Scriptural puns which have not escaped us, or an abundance of such ambiguous " after-dinner stories," as Lord Byron (with what justice we know not) has accused the much-buffed and manifold Mr. Bowles of telling and rejoicing in. It may, however, be a matter of curiosity to ascertain, what are the precise opinions on matters connected with Church discipline and doctrine which qualify their owner for the distinction of a " fashionable preacher;" and to a selection of one or two of these, we shall add a few random judgments on distinguished Ecclesiastical characters. First, we meet the following respectful mention of Episcopacy.

" BISHOPS.

" Upon most occasions we find bishops just as courtly as any of the nobles that decorate a court. There have been who defend this. La Roque observes, in his Treatise on Nobility, that prelates, fighting incessantly against the prince of darkness, should enjoy personal nobility the same as all officers do, who are not all gentlemen, and who fight for the defence of their country. Now, considering how well this spiritual warfare is paid for in this world, it is not over modest in La Roche to desire to lock nobility to it. St. Paul himself would be electrified at being styled " The Right Rev. Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Athens." Vol. III. p. 21.

And again, this pithy remark on the Church in general:

" To a philosophic eye, the vices of the Clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues." Vol. I. p. 128.

To the stale and often exploded fabrication of the pointed and public disavowal of the Athanasian Creed, which it is pretended was made by George III. and to an account of Bishop Watson's projected *expurgata* edition of the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England, is prefixed the ensuing *elogue* on an avowed Socinian.

"A tract had been published by the Duke of Grafton, a most sincere Christian and pious man, to whose public character infinite injustice has been done by the domestic virulence of Jesuits, but who deserves the high praise of having been a warm friend of civil and religious liberty, and enjoyed the useful and enviable distinction of transmitting the same principles unimpaired to his family. In this work his grace earnestly recommended a revival of the liturgy. He was of course bitterly attacked." Vol. III. p. 286.

Detraction is not less readily at hand than Panegyric, whenever it is necessary to convey an ill impression of any of the leading champions of our Establishment:—"Bishop Jewel," says Mr. Hussey, "has ever been considered one of the brightest ornaments of the English Church, and therefore we cannot forbear presenting our readers with an extract from a sermon of his, preached before Queen Elizabeth in 1558:"—and then, as a favourable specimen of the Bishop's sentiments and manner, a passage is cited, expressive of his abhorrence of Witchcraft, in which crime the belief was universal at the time when Bishop Jewel wrote. Again of Bishop Horseley:—

"This eminent prelate was dean of the order of the Bath; the right reverend was so vain as to wear his ribbon in every time and place, resembling Lewis the Great, who went to bed in his wig to keep up his dignity." Vol. III. p. 203.

We need not remark, that this pert sneer is founded on an ill-natured and unauthorized distich in the Fourth dialogue of the *Pursuits of Literature*. Bishop Horseley, in wearing

'Bath's dangling pride, and ribband rosy red,'

did no more than the Statutes of the Order enjoined him to do; and no more than all his predecessors and successors have done in common with him. We are old enough to remember with delight his social virtues and easiness of private intercourse. We have seen him affectionately fondling children, and playfully joining in their sports, with the offensive badge pendent from his neck; and we can most securely affirm, that in spite of his occasional heat, and a manner which it is impossible to deny was somewhat coarse and blustering,

no man carried his faculties more meekly in the bosom of familiar life. It can be no matter of wonder, that the pen which has been raised to vilify Jewel and Horseley, should direct its praises in channels somewhat opposite to the course of these great men; and we were less surprised than scandalized to find among the "eminent" personages who are recorded in a "Chart of Ecclesiastical History" appended to these pages, the atrocious Du Bois, the infidel Raynal, and the apostate Horne Tooke.

Such is the result of the "many years research" which Mr. Hussey assures us he has exercised among the "musty authorities" of "manuscripts, early printed books, and works printed in foreign languages," among the "folios of the Bodleian, the British Museum, and some other public libraries in Great Britain," the treasures of "the Vatican, the Ambrosian, and the Royal Library at Paris." While he confines himself to the truly clerical task of collecting other people's *facetiæ*, he is not altogether out of character if he is often in the wrong, now and then profane, occasionally indecent, and always dull. But we beseech him not to wander beyond the path which he has here chosen; let not the "fashionable preacher" think of publishing his sermons. Much licence is given to the jack-pudding and the buffoon, which would be denied to a graver garb and a severer countenance; and the dunce who hazards a jest, in company, on subjects in which jesting is impertinent, must be checked if he begin to "scorn his God" within the precincts of his Temple.

ART. IV. *A Reply to Mr. Brougham's "Practical Observations upon the Education of the People; addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers."* By E. W. Grinfield, M.A. Minister of Laura Chapel, Bath. 8vo. 40 pp. Rivingtons. 1825.

THE general question respecting education has recently been discussed by us at considerable length. Mr. Brougham's share in the controversy is entitled to more attention than was bestowed upon it in our last number, and we gladly avail ourselves of Mr. Grinfield's pamphlet in order to bring the subject once more under the consideration of our readers.

We have never seen a juster estimate of Mr. Brougham's services in the cause of education, than is contained in the following passage:—

" He commenced, I believe, as a violent partizan of Mr. Lancaster against Dr. Bell; opposed and defamed the 'National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church;' for some time exclusively supported the 'British Schools;' then vibrated between them and the 'National;' sought to form an alliance with both, and succeeded in gaining the confidence of neither; then brought forward his Parliamentary bill, when 'the lukewarmness of many, and the honest, and by him, even to be respected scruples of some, have hitherto obstructed his designs.' (*Introduction.*) In a word, his whole career as a legislator on popular Education, has been hitherto a strange medley of bold attempts and impotent performances;—of oscillations and defeats, of the most extensive theory, and of the most unsuccessful practice.

" Still his ambition remains undaunted; and though, if we believe his friends, 'he has no other excitement than that general philanthropy, and that high-minded anticipation of the love and gratitude of posterity, by which patriots are supported, when they silently confer lasting blessings on their countrymen, without raising their passions, or making any demand on their applause;' (*Edin. Rev. No. 82, p. 508.*) yet, he pursues this object amidst victory and defeat, with all his characteristic earnestness and avidity. It appears, that he has been for some time engaged on a large and extensive work on Popular Education 'in its three branches.—Infant Schools,—Elementary Schools (for reading and writing),—and Adult Schools;' and that the present Pamphlet is only a synopsis of his sentiments on the last: however, he seems to claim the whole ground as exclusively belonging to himself and his friends.—'Any meddling on the part of Government with the first (*Infant Schools!*) would be inexpedient; and with the last (*Adult Schools*), perilous to civil and religious liberty.' (*Introduction.*) 'It is only with the second (*Elementary Schools*), that the Legislature can safely interfere:' or, as the version runs in the *Edinburgh Review*, 'the interference of Government may not only be safe but advantageous, and even necessary in providing the means of Elementary Education for Children; but that no interference can be tolerated, in the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people.' (*Number 81, p. 97.*)

" Now since Mr. Brougham, 'in concert with those friends who hold the same doctrines, has endeavoured to establish *Infant Schools*, it seems to follow,' he adds, 'from the same view of the subject, that I should lend any little help in my power towards fixing the public attention on the Education of *Adults*;' but, as the '*Elementary Schools*' 'have been repeatedly brought before Parliament' by the same authority, it also follows, that he looks upon *them* with all the fondness and affection of a patron; and thus *Popular Education*, in all its branches, belongs to Mr. Brougham and his friends; and 'from tail to snout the pig is eaten.'

" It has been necessary to premise these observations, to put my reader in possession of the large and extensive views which Mr. B., and 'his fellow-labourers in the North,' entertain on this subject.

Already he speaks with the authority of a legislator;—the empire of ‘the Education of the People,’ he considers as peculiarly his own;—he invests himself with the importance of a dictator, both to the Senate and to the People; nor does he over-rate his dignity and importance, *if* this empire should be conceded to his hands.” P. 2.

The sentence thus pronounced may seem severe; but it is not more than the facts of the case require. The past labours of Mr. Brougham are worse than useless, and Mr. Grinfield exposes the absurdity of the schemes which are now in agitation.

“First, with respect to *Infant Schools*, the establishment of which is of very recent date in this country, and which, notwithstanding all the encomiums of Mr. Brougham and his Northern allies, (*See Edinburgh Review, May 1823, Art. VIII.*) seem liable to many strong, if not unanswerable objections. It is the professed object of these Schools to save the trouble and attention of the poor towards their younger children, during the hours of daily labour;—an object which, however, at first sight may appear benevolent and desirable, will, on further examination, be found fantastical and dangerous. It is an attempt to do that by deputy, which it was intended, by God and nature, that parents should do for themselves. It is not desirable that the poor, any more than the rich, should be saved the trouble and the care of attending on their infant progeny. It is the great tie which endears the relation of the parent and the child;—it is the bond of domestic prudence and economy; and if once interfered with by meddling and officious charity, it will be found, that in our restless attempts of doing good, we shall have produced an infinity of evil.

“There is at present at work in this country, a most amiable, but as it appears to me, a most mistaken desire on the part of the benevolent, to regulate and re-model nearly the whole life and manners of the labouring orders. New charities are springing up every day, to the great injury of those which are already in existence;—charities, many of which are of the most dubious and far-fetched tendency, and which, to speak plainly, seem to be the offspring of a vague and sickly philanthropy, rather than of a manly and healthy desire to do what is practicable and attainable in bettering the condition of the poor.

“Amongst these fashionable novelties, is the attempt to take children of eighteen months to the age of four years, and to nurse them up at such *Infant Schools*, at a time when they ought to be running about and playing in all the carelessness and unconsciousness of childhood. The children are marched up and down the school with all the formality of a regiment; a degree of premature knowledge is forced upon them, and a great deal of pains is taken to do that which would come of its own accord, if left to a later period.

“Whether a child learn at the age of three or of four,—‘what is a sheep?—what is a cooper?—what casks are made for?’ &c.

(*Edin. Rev. No. 76, p. 451.*) it really is of very little consequence; but it is of great consequence that he should not become a formal, priggish little creature, which is always dressed in its best clothes, and which, instead of being allowed to tumble about at home, is kept in unnatural order by being kept under the eyes of gentlemen and ladies. Children are sufficiently cunning and artful, without all these artificial attempts to spoil them beforehand; and, for my part, I had rather see them somewhat dirty in their apparel, and even occasionally with a scratch or a bruise, than behold them trained up in a system which is suited only to the formality of Quakers, or to the parallelograms of Mr. Owen.

"As to all the affectation of giving them better air, of teaching them better manners, &c. it can be considered nothing but the most arrant humbug, when the age and circumstances of the children are remembered. The air in which they were bred and born, and in which they must still spend the greater part of their lives, cannot, as we would charitably hope, be very deleterious to their constitutions; nor is it likely to be much worse than that of a room in which so many children are collected. As to their manners and their tempers, they are quite as likely to be corrected by their parents, as by the official kindness of a hired teacher; and when their tender age is remembered, we think that none but a mother should be entrusted with such correction. *I have seen handcuffs for their little arms, suspended in these Infant Asylums*; and though I am disposed to believe that they were introduced only as objects of terror; yet, there was something so revolting in the spectacle, that it could not be beheld without indignation.

"But, after all, I am disposed to think, that the ill effects upon the children are trifling, if compared with those on the parents. I cannot conceive a greater injury that any man can do to another, than to save him the trouble of attending to his own duties; and if any duties be less fitted than others to be discharged by proxy, they are those of a mother to her infant children. No advantages which may accidentally arise from allowing more leisure or opportunity for work, can, in my opinion, possibly compensate for this inroad on domestic duty. The most virtuous of the poor are those which pay the most attention to their young children; and to attempt to stand between them and their offspring, by sending them to Infant Schools at this early period, is, in my view, to do an irreparable injury to their motives for prudence and sobriety.

"It might have been hoped, that the great and acknowledged evils arising from our poor laws, would have taught the people of this country the danger and difficulty of intermeddling with those laws of Nature on which the whole fabric of society is reared; but attempts like these are calculated to bring about the very mischief which they seek to remedy. By doing away with the necessity of watching over their infant children, you destroy a moral habit in their minds, which is of infinitely greater value than any that can be planted in its stead. You teach the poor to be always expecting help from others, instead of depending on their own energies and

exertions. You remove the greatest of all restraints on vice and profligacy—the presence of their young children; in a word, by this unnatural derangement of their domestic economy, it is hard to say, how many evils you may occasion, whilst you are pursuing the phantoms of your benevolence.” P. 5.

Mr. Grinfield apprehends that these ridiculous establishments will increase and multiply; agreeing with him entirely in his estimate of their value, we think that he over-rates their probable success. He justly considers them an artful attempt to prop up the Lancaster system; but the Lancaster system has fallen beyond the power of redemption; low as it was when the “Reply to Mr. Brougham” appeared, it has sunk “ten thousand fathoms deep” since that date. The British and Foreign School Society have held an anniversary meeting; and well deserved ridicule is the result. The exhibition of Mr. O’Connell upon the stage; the edifying quarrel between him and the Methodists; the plaintive story respecting dilapidated resources, unliquidated debt, an inattentive public; the long list of *foreign schools*, established by an institution which cannot pay its domestic debts; these are unequivocal symptoms of approaching dissolution—and the Infantine Seminaries will hardly obtain a reprieve. They were intended to answer the purpose which Mr. Grinfield anticipates and dreads; but the shallow cunning of the contrivers defeated its own object, and the whole scheme is now calculated to excite derision rather than alarm.

The contrast between National Schools and Mr. Brougham’s Parochial Seminaries, is drawn with great spirit and fidelity:

“I shall proceed to notice Mr. Brougham’s second division, viz. ‘Elementary Schools for reading and writing.’ And here the first remark which naturally arises is this,—that it is either a gross mistake, or a wilful misrepresentation, to describe the Schools of this kind as if they were wholly or chiefly employed with communicating the mere power of pronouncing or writing words or letters. And yet the whole argument which Mr. Brougham and his friends employ to demonstrate the propriety of legislative interference with these Schools, is founded on this unaccountable mis-statement. ‘The fundamental principle which merits attention in discussing this subject is, that the interference of the Government may be not only safe but advantageous, and even necessary in providing the means of elementary education for children; but that no such interference can be tolerated, to the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people. If a child be only taught to read and write, it is extremely immaterial by whom, or on what terms, he is put in possession of the instruments by which knowledge may be acquired. It would, no doubt, be a gross act of oppression, if the Government were to spend part of the money raised from the people at large, in forming Schools from which,

by the regulations, certain classes of the community should be excluded. But if these schools are only so constructed that all may enter, no dangerous influence can result to the Government, and no undue bias be communicated to the minds of the children by having them taught the art of reading in seminaries connected with the establishment in Church and State. It is far otherwise with the use that may afterwards be made of the tools thus acquired.' (See *Edinburgh Review*, October 1824, p. 97.) It is probable that the reviewer imagined he was here making a very nice distinction between the Elementary and the Adult Schools; but the distinction is founded on a most foolish assumption, viz. that at these Elementary Schools no moral habits, no religious principles, nothing is to be taught and nothing learnt but the abstract faculty of reading and writing! What a strange notion must Mr. B. and his Northern friends possess of the ends and objects of popular education! As if no bias were to be communicated to the minds of the children, as if we were to educate the people on the principles of Rousseau, to leave them without rudder or compass to steer and reckon by. It was on these strange principles that Mr. B. constructed his celebrated 'Education Bill,' a bill that pleased men of no party, because it aimed at an object which it was neither possible nor desirable to attain, viz. to leave the minds of children in a state of neutrality to all moral, religious, and political opinions.

"Here then we have arrived at the secret of all this ado about 'the education of the people,' whether proposed by Joseph Lancaster, by Pestalozzi, or Emanuel Fellenburgh; by 'our amiable countryman, Robert Owen,' or by all the worthies whose Christian names are so distinctly registered in Dr. Pole's Pamphlet on Infant Schools. (*Edin. Rev. No. 76, p. 443.*)" P. 9.

"What may be the object of Mr. Brougham and his friends in establishing a system of popular education I do not pretend to say, but I can speak with some precision as to the views which have actuated the friends and supporters of the *National Schools*. So far from confining their endeavours to the mere communication of reading and writing, it is the grand design of this system to 'train up the children in the way wherein they should go,' to inspire their youthful minds with the love and the fear of God, to impress them with feelings of moral responsibility, and to teach them that all real knowledge must begin with the fear of the Lord. So far from making the elements of reading and writing the aim and scope of their instruction, the children are taught to regard such attainments as merely subservient to a knowledge and discharge of their duties; they are habitually brought up with a *bias* in favour of the existing order of things, obedience to civil governors is inculcated on their minds as a bounden duty; they are regularly taken to Church, habits of order and obedience are impressed upon them betimes, they are taught to restrain their passions, and to make the doctrines and duties of Christianity the motives of their conduct, and the rules of their behaviour." P. 11.

The respondent proceeds to investigate the nature of the Mechanics Institution, and his remarks upon this subject are well worthy the attention of our readers.

“ According to Mr. Brougham's representation we are to suppose that ‘ the Elementary Schools,’ being confined to the mere instruction in reading and writing, have no connection nor influence on the future character and conduct of the individual, who, upon quitting such schools, must begin his own education by entering upon what he very ambiguously denominates an *Adult School*. But there are few persons who can rightly conjecture what is meant by these words in Mr. Brougham's vocabulary. Hitherto it has been usual to signify by an *Adult School*, those charitable institutions at which *adults* whose education has been neglected in their youth, may compensate for such defects by attaining the knowledge of reading and writing. But we are introduced by Mr. Brougham's pamphlet to another, and to us a very strange application of these expressions. Be it known, then, to all who are equally ignorant and uninformed, that by an adult school is henceforward to be understood, a philosophical institute for the labouring orders, including a library and apparatus, at which lectures are delivered on Mathematics and Astronomy and Geology, on Chemistry and Hydrostatics, on Electricity, and what surprises us most of all, ‘ on the *French language* ;’ at least such, gentle reader, was the course pursued by Professor Millington and by Dr. Birkbeck, and by Messrs. Phillips, Dotchin, Cooper, Newton and Tatum, during last winter in our metropolis. It is proper to observe, that the peculiar and original merit of lecturing *English* workmen and mechanics on the *French* language belong exclusively to Mr. Black. (See “ Observations,” p. 21.) Now we say, that as Mr. Brougham supposes nothing more to be taught in the Elementary Schools than the mere faculty of reading and writing, it is plain the pupils must come to these Adult Schools very indifferently prepared to enter on such scientific investigations. It may be humbly suggested, that before this audience can take the full benefit of Dr. Lindsay's Chapel in Monkwell-street, or of Mr. Brougham's omens, ‘ and surely,’ as he observes, ‘ a scheme for the improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place which so virtuous and enlightened a friend to his country had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy and universal toleration,’ (p. 21.); that the instructions which are furnished by Mr. Brougham's Elementary Schools should be somewhat enlarged; for I fear, that if he should hereafter carry his Education Bill, it will be found beyond the omnipotence of Parliament, though assisted by all the justices in the kingdom, to render such lectures intelligible to those who have learnt only to read and to write.

“ But the subject is grave, and it demands the most grave investigation. If Mr. Brougham is serious in his wishes to give the labouring classes a *scientific* education, nothing can be more absurd than to confine the Elementary Schools, at which they must be previously educated, to the mere objects of reading and writing. It is

plain that such schools ought then to be brought into harmony with such an object, and that the previous culture and improvement of the mind should correspond to his ulterior designs. But in the present want of all proportion we can regard his scheme as nothing better 'than the baseless fabric of a vision,' as happily quite beyond his or any man's power to accomplish on a large and permanent scale; but calculated, so far as it can be accomplished, to alarm all sober and prudent persons amongst the middle and upper orders of society, and to render the labouring classes uneasy, unhappy, and dissatisfied.

"To what extent the education of the people should be carried, is a question on which a variety of opinions will be entertained, but no prudent man can doubt that in exact proportion to its extent ought to be the pains and care bestowed on their elementary instruction. To take a man who can only just read and spell and to invite him to lectures on Chemistry or Mathematics, is one of the most absurd and foolish projects that was ever brought forward. It is exactly on minds like these, 'that a little learning is a dangerous thing;' all the previous habits and discipline are wanted which might turn it to a good and beneficial account, the man becomes conceited and inflated by his supposed acquirements; and thus popular education would fall into disrepute from the mistakes and blunders of those who seem the most desirous to advance it." P. 12.

This objection is unanswerable. Mr. Brougham aspires to philosophical fame, and affects to promote philosophical education. What can he mean then, by saying, that elementary schools ought to teach nothing save reading and writing!—It is not difficult to discern *why* he makes this strange assertion; its object is to get rid of clerical superintendence. Reading and writing can be taught without the help of the parish priest, and *therefore* Mr. Brougham asserts, that reading and writing only shall be taught in his parish schools, when Parliament is weak enough to found them. But he is not prepared for Mr. Grinfield's home thrust; he cannot show that the limited instruction communicated in his parochial seminaries, is consistent with that initiation into the mysteries of science which the Mechanics Institute recommends and offers.

Having gained this signal advantage over his opponent, Mr. Grinfield, we are inclined to think, pursues his triumph too far; he proceeds to argue, that "morals, history and biography" are to be carefully taught, before any attempt is made to give a philosophical and scientific education. He thinks that the labouring classes will reap more benefit from *literature* than from *art*.

"A man whose hours are chiefly devoted to handicraft labour or mechanical operations is likely to derive far greater benefit from

reading on moral and miscellaneous subjects than from any researches into the philosophy of trade and commerce. He is like a plant which requires a change of soil, and to accomplish this change you must take him off, if possible, from his daily and constant avocations. Hence it will be found, that an instructive tale or history will be much more calculated to enlarge and improve his mind, than if he were to pore over the mysteries of steam and gas, or to confound himself with all the theories of Malthus or Ricardo." P. 15.

In conformity with this declaration Mr. Grinfield subjoins a Catalogue of Books which he considers proper for the Cottage Library; some of them may be useful to persons of all ranks and ages; and the greater portion will entertain and instruct the young. But if Mr. Grinfield supposes that the full grown mechanic or manufacturer is more likely to take an interest in the books here enumerated, than in books of science or art, we decidedly disagree with him. The labouring men in our great towns, and it is in great towns that they have most opportunity and most inclination for reading, are aware of the importance, and inquisitive respecting the secrets of chemistry or mechanics; but what do they care for the 'Paradise Lost,' or 'Taplin's Farriery,' or 'Young's Night Thoughts,' or 'Quarles's Emblems'? As long as we are surrounded by men who have risen from the ranks in consequence of mechanical skill, there can be no want of stimulus to scientific pursuits. If we wish to make the poor read and think, we must encourage them to apply in that quarter to which they are naturally inclined; and all the information that we have received from the populous manufacturing districts, concurs in stating, that the people will read upon scientific subjects much more readily than upon history or morals; the amusing narrative, or the moral poem, may occupy and improve the young, but the aged will apply more heartily to the 'mysteries of steam and gas.' In fact the two things are so strictly connected, that we deem Mr. Grinfield somewhat inconsistent for attempting to separate them; if he invites children to read history and poetry, he may be assured that grown up men will read politics and philosophy.

On the whole Mr. Grinfield takes a correct general view of this important subject, and comments upon various portions of it with great effect. The concealed hostility to the National Schools, which may be traced through every part of Mr. Brougham's conduct, is detected and exposed by his acute correspondent. The absurdity of taking the Mechanics Institutes out of the controul of the higher classes, is also clearly pointed out. The indispensable importance of religious education, is exhibited in colours, which the

philosopher and the fanatic can alone overlook. If Mr. Brougham is encountered with equal spirit in other quarters, the sting may be extracted from his new scheme;—he may become the unintentional promoter of our Parochial Libraries, and plans which were calculated to separate the people from their instructors, may end in bringing them back to the fold.

ART. V. "*Who wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?*" considered and answered; in two Letters to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D. Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Buxted with Uckfield, Sussex. London. John Murray. 1824. 8vo. 10s. 6d. pp. 413.

(Concluded from page 416.)

BUT the reader cannot have forgotten, that Dr. Morley is one of three persons to whom Dr. Gauden, in his famous letter to Lord Clarendon, makes a reference, as being privy to his "great service." His words are, "I once presumed your Lordship had fully known that *Arcanum*; for so Dr. Morley told me, at the king's first coming, when he assured me the greatness of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your lordship (as I supposed) and Dr. Morley made me confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and, he thought, deserved."

Now, whatever was the service of which Dr. Morley was conscious, it is positively certain, that it was not the writing of *Icon Basilike*; for the same Dr. Morley, when conferring with the Duke of York on religious matters, as stated above, reminds his royal highness, that the words which he was about to recite were uttered by his father, "that blessed martyr of ever-glorious memory," and "deserved to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble;" and then makes the quotation from the *Icon* which is given in a preceding paragraph. But what is still more to the purpose, is the message which Dr. Morley sent to Lord Clarendon, when in exile abroad, by the mouth of Henry, the son and heir of that nobleman. In his way to the coast, young Hyde visited the aged bishop (Morley) at Farnham, to learn if he had any commands to his ancient friend. Among several other things which the bishop gave him in charge, he bade him tell the old earl, "*That the king had very ill people about him, who turned all things into ridicule; that they endeavoured to*

bring him to have a mean opinion of the king his father, and to persuade him that his father was not the author of the book which goes under his name.”

Let the reader compare this anecdote, which is given on the authority of the young nobleman who carried the message, with the statement of Dr. Gauden in the letter to which we have so often made a reference, and then draw his own conclusion. “ How is it possible,” says Dr. Wordsworth, “ that Morley could send these messages to Clarendon, if he believed at the time Gauden to be the author, and if he were conscious in his private mind, that Clarendon knew that Gauden, and not King Charles, was the author of *Icon Basiliké*; and further, if he knew, as the Gaudenians say, that he was himself the person who had imparted that secret to the Lord Chancellor? For my part, I count it impossible!” The young Earl of Clarendon himself reasons in the same manner; and since we have made mention of his interposition in this intricate inquiry, we may proceed one step farther, and quote a paragraph from his letter to Mr. Wagstaffe.

“ I cannot but observe, that Mrs. Gauden in her narrative, says, that her husband meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into conversation how sensible he was of *the great services which he (Dr. G.) had done his present Majesty, and the Royal Family, in composing and setting forth that excellent piece, called the King's Book.* If this were true, that Bishop Morley knew that Bishop Gauden had composed the King's Book, and that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with it, as the narrative says, I leave it to you or any one to judge, whether it were possible that Bishop Morley could hold that discourse with me that I have mentioned. Every body knew the intimacy and friendship I had with that good bishop; and he very well knew how entirely I was trusted by my father: so that it was impossible the bishop could make that complaint to me of the endeavours used to persuade the king that his father was not the author of the book which goes under his name, if he had known or believed that Bishop Gauden had composed it. And I am confident my father would have laughed at the Bishop of Winchester for sending such an errand by me, if he had believed Bishop Gauden to have been the author of that book. And I do verily believe my father would have told me upon that occasion, if he had had the least intimation that Bishop Gauden had composed it.”

When the message from Bishop Morley was delivered to Clarendon by his son, the old Earl exclaimed, *Good God! I thought the Marquess of Hertford had satisfied the King in that matter*; an expression, it will be owned, which is somewhat ambiguous; but which was understood by him to whom it was addressed, as giving utterance to the strongest conviction possible, that Gauden had no share in the composition of the

Icon Basiliké. "I confess," says young Clarendon, in the letter already quoted, "I understood that my father thought the Marquess of Hertford had satisfied King Charles the Second that his father was the author of that book which goes under his name; and the rather, because I never heard my father let fall the least word, as if he doubted the King's being the author of that book."

It appears, then, that down to the year 1690, the belief in favour of the authenticity of the *Icon* continued almost uninterrupted. The direct unequivocal claim of Gauden, may, indeed, for a moment, have shaken the confidence of the royal brothers; but there is no reason to imagine that their doubts were lasting, or that they were not at length, to use the words of Clarendon, "*satisfied in that matter*." At all events, it is clear that Bishop Morley was firm in his belief; from the details just given, it is more than probable that the learned and upright chancellor soon recovered from the perplexity into which he was thrown, by the importunate letters of the Dean of Bocking.

It may be right to mention, in order to explain certain allusions to the *services* of Gauden, that immediately before the return of the king, he put forth a large folio, entitled, 'Ἱερα Δακρυα: *Ecclesie Anglicanae Suspiria*, a work, says Dr. Wordsworth, of very considerable talent and learning, and written, no doubt, in expectation of, and to promote the Restoration. It is manifest too, that Lord Clarendon had heard of this book, for while he was yet at Brussels, on the eve of setting out for England, he speaks of it in the following terms, in a letter to Lady Willoughby, dated 20 March 1660; "I pray, if the good doctor who undertook the conveyance of your book, hath not sent it away, desire him to get a book which *I hear Doctor Gauden hath published*, concerning the Church of England, and send with it." It is therefore very obvious, we think, that any conversation that may have taken place between Clarendon and Morley, in regard to Gauden's *services in the cause of the King and the Church*, must have had a reference to this book, the *Ecclesie Anglicanae Suspiria*; and not at all to the *Icon Basiliké*, the authenticity of which seems not to have been questioned by the one or the other.

The second stages of this memorable controversy began about the year 1693, when certain documents, known by the name of the *North Papers*, were accidentally discovered. The son of Bishop Gauden, and a Mr. Arthur North, had married two sisters; and when the former died, all the writings in his custody fell into the hands of his widow, who, afterwards requiring some assistance in the settlement of her affairs, committed

them to the care of her brother-in-law, the gentleman already mentioned. Among these manuscripts Mr. North found several notices relating to the Icon Basiliké; consisting of letters and other papers, such as the famous narrative of Mrs. Gauden; sundry communications from official persons; and an original autograph letter from the Lord Chancellor Hyde to Dr. Gauden, after he became Bishop of Exeter; in which epistle is to be found this very remarkable expression: *The particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a secret; I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.*

In a pamphlet, entitled, *Truth brought to Light*, a summary of those papers was exhibited, accompanied with a reference to "Mr. Arthur North, merchant, now living at Tower-Hill, London," in whose hands they continued to remain. In the year 1699, Mr. Toland published his *Amyntor*, wherein was inserted the whole of Mrs. Gauden's narrative, of which we have given all that is material in the beginning of this article. The lady's statement, it has been seen, is very far from being accurate; and it occurs to us at present to mention another instance of her fallibility, as compared, at least, with the assertions of Dr. Walker. She says, that her husband, when it had pleased God to visit him with an infirmity, which he feared would prove fatal, resolved to acquaint the king with the whole matter; because he saw many who were privy to it were desirous to conceal it, and besides the "Duke of Somerset was dead, and the Bishop of Winchester, the person who was best able to attest it, was very ill. These considerations made him go to his majesty; and having the opportunity of discoursing privately with him, he told him the whole matter, as I have related it. The king was then pleased to entertain some discourse with my husband about it."

Now, hear Dr. Walker: "I once asked him," (meaning Gauden) "whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it? He gave me this answer; I cannot positively and certainly say he doth, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me. But I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, &c." And again, in another part of his pamphlet, he remarks, "Whereas it is said Doctor Gauden told King Charles the Second, &c. Whoever said so, said what was not so. He never told him. It is strange that he should himself tell the king, and yet not know the king knew it, but by inference, because the Duke of York did." Had the Bishop of Exeter heard all this from his wife and curate, he might well

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have adopted the words of the poet, and said, "*Do you call THIS backing your friends!*"

Upon the appearance of the "North Papers," a swarm of pamphlets came out; containing a great deal of various evidence in favour of the authenticity of the Icon, and not a little of vigorous and learned argument in support of Gauden's claims. But we have already anticipated many of the statements which belong to this division of the enquiry, and have only room for one or two declarations which ought not to be omitted. The first respects Major Huntington, and is given on the authority of the Reverend Carr Beck, in these words; "Some years after the king's trial, Major Huntington, at Ipswich, assured me, that so much of his majesty's book as contained his meditations before Naseby fight, was taken in the king's cabinet, and that Sir Thomas Fairfax delivered the said papers unto him, and ordered him to carry them to the king. And the major affirmed that he read them over before he delivered them, and that they were the same for matter and form with those meditations in the printed book: and that he was much affected with them; and from that time became a proselyte to the royal cause. He also told me, that when he delivered them to the king, his majesty appeared very joyful, and said, *he esteemed them more than all the jewels he had lost in the cabinet**."

The conversion of Major Huntington to the royal cause, and his resignation of the commission which he held from the Parliament, are facts well known to the history of those eventful times; and the above statement relative to the meditations, is farther confirmed by the circumstance, that previously to his restoring the manuscript to the king, he gave a reading of it to Sir Jeremy Whichcott, who "transcribed seventeen chapters of it, as he would have done the whole, had not the major been in haste to return it to his majesty."

We transcribe, without comment, the testimony of two of the king's household attendants; and first that of William Levet, the faithful page of the bed chamber, which was written with his own hand, and left in possession of his son, a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. "If any one has a desire to know the true author of a book, entitled, *Icon Basiliké*, I, one of the servants of King Charles the First, in his bed chamber, do declare, that when his said majesty was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, I read over the above mentioned book (which was

* Cromwell said of this honest soldier, "I employed Huntington as the man about the king; but he is so bewitched with him that I am afraid of him. *Independent Loyalty*. Somer's Tracts, Vol. V. p. 164. 2d edition.

long before the said book was printed) in his bed chamber, writ with his majesty's own hand, with several interlinings. Moreover, his majesty King Charles the First, told me, *Sure, Levett, you do design to get this book by heart*, having often seen me reading of it. I can testify also, that Royston, the printer, told me, that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell the Protector, because he would not declare that King Charles the First was not the author of that book.”

The troubles and persecutions to which Royston was subjected, are also matter of history ; and in mentioning them, we are naturally reminded of the anecdote repeated on another occasion by Dr. Wordsworth, who relates, that “ Bradshaw, the suitable president of the unhappy band of judges, when he had the bookseller Royston before him, and vainly endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to deny that the king was the author, demanded, in the very style of the sanhedrim of old, *How so bad a man, could write so good a book.*”

The other servant of Charles, to whom we have alluded, is Herbert, who actually received from his majesty a manuscript copy of the Icon Basiliké. In a very interesting memoir of the last two years of the king, addressed to Sir William Dugdale, he speaks as follows, in reference to the work in question : When confined in Carisbrook Castle, his majesty read “ Spenser's Fairy Queen and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. And at this time it was (as is presumed) that he composed his book, called *Suspiria Regalia*, published soon after his death, and entitled, *The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, which manuscript Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his majesty was pleased to give him.”

We have now done with the *facts* of the case ; of which, in justice to Dr. Wordsworth we are bound to observe, that the abridged form in which they are given, has greatly weakened the force and cogency. Still, let the reader take them as they are, and then say candidly, whether it be possible, in the nature of things, that so many circumstances should concur to establish a position which had no foundation in truth. If it shall ever be proved that Gauden, and not Charles the First, was the author of Icon Basiliké, we must then consent to relinquish all confidence in human testimony, and all reliance upon moral probability and reason. History may then be pronounced a fable ; and philosophical investigation into ancient records, the emptiest of dreams.

Of the Second Letter, addressed to the Archbishop, and in which appears the third stage of the controversy, some account

must now be given. To perceive, indeed, the power and the value of the reasoning contained in this portion of the volume, it must be read as it stands in the original, pregnant with learning, loyalty, and zeal, and supported by a logic always strong and clear, and sometimes vehement, impetuous, and indignant; for it is here that Dr. Wordsworth sums up the evidence and addresses the jury; sets forth the utter improbability of all Gauden's pretensions, the contradictory averments of his witnesses, and the suspicious nature of all his references; and, above all, where he exposes with triumphant effect, the character of that dignitary's motives, the time and circumstances in which he preferred his claim, and the mean, mercenary, and despicable grounds upon which he urges, with all the importunity of a common beggar, his supposed title to preferment.

In glancing over what we have already written, we do not perceive that we have omitted a single argument in favour of Dr. Gauden's claims in reference to the Icon Basiliké. It may be thought, indeed, that we have not given sufficient importance to the fact, that, besides the manuscript of the work, now mentioned, there was another collection of papers taken by the parliamentary army at Naseby, and afterwards returned to the king; and, consequently, that we have not placed in their proper light the arguments of those writers who maintain, that the sheets which were restored to his majesty by the hands of Major Huntington, had no connection with the Icon Basiliké, but were, in reality, the unfinished work of Sir Edward Walker, entitled, “*Memorials of the War.*” In detailing the evidence collected by Dr. Wordsworth, in support of the Naseby copy of the royal meditations, we certainly had not any intention to conceal that the manuscript of a different tract did fall, on the occasion alluded to, into the hands of the victors, and that it was afterwards recovered for the king, through the influence of one of the popular commanders. Of the latter production, we shall here transcribe the account which was given of it by the author, Sir Edward Walker himself, when he was induced to gratify public impatience, and put it forth to the world in a separate form, under the title, we believe, of *Historical Discourses*.

“ About the middle of April 1645, I finished it, and presented it to his majesty, who graciously accepted it, and read it over to his satisfaction. From him it came into the hands of Lord Digby, who, designing to polish it, carried it with him; so it was taken at the battle of Naseby, and fell into the hands of the then Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who discoursing of it at the surrender of the

Devizes, it came to my knowledge. Two years after this, when his majesty was at Hampton Court, I informed him where it was : so his majesty, by the means of an officer of the army, got it, and put it into my hands to be copied ; which I caused to be done, and delivered the copy to his majesty. The original I kept by me, and when I came out of England disposed of it. Thus much for the subject, and through whose hands it came.”

The only circumstances which are common to this manuscript, and that of the Icon, are, that they were both taken at Naseby, and both restored to the king. There is no other point of similarity, no other mark of sameness. The one was in possession of Lord Digby, and was, it may be presumed, captured among his baggage ; the other is admitted on all hands to have been in his majesty’s cabinet, and to have constituted a part of the royal spoil. The first was in the hand-writing of the king ; the second was entirely written by Sir Edward Walker, and had merely a number of interlineations and corrections inserted by his master. The one is said to have fallen into the possession of Cromwell ; the other is always represented as having been restored by Fairfax, or at least through the intercession and influence of that commanding officer. Nor is there assuredly any improbability in the fact itself, that there were two manuscripts taken and restored. In truth, as Dr. Wordsworth observes, the parliament themselves have told us, that *some* papers of the king they did find at Naseby, besides those private letters to his queen and others, which they so barbarously published. “ We have,” they say, “ other papers for our warrant, were they not too numerous and vast, *and too much intermixed with other matter, of no pertinence for publication at this time.*” And Clarendon, in his Full Answer, remarks, that “ after their opening his breast, and examining his most reserved thoughts, by searching his cabinets, perusing his letters, even those he had written in cypher to his dearest consort, the queen, and his *private memorials*, they have not been able to fix a crime or error upon him, which,” &c. Every candid person, we think, will agree with the master of Trinity, that such expressions as these could not apply to a mere journal of military proceedings, kept by the secretary at war ; and had there not been some more direct proof to establish the identity of the Icon, and the memorial of Sir Edward Walker, the doubts which have existed respecting the Naseby copy of the former could never have been entertained.

The proof which is usually appealed to in support of the opinion, that the papers delivered to the king by Major

Huntington were confined to the memorial of the war, is drawn from a statement bearing the name of Sir William Dugdale; of which the following is the substance. "That after the king was brought to Hampton Court, his majesty there acquainting the major with the loss of that book (the Icon Basiliké) at Naseby fight, and desiring him to use his interest to regain it, he (the Major) did apply himself to General Fairfax, and by his means obtained it; it being bound up in a white vellum cover; and as he remembers all the chapters in it were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with interlineations by the king's own hand (the prayers being all written with the king's own hand), which he says he knew very well so to be."

This is the purport of a *relation* said to have been made by Major Huntington to Sir William Dugdale, in the month of June 1679; and which, together with Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the two last years of the king, and two short narratives, by Colonel Edward Cooke and Sir Henry Firebrace, was published in 1702: the editor stating, that the whole were "copied from a manuscript of the right reverend the Bishop of Ely, lately deceased; and as I am credibly informed (says he), a copy of the several originals is now to be seen among the Dugdale manuscripts, in Oxford library."

The *relation* now mentioned is dated 1679; but two years after, that is in 1681, Sir William published his *Short View of the Troubles in England*, in which he supplies the succeeding narrative.

"I shall make it appear," says he. "from the testimony of very credible persons yet living, that the king had begun the penning of these meditations long before he went from Oxford to the Scots. For the manuscript itself, written with his own hand, being found in his cabinet which was taken at Naseby, was restored to him after he was brought to Hampton Court, by the hand of Major Huntington, through the favour of General Fairfax, of whom he obtained it; and that whilst he was in the Isle of Wight, it was there seen frequently by Mr. Thomas Herbert, who then waited on his majesty in his bed-room; as also by Mr. William Levett."

The statement now transcribed is the only one that ever was published by Sir William Dugdale; the other having been merely found among his papers after his death, and was perhaps nothing more than the memorandum of a conversation which he had held on the subject with Major Huntington. Besides, it was given to the world by an anonymous editor, almost twenty years after the demise of Dugdale, without any voucher annexed, that it was ever mean

for the public eye. In fact, the contrary is to be presumed, from the very remarkable circumstance, that Sir William, having himself published on the subject, must be supposed to have inserted in his work all the authentic information that he could obtain; and we are permitted to infer, that he did not make use of the notice which he left behind him, merely because he regarded it as deficient, either in correctness, or in authority. "What historian," exclaims Dr. Wordsworth, "can stand the test, if that which may, perhaps, be no better than the first rude collections of his *portfolio*, nay, perhaps, than his forsaken errors, is to be alleged against him when he is in his grave, for the mature and authentic story, upon which alone we will suffer his reputation to be tried?"

It is impossible, we think, for an honest enquirer into historical truth to lay any stress on a document so extremely questionable as that which we have now described. Had the two accounts been found in the repositories of Sir William, both unpublished, and posterior in date to the work which he gave to the world on the same subject, there would have been room for balancing the amount of probability which belonged to each of them respectively; but when we see the one statement published, and the other rejected, and observe, that the date of the rejected one is two years prior to the publication of the Short View of the Troubles, we are compelled to admit the conclusion, that the author had discovered in the latter such errors, as to render it unfit for a place in a volume, for the accuracy of which his name and character were pledged. Yet, it is on this slender ground that Mr. Laing, the author of a History of Scotland, rests his main argument against the authenticity of the Icon Basiliké. He maintains, that the Memorial of the War, in the handwriting of Sir Edward Walker, was the only book lost at Naseby, and returned by Huntington to the king. "At the distance of thirty years, he (the major) converts it without scruple into the Icon; which should teach historians how to estimate his veracity, in the noted apology for resigning his command."

For the direct evidence which has been again and again brought forward to prove, that a copy of the Icon was captured at Naseby, restored to the king, and never afterwards entirely lost sight of, till its publication in the spring of 1649, we refer the reader to Dr. Wordsworth's able performance, or to the summary which we have given of it in the former division of this article. We now proceed to the second part of our subject, the object of which is to examine into the

nature of the *internal* evidence with which we are supplied, and to determine from the spirit and facts contained in the *Icon Basiliké*, the comparative probability of the reputed authorship.

We dismiss at once that portion of the argument which respects the style and talent of the composition; being ready to admit, that both King Charles and Dr. Gauden were sufficiently equal to such a task, if placed in circumstances calculated to inspire the feelings and reflections which form the subject matter of it. The royal meditations have perhaps, in point of ability and good writing, been rated too highly; as the work of a cultivated genius, and of a very refined imagination. In our eyes they are chiefly remarkable for propriety of diction, a deep sentiment of piety, and a happy use of scriptural language; but, at all events, they were certainly within the range of Gauden's powers, could he have known enough of the king's mind and business to incorporate them with his religious contemplations.

From the very materials of the work, it must be obvious to every one, that the person who wrote it, if it was not written by the king himself, must have been very closely connected with the person of his majesty, been familiar with his modes of thought and expression, and even been acquainted with several of his most important views and political secrets. It is for this reason that Milton, and the other authors, who, at a very early period, called in question the authenticity of the *Icon*, uniformly alluded to some *court parasite*, *prelatical Levite*, or *household priest*, as the penman of the king's book; and as Gauden was never numbered among his majesty's attendants, was personally unknown at court, and even distinguished for a supposed attachment to popular principles, his name was never mentioned as that of a person who was at all likely to be either privy or assistant in such an undertaking. He had never been the king's chaplain; never but once preached in the audience of the sovereign; and on that occasion, he speaks of himself as “a *stranger to the place*, and no way proportionable to so great and sacred a presence.” He had but recently received the *honorarium* of a silver tankard from the Parliament, for delivering in their hearing a very uncourtly sermon; and it is perfectly certain, from a variety of facts, some of which we shall shortly mention, that Dr. Gauden was by no means particularly well affected either towards Charles, or the principles of his government. For example, Dr. Walker assures us, that there was no such intercourse between his patron and the king, as would justify the conjecture, that his majesty had given to the Dean of Boocking

the Icon Basiliké, for the purpose of revision. "How should Dr. Gauden," says he, "receive the book from the king? He was *utterly unknown to him*; lived at a great distance from him in the Parliament's quarters; and was under prejudice with the royal party?" In a word, among all the figuring characters of the times, we know none more unlikely than Gauden to seek or to find the employment which has added to his name so ambiguous a celebrity. We ask, with the Master of Trinity, How was it possible that, "under such circumstances, Gauden should catch those exquisite touches of the royal character, that intimate knowledge of all his turns of thought and expression, nothing short of personal identity; and that most copious, complete, and unerring acquaintance with all his circumstances and concerns, in which the *Icon Basiliké* abounds, or rather of which it is *entirely composed*?"

But might not the defects of Gauden's personal knowledge of the king's feelings and affairs be supplied by information from others. Who, then, were his friends and associates prior to the murder of Charles, and, of course, during the period that the *Icon Basiliké* was written? Dr. Wordsworth shall answer this question.

"The *worthy friend* whom he selected as the instrument for conveying to his excellency (General Fairfax), and the rest of the council of war, his "Religious and Loyal Protestation," was *Cromwell's* kinsman, Colonel Whaley, whom, with very little ceremony, Sir Philip Warwick designates as a "ridiculous fanatick, as well as a crack-brained fellow;" and Clarendon speaking of him as placed in guard over the king, describes as "a man of a rough and brutal temper, who offered great violence to his nature when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners." Gauden was tutor to Mr. Rich, a son of Lord Rich, a grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and married to one of Cromwell's daughters. He himself espoused a daughter of the Baronet family of the Russells of Chippenham, a family at that time by no means distinguished for loyalty; and it was a connexion of which Gauden was proud. Colonel Rich, of whom it was sworn at the trial of the regicides, that he sat up at Windsor when the consultations were going on for the murder of the king, along with Cromwell, Ireton, and Hugh Peters, "till two or three o'clock in the morning, very privately together," appears to have been another of his associates; and his great patron was Rich's kinsman, Robert Earl of Warwick, whose house at Lees in Essex, at the very time when Gauden, and afterwards when his friend Walker, was domestic chaplain

there, is described by Anthony a Wood, as “the common receptacle of all the schismatical preachers in those parts.”

Again, is there any appearance in any of Gauden’s avowed writings that he possessed knowledge, personal or borrowed, of the king and his affairs? None! Till the Restoration was at hand, he is not observed in any of his works, to speak about the king at all; and when that event was no longer doubtful, and the Dean of Bocking prepares to come forward with his offering of loyalty, in the form of his *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*, the only two circumstantial facts which he mentions in relation to Charles, are taken from Stephen Marshall and Hugh Peters! To use the words of our indefatigable and learned author, we are warranted to assert, that Gauden has no where shewn any considerable degree of familiarity with the private concerns of the king, or with his public transactions; with the official documents, state papers and declarations, that came out either on the king’s side, or on that of the Parliament. There is no appearance that his thoughts dwelt much upon the eventful history of the late tragical times; though the subjects upon which he writes are such as would naturally have manifested it had that been the case. If he *had written the Icon Basiliké*, it is hardly possible but that we should have seen his mind at times overflow with kindred effusions. “From what we have seen of him, is it any way conceivable that Gauden should even have entertained such a design? A man sitting down to write in the person of another, must feel within himself strong motives, due qualifications, suitable opportunities; or the certain fate which awaits him is detection and ignominy. Now are these things so; is any one of them so? Are they not all directly otherwise in the case of Gauden? We have a book which, not at the time, but twelve years after, he tells us is *his*. *Prima facie*, is this likely? So far as our argument has proceeded, does it seem probable? Verily, I think I must say, that as, at all events, I consider the *Icon Basiliké* to be one of the most impossible books in the world for any one to have written except its avowed author, so, as far as we have yet gone, I think Dr. Gauden one of the least likely men then alive to have entertained, at the time when it was written, the thought of attempting to write, and of the least likely to have been able ever to write that book.”

But granting that a man who had herded with schismatics and rebels, who had received a silver tankard for preaching up popular tenets in the hearing of Parliament, and whose associates and friends were all suspected persons, should be smitten at length with “a just and generous loyalty,” and

determine, in the strength of that sentiment, to write a book in defence of the king; is it probable that he would have adopted the plan of *Icon*, and given a record of feelings and events for so many years, the most of which, for the object in view, were entirely useless or superfluous? If the book was written at the late period at which, on the supposition that it is the work of Gauden, it must have been written, if it was written, as the friends of Gauden say, for *publication* and not for *use*; and if the chief aim in its publication was to save the life of the king, how comes it, says Dr. Wordsworth, that out of eight-and-twenty chapters, two only, or three at the most, relate to those portions of the king's history, when his life could be said to be in any danger (except by the sword); or how comes it, that not more than two or three chapters treat of events which had occurred within the last year and a half of the life of the king, and that not more appear to have been even written within that distance of time from his murder; in which time however, the whole must certainly have been written, if it was the work of Gauden? From considerations of a like nature, continues the Doctor, to me it is very extraordinary, that a man, writing at the time, and with the designs upon which Gauden must have written, should come to touch at all upon such topics, and those so long gone by, as *his Majesty's Repulse at Hull*, the *Fate of the Hothams*, or the *Uxbridge Treaty*. “ And it is extraordinary again, how, in the time prescribed, Gauden, without premeditation and exercise, having to become as it were a *little child*; having to build himself up into a *new man*, could collect the materials to write upon so many different subjects, spread over a space of six or eight years, and yet preserve with no confusion, no mistake, with not the slightest chronological, or other flaw or failure, the most entire consistency and harmony of the parts one among another, and with the history and records of the time. This I maintain is the case; and if it be not, then let it be shewn. I cannot show it. If I could, I would do so.”

It is equally well urged by Dr. Wordsworth, that, as the object of the *Icon Basiliké*, on the Gaudenian hypothesis, was to save the life and vindicate the character of the king, it cannot but be extremely surprising that, in the very hour of danger, when the sentence was impending, and the bloody tragedy in hand, no direct appeal should be made to the commiseration or indignation of the people, in reference to the perilous state in which the sovereign was placed. A most pathetic effect is indeed produced; but it is produced by the suppression of almost every thing of moving and tragical application; by the omission of the very circumstances on

which Gauden could have dilated the most vehemently, and at the greatest length.

The plan of the Icon, we repeat, is the very last which an author would adopt, who wished to produce, in a short time, a spirited work for an urgent occasion. A vivid appeal to the feelings of the multitude would not seek the circuitous channel of a diary, nor waste its energy in a recapitulation of forgotten incidents, and in minute casuistical reasoning. Nor would the advocate of Charles have indulged in the numerous self-accusations, with which the royal soliloquies abound. It would not have made the king confess that he had been guilty of "an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God; whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate." Gauden, in particular, would not have made the king say, in reference to episcopacy, "If any shall impute my yielding as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point." Could Gauden possibly have inserted in the Icon, a work by which he meant to deceive the world, and render himself chargeable with a heinous forgery, the following remarkable words: "As good *ends* cannot justify evil *means*, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions, unless God, by a miracle of mercy, create light out of darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions." Is it conceivable, that a man would go so far out of his way to cover himself with just condemnation? To introduce such a reflection, while the hand was actually employed in fabricating a piece of deceit, was to commit an act of gratuitous suicide! But such sentiments and expressions were not new to the king; for we find in a letter, which however could never have been seen by Gauden, a similar observation, arising from the view of similar circumstances. "If episcopacy were to be introduced by this I would not do it; because I am as much bound in conscience to do no act to the destruction of monarchy, as to resist heresy; all actions being unlawful *where the means are not lawful*, let the end be never so just. I conclude this with conjuring thee, that thou never abandon one particular *good friend* of our's, which is a *good cause*."*

The parallelism supplied in the two last sentences, reminds us of a species of argument which is very powerfully employed by Dr. Wordsworth, and which was suggested to

* Clarendon Papers, Vol. II. p. 313. Newcastle, December 19, 1646.

him by certain remarks made in regard to the Icon, by Sir Philip Warwick and Bishop Burnet. The former observes, “ though I cannot say I *know* that he wrote his *Icon Basiliké*, or *Image*, which goes under his own name; yet I can say, I have heard him, even to my unworthy self, *say many of those things it contains*.” “ I was bred up,” says the Bishop, “ with a high veneration of this book; and I remember when I heard how some denied it to be his, I asked the Earl of Lothian about it, who both knew the king very well, and loved him very little. He seemed confident it was own work, for he said, *he heard him say a great many of those very periods that are found in that book*.” It therefore very naturally occurred to Dr. Wordsworth to enquire, whether there be any *sayings* of the king yet extant, which may be compared with the language and sentiments of the Icon; it being obvious that, in proportion to the number and exactness of the parallelisms thereby discovered, the argument for the authenticity of the Meditations approaches to an absolute demonstration. As far at least as Gauden is concerned, such an argument is perfectly conclusive; for how could Charles’s thoughts and expressions find a place in the writings of a man who had never heard the sound of his voice.

We cannot do justice to this species of evidence by abstract or quotation: but the following instances will suffice to shew the manner and effect of Dr. Wordsworth’s researches.

(1.) “ The treaty being begun at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, we did all hope for a happy conclusion thereof; his Majesty having granted whatsoever they could ask, saving his conscience and *the damnation of his own soul*, which his Majesty *once told me*, he thought they aimed at.”—*From Herbert’s Memoirs*, p. 195, edit. 1702.

(2.) “ He had neither the attendance of his own domestic servants, chaplains, or liturgy of the church: under all which he very unconcernedly and majestically deported himself; as being *above complaints* or bewailings, as he himself was pleased to *tell me*.”—*From Warwick’s Memoirs*, p. 297.

(1.) “ But being daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the reason and religion of that to which I am sworn, how can any man, *that wisheth not my damnation*, persuade me at once to so notorious and combined sins of sacrilege and perjury?”—*From Icon Basiliké*, chap. xvii.

(2.) “ They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardness to use their king with so severe restraints, against all laws, both divine and human: under which yet *I will rather perish than complain* to those, who want nothing to complete their mirth and triumph but such music.”—*From Icon Basiliké*, chap. xv.

(3.) "Whilst he was at his private devotions," says Sir Philip Warwick, describing the events of the fatal 30th of January, "Nye and some other bold-faced ministers knocked at his door; and the bishop (Juxon) going to open it, they told him they came to offer their service to pray with the king. He told them that the king was at his own private devotions: however he would acquaint him. But the king resolving not to send out to them, they had the modesty to knock again; and the bishop, suspecting who they were, told the king it would be necessary to give them some answer. The king replied, then (says he) thank them from me for the tender of themselves: but tell them plainly, that they that have so often and so causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, and I'll thank them for it, pray for me." — *From Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 343.

(4.) "Yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a Christian as not to say that *God's judgments are just upon me*. Many times he does pay justice by an unjust sentence; that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust sentence that I suffered to take effect, is now punished by an unjust sentence upon me." — *From King Charles's Speech on the Scaffold*, 1649.

(3.) "One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common prayer-book, I believe, was this, that it taught them to pray so oft for me; to which petitions they had not loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet charity enough to forbear *reproaches*, and even *cursing* of me in their own forms, instead of *praying for me*.

"I have sometimes thought the un-christianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own divines before their ministers; whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for my present comforters or physicians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me." — *From Icon Basiliké*, chapters xvi. and xxiv.

(4.) "How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which his justice, by the very unjust hands of some of my subjects hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul what I believe is right before God.

"Teach me to learn righteousness by Thy judgments; and to see my frailty in Thy justice. While I was persuaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after troubles, Thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon me, and upon my kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles." — *From Icon Basiliké*, chapters xxvii. and ii.

In the above passages there is unquestionably a striking resemblance both in sentiment and language; and when we reflect that Gauden had no access to the king, and had no means of seeing the private journals in which the royal sayings are recorded, the coincidence is, without doubt, remarkably curious, and seems to afford one of the strongest proofs that could any where be found, to substantiate the authenticity of the Icon.

Dr. Wordsworth indulges his eloquence in a fine contrast between the firm and *uncomplaining* temper of King Charles, and the impatient clamorous importunity of Dr. Gauden; leaving it to the reader to judge whether the *Icon Basiliké* and the mean, craving, cringing letters to Clarendon and the Earl of Bristol, were likely to come from the same hand. But we must reserve room for an extract from a pamphlet of the bishop's, written, as he tells us, about ten days after the king's death, for the sake of comparing it with a passage in the Icon, on the subject of forgiveness. This tract, of which we shall say more by and by, is entitled, "*A just Invective against those of the Army, and their Abettors, who murdered King Charles I.*" and contains the following address to the officers and soldiers:—

"Go on, you Apollyons, you Abaddons, in the spirit of Anti-christ to fill up the measure of your abominations, till you are drunk with blood and stumble and fall together. O you locusts, the blackest smoke, and noisomest vapour that *ever* the breath of the bottomless pit exhaled, or sent forth into the christian world. We assure you, that you are now looked upon by all sober and honest minds, as the heaviest and filthiest *Incubuses* that ever oppressed church or state: as the legions of unclean spirits, which, by diabolical arts and magic of hypocrisy, have got possession of this church and kingdom, till Christ by his power cast ye out, and suffer you like the demoniack swine, through the just judgment of God, to be hurried headlong by your own terrors, and despairs, into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone.

"You are like cursed *Chams*, not mockers only, but murderers of the Father of your country; impudent ravishers both of church and state, to satisfy your most abominable lusts of tyranny, covetousness, and all licentious prophaneness.—Monsters of men, putrid apostates, execrable saints, shameless sinners, traitorous tyrants, what have you to plead for or palliate with your late horrid outrages and unparalleled villainies. Nor do we doubt but all the curses written in the book of God, which, like that of Meroz, have been causelessly, factiously, and falsely, by some of your double-faced Januses (he here refers to his friend and neighbour Stephen Marshall), firmly imprecated upon the king, and his loyalist subjects, will certainly overtake and fall upon you and your viperous generation. We doubt not, God will at last cast you, who are our sin, our

death, our hell, into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone for ever. How can such *Zimris*, who have traitorously slain such a king, their lord and master, ever hope to have peace or impunity in this or the other world? Nor will, we hope, our Solomon (Charles II.) by God's blessing, and his subjects assistance, suffer the hairy scalps of those who were the chief counsellors and actors in destroying his dear father and our dread sovereign, to go down to the grave in peace, or to die a dry death, who have shed the blood of war, in a time when all differences were by a treaty drawn to a peace and union."

After this peruse the following extract from the Icon Basiliké, and say whether, in the nature of things, it be possible that the same heart could conceive and the same hand write the above "Invective," and the Royal Meditations.

"If Thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety and honour to my chiefest city and my parliament; if Thou wilt again put the sword of justice into my hand to punish and protect; then will I make all the world to see and my very enemies to enjoy the benefit of *this* vow and resolution of Christian charity, which I *now* make unto Thee O Lord. As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

"We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions. For Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the way of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousy in forgetfulness. Let Thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people. Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not forth of feigned lips." (Chap. xxv.)

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin. O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men; but overcome their cruelty with Thy compassion and my charity. And when Thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted yet penitent souls with the blood of Thy Son; that Thy destroying angel may pass over them."

In the chapter entitled *To the Prince of Wales*, he says:

"But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt. It is all that I have now left, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all. And I thank God that I have a heart to do it; and joy as much in this grace that God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments."

Now, here are two books, produced within a few days of each other—the *Invective* and the *Icon Basiliké*—and we

have given extracts from both on the same topic: do they agree in any one respect? The king died with the word *Remember* upon his lips;—an entreaty to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers; and a book came out the day after, breathing the same sentiments, and recommending the same christian forbearance and heavenly charity; can it then be doubted that the king wrote the book? Gauden, immediately upon the same event, produces a tract full of abuse, and threatening the most frightful retaliation upon all who had opposed the monarch or abetted his death: can he be regarded as the author of Icon Basiliké?

But, besides the sayings, and character of the king, there are also numerous writings known to be the production of his own pen, with which it is not difficult to connect the Icon Basiliké. This part of the argument, the most satisfactory, perhaps, of the whole, is so extremely recondite, and, at the same time, so closely connected with particular dates, persons and places, that we cannot undertake to do justice to it in an abridged form. It was indeed to be expected, that if the king did write the Icon, there would be found in it allusions to facts and occurrences which are mentioned at greater length in his other papers; and this expectation has not only been fully realized on general grounds, but also in certain special and peculiar cases, of which Dr. Gauden could not possibly have had any knowledge. In truth, there are expressions and references in the Royal Meditations which were not understood until after particular historical documents were placed in the hands of the public; and, even at the present day, it is acknowledged by writers of the first eminence, that several characters and transactions, distinctly adverted to by the author of Icon Basiliké, continue to be involved in that obscurity into which they were thrown by the clandestine politics of those evil times. For example, the writer of the book so often named, observes in the 3d chapter, entitled, "*The King's going to the House of Commons, to demand the Five Members,*" that he had not "any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those men's persons, further than that I had *discovered* those, as I thought, unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made to *embroider my kingdoms*; of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under *men's own hands*, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations."

It still remains a question among historians, what was the precise nature of the correspondence here alluded to, and who were the persons principally engaged in it. It is generally supposed to refer to that traitorous intercourse which

took place at an early period between the disaffected leaders in this country and the Scottish covenanters; and the particular expression in the Icon Basiliké has been conjectured to mark the king's knowledge of the letter, which was said to have been forged in the name of Saville. Lord Hailes has produced, in his *Memorials and Letters*, some documents where the same occurrence is darkly referred to; but, so far from professing to comprehend the allusion, his lordship remarks, that "this is a *very remarkable* circumstance. It cannot, he adds, be fully explained, unless one were certain *what persons* of the English nation corresponded with the Scots, and incited and encouraged their measures. He who can explain and illustrate this particular from original papers, will greatly serve the cause of truth."

Mr. Laing, the Scottish historian, has expended a good deal of research and ingenuity on the subject, and with the help of materials supplied by Burnet, in his *Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, has come to a conclusion involving the hypothesis of the Saville forgery, remarking, "such is the additional evidence which I have discovered respecting this obscure transaction." But, after all, he is obliged to have recourse to the Icon Basiliké for a key to the mysterious observation which had suggested his research, saying:—

"Franklyn (*Annals*, p. 906, and *Nelson*, p. 810), assures us, that the information against the six members was obtained in Scotland, when the king was there; and, although the Icon Basiliké be the composition of Gauden, yet, in the following passage, it may contain a court secret:" and then he quotes the words which have been given above, *I had discovered, as I thought, &c.*

Most assuredly Gauden had no means of becoming acquainted with secrets of any kind; and therefore could not possibly have attained to any knowledge upon a transaction so intricate as the present. A state secret we *may* have in these words: "this," says Dr. Wordsworth, "I am not disposed to deny. But the question is, to whom are we indebted for the disclosure of it?" Not to Dr. Gauden, a private clergyman in Essex, unknown to the king, and a stranger at court, but to his majesty himself; and thus, concludes our author, I think we may very fairly avail ourselves even of Mr. Laing's industry, and this his virtual confession, as furnishing no mean evidence that the Icon was written by Charles.

There are numerous other passages in the Icon which find an illustration in the King's Letters, the Hamilton Memoirs, Clarendon's History, and in certain state papers and decla-

rations which were either written or revised by his majesty; the greater part of which too remained unpublished till long after the death of Gauden. The coincidences, indeed, are in some places very remarkable, and must satisfy every unprejudiced reader that they cannot be accidental; but for a complete view of this section of the evidence in support of the Icon, we refer the reader to Dr. Wordsworth's treatise. Mean time, we proceed to mention another circumstance, which goes a great way of itself to silence for ever all the pretensions of Gauden.

Bishop Burnet has inserted in his *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, a short poem, entitled, "*Majesty in Misery; or, an Imploration to the King of kings,*" written by King Charles during his captivity in Carisbrook castle, and which, says the bishop, *a very worthy gentleman who had the honour of waiting on him then, and was much trusted by him, copied out from the original, who avoucheth it to be a true copy.* Between the sentiments contained in this poem and the Icon Basiliké, there is a very striking resemblance; but this, strong as it must appear, is not the ground on which the argument in favour of Charles is made to rest. "It was a frequent practice with the king, as I have already mentioned, to write in his books and papers mottoes and short sentences in the Latin and other languages. Accordingly, the poem of which I am speaking, has a sentence at the end, *Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt*; the same sentence, that is, with which the Icon is terminated. Now, if the poem and the book were the compositions of the same person; and especially if they were, (as we know *one* of them was,) the works of the king; it is very possible that, according to his practice, just mentioned, the two having very much the same object, and being *written*, or at least *finished*, very much at the same time, should have had the same legend subjoined. But now, supposing Gauden to have been the author of *Icon Basiliké*, that he should think of subjoining to the end of his book *any motto at all*, is not very probable; and that he should hit upon precisely the same words as had been used by the king at the close of a poem never seen by Dr. Gauden, and not known to the world till many years after Dr. Gauden's death, this, in truth, would be one of the most improbable things in the universe. It is a problem in chances almost beyond the power of numbers to express. Gauden, it must be remembered, printed (they tell us) from a copy which had never been seen by the king."

So much, then, for the kindred spirit and affiliation of the Icon Basiliké with other *Written Remains* of King Charles

the First. The resemblance in manner, sentiment and language, even to the motto, is at once so obvious and so striking, that no one can deny their relationship. Now, it happens, that Dr. Gauden, at the very time the Icon was in the press, had a pamphlet going forward at the shop of the same publisher; and, as his tract is still in existence, we have an opportunity of comparing it with the royal work which he afterwards claimed. We allude to the “ *Religious and Loyal Remonstrance of Dr. John Gauden, D.D.* ; the object of which was to dissuade the military leaders of the House of Commons from putting the king to death ; an event which was greatly deprecated by the Presbyterians, and by Gauden’s popular patron, the Earl of Warwick.

The “ Religious and Loyal Protestation ” has, it seems, nothing in it to connect its origin with that of the Icon. It is, Dr. Wordsworth informs us, hastily and inaccurately written. “ But, even with allowances on that account, it is a poor and meagre performance ; at once feeble and diffuse, and quite unworthy of the subject and the occasion. As might be expected, some of the same topics are touched upon as we have in the Icon ; but I cannot discern any signs whatever of the ‘ Protestation ’ being the work of the same person who had now that other work at the press.” In fact, as far as any judgment can be formed from style, spirit, language, and, in short, from every quality which distinguishes one piece of literary composition from another, it is morally certain, that the author, who was correcting the sheets of the tract just named, could not at the same time be giving the last polish and finishing touches to the Icon Basiliké. Of the “ Invective,” which, if we are to believe Gauden, was written about ten days after the king’s execution, we have already given a specimen sufficient to satisfy every competent judge, that the hand which had been employed on the mild, chaste, and christian pages of the Royal Meditations, could not have written the Address to the Army. We mention it, therefore, at present, with no other view than to couple it with the “ Protestation,” and to found on them both this important remark, that, whereas we see in the other written productions of Charles a great deal resembling the Icon, and even answering to allusions made from that work, we cannot in either of the contemporaneous publications of Gauden, discover any tokens to establish their affinity with the king’s book.

We have all along spoken of the “ Invective ” as having been written by Gauden at the time he mentions, namely, about the 10th of February 1649, or, in other words, imme-

diately after the murder of the king. But there is great reason to believe, that it was not written till the period of the Restoration, when the loyalty of the dean of Bocking is known to have received a new life; and that it was then brought forward with the very same view which induced the author to lay claim to the Icon Basiliké, the expectation of church preferment. The story, connected with its original publication is a very odd one, and gives an insight into Gauden's character, which it is not pleasant to contemplate in a clergyman, but which, for the sake of literary justice, must not be at present concealed. “ I wrote this piece, says he, (*flagrante dolore*), in the first paroxysms of extreme grief and horror, immediately upon the murder of the late excellent king; as soon as the astonishment of sorrow gave leave to regular thoughts and words to vent themselves. I sent it (*incognito*) in its sackcloth and ashes, to London, where I hoped it might find way to public view. But my papers found no hand so adventurous in those tyrannous times as to print them; although conveyed to a person who had suffered and suffered much in that way of loyal service and danger. So that having no copy left of it, I did not see it or hear of it for many years, supposing it had perished in the common shipwreck of those days; until this February 1661 (1661-2), meeting with Mr. Dugart (to whom I first sent it), and enquiring what became of such a piece, he told me it was printed, and brought me the book, with a new title put to it; viz. (*Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter-house discovered, &c.*); whereas I had inscribed it, after the example of Gregory Nazianzen, when he wrote his two sharp invectives against Julian the apostate, ΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΤΗΛΙΤΕΥΤΙΚΟΝ the Steliteutick of that army, &c. When I had recovered this piece beyond all expectation, I well remembered upon review, its pristine lineaments; and found it signally marked with the sad drops of my passionate heart and pen, upon such an occasion in which no ink could be black enough, or have too much salt, vinegar, gall or *aqua-fortis* in it. Upon a calmer view of it, after thirteen years absence, &c. I am now content to have my name called upon it.”

There is a great air of suspicion about the whole of this narrative. That he should have sent the piece to London, *incognito*, to such a man as Mr. Dugard, is very unlikely; that twelve years should have passed without his making any enquiry concerning it, is still more unlikely; and that Mr. Dugard should have of his own accord changed the title and published it, without using any means to discover and acquaint the author, is the most unlikely of all. Dugard

printed the Icon, and ran all the risks attending that loyal service; and surely, if Gauden had been the author of that work, and superintended it while in the press, he could have no occasion to conceal any thing which he might undertake in the same way, from a man who was so willing to further the interests of the Royal family. Gauden was constantly in London, and must often have met the printer who had aided him in his great exploit, the publication of the Icon Basiliké, and with whom there could be no conceivable reason for reserve, in reference to the intention of the pamphlet which he had recently forwarded to him: and yet the zealous dean, who represents himself as always standing in the gap, always placing himself manfully at the post of danger, and who was ever loud in his complaints of those who shrunk back, does not once in the course of twelve years recollect that he had spent so much gall, vinegar, and aquafortis upon Cromwell and his "execrable saints." It is somewhat strange, too, that he kept no copy of his *Steliteutick*, though his precaution in that respect had been so amply rewarded in the case of the Icon; for with regard to the latter work, when the copy and part of the proof sheets were seized, he returned again promptly to the task, and there was not a moment lost! Is it not very odd, moreover, that when Dugard did, according to Gauden's story, put forth, in 1660, the *Invective* under a new title, that eighteen months should have elapsed before the doctor happened to hear of it. A title-page such as the following, could hardly fail, one would think, to attract the attention of an author who had himself chastised the army as a *Legion of unclean spirits*; viz. "Cromwell's bloody slaughter-house; or his damnable designs, laid and practised by him and his negroes, in contriving the murder of his sacred Majesty King Charles the First, discovered." But nothing could refresh the memory of the dean, that he had put pen to paper on such a subject, till the Restoration of the Second Charles was no longer doubtful; and then, for the first time, he asked Mr. Dugard, if he had ever received his manuscript!

The clearest proofs, however, that the *Steliteutick* was not written in 1649, are drawn from a comparison of it with the religious and loyal remonstrance, which was composed and presented in the January of that year. In the latter, which was put into the hands of Colonel Whaley, Cromwell's relation, to be delivered to his Excellency and the rest of the Council of War, he speaks of the army as "gallant men," and professes that, "to your souls I owe and bear a great charity, next to the salvation of mine own." He alludes, also,

to some, “ who behold the army more with terror than with love and charity, *which I do not.* ” But in the “ *Invective,* ” alleged to have been written about a month after, instead of treating Fairfax with respect and deference, he stiles him “ that stupid saint ; that dumb show of your silent, extatic, seduced general. ” And to Cromwell, if not to the two, he refers in the following complimentary terms ; “ in order to this truth-darkening and soul-damning design, we know you follow *your leader, the devil, and his lieutenant-general,* to the utter dissolving of all government, order and discipline. ” Of the parliament, he writes in the “ *Protestation* ” most decorously and reverentially ; but in the “ *Invective,* ” he says, “ the two houses, whose weakness, perverseness, unevenness, inconstancy and cowardice, God hath seen, disliked, judged and punished ; you have forcibly invaded, scattered and oppressed, notwithstanding all your special engagements to them, both of duty and promise. ” The party who remained, he styles, “ those rotten and ever infamous members of the Commons—the lesser vermin and maggots of the Commons, who survive and crawl after the dissolution of the Parliament. ” Again, of his majesty, he writes in the “ *Protestation* ” with very guarded loyalty and limited affection ; reminding the army that, “ *whatever his sin may be,* ” it did not belong to them to punish, and that their duty to the state could not be annulled “ *by any failings of the king ;* ” whereas in the “ *Invective,* ” we have, “ the greatest glory, and most illustrious example of virtue and piety that ever sat upon a christian throne ; the most unspotted person, the wisest prince, the most charitable christian, the most imitable pattern for moderation in propriety, for patience in adversity, for devout humility toward God, for judicious zeal to true religion, for constant love to the church, for winning majesty upon all men, that ever swayed the sceptre of this or any other kingdom. This was the Man, this the Christian, this the King, this the Saint, this the Martyr, whom these Judases have betrayed, these Jews destroyed, these Cannibals devoured. ”

In a word, the “ *Invective,* ” from beginning to end is, as Dr. Wordsworth remarks, *redolent of the Restoration.* Charles the Second is accordingly described in it as one “ whom God hath preserved out of the hands of these bloody villains, and whom special Providence hath prepared for great and excellent designs, by the *maturity* of his years, by the *procerity* of his person, by the *gallantry* of his spirit, by the *excellency* of his understanding, by the *gravity* of his manners, and severity of his example, far beyond what is wonted or expected in young men, or young princes, in point of

piety and virtue. This is that person, this is that prince, worthy of his high descent, worthy of such a father, whose worth already promises to exceed all that you can desire, or hope for, from a good and gracious king. Upon him, God and our laws, and our oaths, command all loyal and religious subjects to fix their eyes; to unite their hearts and hands to the love and assistance of him; to break the strength, to *extirpate the persons*, to oppose the designs, and to *revenge the villainies*, which have been with a high hand committed against God, the king, the parliament, the laws, and the kingdoms, by these miscreants, men always of desperate fortunes, but now of so desperate minds and manners, that all their paths lead to the chambers of death, and their steps are descending to the pit of hell.”

Every one must agree in the conclusion to which Dr. Wordsworth comes, when he says; “ I think, my lord, such passages as these are abundantly sufficient of themselves. They could not be written at the time pretended. They are nothing but flattering effusions, dictated by the Reformation.”

In the same publication, *second edition*, being that of 1662, Dr. Gauden favoured the world with several pieces in verse, “ born,” as he says, “ in the same storm;” two of which are so particular as to demand our consideration. The first of these is entitled, “ *Carolus Redux; sive Nemesis, ad Carolum Secundum;*” and it is subscribed at the end, “ *Vovit J. G. 1649.*” It is a prophecy, delivered in no very mild spirit, of the Restoration, interspersed with some strong adjurations to revenge and requital. One stanza must suffice ;—

Carole, vindictam celera : te justior ira
Flagitet, et cœli, et terræ : te gentis et orbis
Vox properare jubet ; multo te mersa cruore
Et patria, et patris clamat te sanguis inultus ;
Perfida quem fudit truculentûm dextra rebellum.

No one can doubt, we think, that this prophecy was written immediately before, or soon after, the event to which it refers; and yet the Bishop of Exeter assures the king, that he wrote it in 1649, when the chance of restoring the Royal family was very small indeed ! If we are right in this conclusion, “ What,” exclaims our author, “ are we to think of the *veracity* of Dr. Gauden ? ”—The other poem, also in Latin, bears for title, “ *In Martyrium Caroli Primi, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis invicti, Jan. 30, 1648;*” and is subscribed, “ *Fleuit, J. G.*” This piece is chiefly remarkable for containing a passage

which refers to the *Icon Basiliké*, and refers to it, moreover, as the work of the king.

Aurea quæ pulchro pinxti dictamina libro,
Unicus implesti vitæ moderamine ; passus
Quas alii pingunt æumnas ; ultima mortis
Humanam superant sortem miracula sancta.

What inference affecting the character might not be drawn from this short publication ! At the very time he claims the credit of having written the *Icon Basiliké*, he puts forth in print an address to the Spirit of Charles the First, in which he ascribes to that monarch the honour, not only of having composed the volume in question, but of having also illustrated in his life all the excellent maxims which the said volume contains. Whatever stipulations it may be pretended that Clarendon would make with him for *secrecy* to the world, it is, says Dr. Wordsworth, absolutely impossible that Clarendon should degrade Gauden—or rather degrade himself—to the very dust, by asking for *positive* and *obtrusive* falsehoods. No: this was gratuitous and voluntary on the part of the bishop himself: and to say the least of it, continues our author, it denotes a propensity to be dabbling in falsehood, a proneness for coming before the public with untruths in his mouth, that must greatly impair any little respect that we might still retain for Dr. Gauden.

In fact, the character of Gauden is impeached by his claim to the *Icon*, whether he wrote that work or not. If he was the author, the very purpose and basis of the undertaking was, confessedly, deceit and imposture, and its structure is, as Dr. W. observes, “ a tissue of a thousand thousand falsehoods.” The forgery, too, is one accompanied by many characters of a peculiarly daring and desperate kind. Fictitious retirements to the awful presence and all-seeing eye of God, are to be abused as the means of recommending a worm of the earth to his fellow-creatures. Now the man who voluntarily lays claim to have done all this, and prosecutes his claim without any expression of diffidence, compunction or shame, nay, glorying and vaunting in the deed, does he not in so doing, betray such a want of moral sensibility, such a perversion of conscience, that he has no right to complain, if we regard whatever he may say or do, to obtain our belief, with much suspicion and doubtfulness.

Nor is this all. According to his own account, he obtained the king’s consent to have it published in the royal name, or, at least, as the avowed and acknowledged work of his majesty ; when, afterwards, to promote his views of prefer-

ment, he reveals the secret; exposes the insincerity which he had himself suborned; and represents the monarch dying with a lie in his right hand. He tempts, and then betrays his victim. Can we expect honour or truth in such a man? Can we be surprised that the fears which Mrs. Gauden is said to have expressed, should have obtained currency, namely, "that she questioned the eternal state of her husband, because he pretended to be the author of a book, which to her knowledge he never wrote?" Even if he wrote it, the alternative will not prove more beneficial either to his character or condition.

But the savour of the bishop's reputation was not high even in his own day. Bishop Kennet, in speaking of him, remarks that, "Gauden was capable of underwork. I took it once from the mouth of a *very eminent primate*, that there was in 1662, a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience extending to Papists drawn up, and some printed copies of it worked off in a press within Somerset House, though presently called in. And what was the worst circumstance, the draught of it was prepared by a Bishop of the Church of England, even by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter; who had made himself a tool of the court, by the most sordid hopes of greater favor in it."

There are several other facts on record, which afford foundation for a very just suspicion relative to the veracity and honourable feeling of Dr. Gauden. For example, he informs the readers of his *Tears and Sighs of the Church of England*, that he had been nominated to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, but that he was shuffled out by some slight of hand, for no other offence that he knew than the maintaining in a sermon, preached before Parliament, the tenet of an ancient and catholic episcopacy. Now, it has been proved by an appeal to the ordinance by which the assembly was summoned, and to the names of the three divines chosen for Essex, that Gauden was not nominated a member. But as the Restoration was at hand, it could not but appear a creditable occurrence in the history of a clergyman, to have been rejected by the assembly as too episcopally inclined, and to have it in his power to refer to a sermon delivered before a schismatical parliament, in support of that primitive discipline. The sermon, however, does not contain a single word in favour of episcopacy: he got his silver tankard for more popular views: and the Dean of Bocking, when he vaunted his services to the church, could only hope that neither his discourse nor the assembly records would ever be inspected.

His anxiety to obtain preferment is, in fact, the key which

leads to the knowledge of all his frauds, as well as to that of his claim upon the Icon Basiliké. He thought himself equal to the highest appointments, and regarded all he had received as quite inadequate to his merits. "True," says he, to Lord Clarendon, "*I played this best card in my hand something too late*, else I might have sped as well as Dr. Reynolds and some others." His Tears and Sighs—his Invective—his Latin poems—all sprang from the eager desire to recommend himself to the new government; and remembering that the authorship of the king's book itself had been sometimes called in question, he even presumed to lay his hand upon it, and to importune the prime minister for a reward worthy of such a service! But his character has at length been fully manifested; his motives have been examined; his pretensions have been weighed; and there is not, we are certain, any candid man of competent information and ability, who, after reading Dr. Wordsworth's ingenious volume, will say, that Gr. Gauden, taken in connection with all the qualities of his mind, and the circumstances of his history, could have been the writer of Icon Basiliké.

ART. VI. *The Century of Inventions of the Marquis of Worcester. From the original MS. With Historical and Explanatory Notes, and a Biographical Memoir. By Charles F. Partington, Author of a Descriptive Account of the Steam Engine, and Lecturer at the London, Russel, Surrey, and Metropolitan Institutions, Mechanics Institute, &c. &c. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d. Murray. 1825.*

COMPLETE though tardy justice has been done by Mr. Partington, in this interesting and agreeable publication, to the memory of a great man, whom Lord Orford, in one of his pert and frothy periods, has ventured to characterize as "a fantastic projector," and whose *Century of Inventions* he considers as "an amazing piece of folly." But Lord Orford was ill calculated to appreciate any claims to distinction beyond those which himself asserted; and was, moreover, manifestly incompetent to pass judgment upon a work of Science. The present editor, on the contrary, brings to his task an equal store of modesty and of knowledge, and he has raised to his due place in public esteem the propounder of one

of the grandest of all mechanical inventions, the steam engine.

Edward Lord Herbert, Earl of Glamorgan, and afterwards Marquess of Worcester, is well known in the annals of the great Rebellion. His family had long been distinguished for its loyalty, and for the favour of the Crown; and the father of the young Lord Herbert, at the commencement of the Civil war, raised and supported a little army of 1,500 foot and 500 horse, which he placed under his son's command. The surprize of Monmouth (which had been captured by the Parliamentary forces soon after the battle of Marston Moor) established Lord Herbert's military reputation, and increased the high confidence which the unfortunate Charles was already well inclined to repose in him. Accordingly, in 1644, he was intrusted with the delicate commission of negociating with the Irish Roman Catholics (whose faith he professed), and was recommended to the Earl of Ormonde as one wholly *in secretionibus* of the King. A second commission, delivered soon after, gifted him with still more extensive powers; and though a secret document, it has been given by Rushworth in his *Collections*. Upon this commission it has been deemed that a charge of bad faith may be affixed to the memory of Charles, and great pains have been taken, on its authority, to stigmatize him as a dissembler. The plain answer to such an accusation will be found in the troubled state of affairs in the year 1645, which rendered a policy not wholly avowable, expedient and necessary on the part of the King. There is scarcely any Government, even in better times, which can venture to display to the public eye all that machinery which must be employed to restrain the violence of the bold and the bad; and Charles, while persecuted even to death by atrocious and fanatical hypocrites, was fully justified if he combated, by counter stratagems, the artifices in which they sought to entangle him.

The Irish Parliament, from the beginning of the tumults, had expressed the strongest aversion from any concession to the Roman Catholics; and they were in consequence much surprized and irritated by the discovery of a copy of a treaty, into which the Earl of Glamorgan (a title which Lord Herbert received a few days before his departure for Ireland) had entered with them, among the baggage of the titular Archbishop of Tuam, when he was killed in a skirmish at Kilkenny. It became necessary for Lords Ormonde and Digby to preserve appearances with the

Parliament, and they accused Lord Glamorgan of High Treason, and committed him to the Castle. His faith to his Royal Master, in this trying emergency, was manifested by a spirit of self-devotion, which, after the many instances of it which may be shewn in our own history, it were unjust to call Greek or Roman, and which has never been exceeded in courage and magnanimity. To Lord Ormonde it was necessary, for the King's vindication, that he should entirely confide; to all others he was profoundly silent, though he possessed the amplest means of justifying his conduct. When examined by a Committee of the Council,

—"he exonerated his Majesty, and requested that the whole blame of the matter might be attributed to him; as he had consulted with no one on the subject, but the parties with whom he had made the agreement." P. xxii.

By the influence of Lord Ormonde he was released on bail, and finding that a longer stay in Ireland would be attended with imminent peril to his own life, and with little hope of assisting the King, he embarked for France.

Meanwhile the magnificent family seat of his ancestors at Ragland Castle had been exposed to the bitter vengeance of the rebels. Fairfax appeared before it, and the veteran Marquess, then in his eighty-fifth year, after a brilliant resistance, in which more than half his garrison, at first consisting of eight hundred men, was destroyed, surrendered on honourable terms. The capitulation, however, was treacherously violated. The fortifications were razed to the ground, the timber was cut down, the wood alone which covered the roof of the castle was sold for £.6,000, and the total loss to the family has been estimated at £.100,000. The Marquess himself was committed to the custody of the Black Rod; and in a few months was released by death from his shameful and undeserved captivity.

The Earl of Glamorgan, now Marquess of Worcester, after the murder of Charles I, followed the Court of his successor; and in 1655, was employed in a secret and most dangerous mission to London, in order to procure intelligence and supplies. In this he was speedily discovered. Cromwell's, however, was not a rule of blood, and the life of Lord Worcester was spared, although he was committed close prisoner to the Tower. A letter which has been preserved, written during his confinement, sufficiently testifies the distress to which he was reduced. It bears date March xxviii, 1656, and is addressed to his friend Colonel Christopher Copley, to whom he acknowledges his inability to discharge

a debt of five pounds, and requests the loan of ten pounds more in addition.

The Restoration freed him from his long imprisonment; but Charles II was not of a temper to bear in mind the past services and sufferings of his friends; and he neglected to defend Lord Worcester's claim to the title of Duke of Somerset, granted by patent of his father, and permitted the representative of a family, which had sacrificed more than six or seven hundred thousand pounds in his cause, to surrender this dear-bought honour, when a word from the throne might have confirmed it. How deeply Lord Worcester felt this and other instances of royal ingratitude, may be determined from the following extract of a letter now in the possession of the Duke of Beaufort, and printed by his Grace's permission, among Mr. Partington's introductory matter.

“ It was I furnished his Matie with money to goe (to) Theobalds to goe to Yorke when the then Marquis of Hambleton refused to pay three hundered pound for his Matie at Theobalds only to deliuer him to the Parliament, as he had donne the Earle of Strafford, and to * * * the * * * Parliament. It was I carried him money to sett vp his standard at Yorke, and procured my father to giue the then s^r John Byron five thousand pound to rayse the first Regiment of Horse, and kept a table for aboue twenty Officers at Yorke, which I vnderhand sent thether to keepe them from takeing Conditions from y^e Parliament, and soe were ready to accept his. It was I vittled the towre of London and gaue fiae and twenty hundred pound to y^e then Lieutenant s^r John Byron my Cosin Germain by my first wifes side. It was I raysed most of the menne at Edgehill fight, and after I was betrayed at when soe many Gentlemen of Quality were taken and of twenty fiae thousand men first & last by me raysed Eight thousand men disperssed by the Contriuance of such as called themselues y^e the Kings good subjects, and some of them rewarded for it, they were my men weekly payed without takeing a farthing contribution because the country tottered, who tooke in the forest of Deane, Goodredge Castle, Monmouth, Chepstowe, Carlyon and Cardiff from y^e Parliament forces, in w^{ch} and y^e Garrison of Ragland I can bring profe of aboue an hundered and fifty thousand pounds expended, and in ready Money first and laste to y^e Kings owne purse aboue as much more, and of aboue thirty five thousand Pounds Receaued by my father and me Comunely Armes in forty—forty two—and forty three I haue not now fiae and twenty hundered and that clogged well, twenty thousand Pounds Crying Debts that keepe me not only from a competent maintenance but euen from sleepe, I speake not heare of aboue three hundered thowsand pounds which it hath cost y^e Noblemen Knights and Gentlemen which ridd in my Life Guarde for ther comporting they makeing amongst them aboue threescore thousand Pownds yearly of Land of inheretance and I

vpon my interest with seauen Countys had begune an Engage-
ment of aboue three hundered thousand Pounds yearly land of
inhiretance agaist my returne with men from beyonde the sea in
which endeauours my charges have beine vast, besides hazard by
sea euen of shipwracke and by Land of deadly encounters, I doe not
trouble y^r Lo^p with, but all this being true to a tittle as vpon my
word and honour dearer to me then my life I advouche it, I cannot
doubt but y^r Grace will call for a peane to signe y^e Letter, and if
you please sende this together with it, and rest assured that if the
King refuse my request I will neuer importune you more, nor euer
sett my foote into his Ma^{ties} Court againe vnlesse expressly com-
anded by him for his seruice, otherwise I will only heartily pray
for him but neuer hereafter shall I or any freind of mine engage
for him further, then y^e simple duty of a Loyall subiect sitting
quiettly at home noe ways breake the peace or disobying the wholsom
lawes of the land, and God seande him better and more able subiects
to searve his Ma^{tie} then my selfe, willinger I am sure he cannot,
and I beseeche y^r Grace to pardon me if passion hath a little trans-
ported me beyonde good manners, and lay what pennance you
please vpon me soe it tende not to lessen y^r Graces beliefe that
I am
Y^r Graces

Most really deuoted freind
and seruant ever to obey you

December 29th, 1665.

WORCESTER.

My deare Lord, my heart is yet full fraughted and I can say
much more for my selfe, were I not ashamed of giueing y^r Grace
soe great a trouble with my scribling, which I will thus ende,
promising to smoothe as long as may be my deplorable condition,
and worse vsage, but it will at last fly ouer the whole world to the
disheartining of all zelous and Loyall subiects, vnlesse such a true
hearted Englishman and faithfull seruant as y^r Grace doe awaken his
Ma^{tie} out of the leturgie my enimies have cast him not to be sen-
sible of what I have done or suffered. Cardinall Mazarine pre-
sented me to his King, with these woords, " S^r who soeuer hath
Loyalty or Religion in recommendation must honour this well
Borne Person," and Queene Mother now Dowager hath often sayd
to have heard her husband say that next to her and his Children he
wass bound to take a care of me of whom it may be now verified
qui iacet in terra non habet vnde cadet, I am cast to the Ground
I can fall noe lower."* P. xlviij.

Lord Worcester now applied himself sedulously to the
pursuit of Science. The *Century of Invention* was published
in 1663; and in the same year a Bill passed through Parlia-
ment, entitling the noble author, and his successors, to all
profits which might accrue from the "stupendous water-work,"
to which he alluded in the last article of this work. It has

* The above letter, as appears by the envelope, was directed to his Grace the
Duke of Albemarle.

since been reprinted no less than five times. The Marquess soon after published "*An exact and true definition of the most stupendous water conveying engine*," in a small pamphlet of twenty-two pages, which has now become exceedingly rare.

Two years afterwards, on the 3d of April 1687, he died in retirement near London, and his remains were conveyed with much funeral solemnity to the vault of his ancestors in Ragland church.

The original title of the noble Marquess's volume, explains the nature of its contents.

"A Century of the Name and Scantlings of such Inventions, as at present I can call to mind to have tried and perfected, which (my former Notes being lost) I have, at the instance of a powerful Friend, endeavoured now in the year 1655, to set these down in such a way, as may sufficiently instruct me to put any of them in practice.

"—*Artis et Naturæ proles.*" P. lxxvii.

Most of these discoveries are little more than named; and this in such brief and obscure language, that to a person less addicted to Scientific studies than Mr. Partington is, they would still be impenetrably locked up in hieroglyphics. There are but few of them, however, which the sagacity of this gentleman has not decyphered, and the Marquess of Worcester, after the illustration which his work has now received, must hereafter be ranked, not as a trifler in legerdemain and a mystical empiric, but among those whose speculations may be considered as a legacy of inestimable benefit to mankind.

Among his discoveries we find both a day and night telegraph (VI. VII.); a catamaran, of which in our own times such terrific effects have been predicated (IX. X.); an universal character (XXXII.), which affords Mr. Partington an opportunity for a rapid but very pregnant sketch of the attempts which have been made to establish a general philosophical language. The first suggestion to this effect was made by Lord Bacon, in his chapter, entitled, "*The Instrument of Discourse.*" Des Cartes, in his third letter to Mercennus, mentions the invention of a Frenchman (whom he does not name), by which he pretended to understand all Des Cartes varieties of idioms; and also expresses his own confident belief, that it would be very possible to compose a grammar, with general signs, by which all foreign languages might be intelligible. A learned and highly estimable work was published by Becher in 1661, entitled, *Character pro Notitiâ Linguarum universali inventum Steganographicum*, which appears to produce, in regard to language, the same

effect which algebra has done in regard to arithmetic. A few hours practice, it is said, will make it easy of application. Dalgarno, an Englishman, in the same year prepared a very similar invention. Twenty years afterwards, Frisecius, a Professor of Riga, was interrupted by death in an essay of the same kind, of which only a few sheets were printed. It could scarcely be expected, that a universal language should have escaped the research of the wonder-loving Kircher, and among his other marvels we find a *Polygraphia*, by which he who understands any one language, may correspond in writing with all the nations on the face of the whole globe. Besnier, a learned Jesuit, pursued this subject ably in 1670, in a book entitled, *La Réunion des Langues, ou l'Art de les apprendre toutes par une seule*; and "Cestria's mitred Lord," our own ingenious Wilkins, crowned the catalogue of writers on this matter, by his well-known (though perhaps not sufficiently estimated) *Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical Language*. The Bishop is, we believe, less celebrated at the present time for his solid and substantial labours than for his fanciful proposal of an expedition to the lunar regions. In later times Leibnitz must not be omitted, nor the Abbé de l'Epée, who enabled his deaf and dumb pupils, by observation of his gestures, to write with equal readiness in four different languages. The Marquess of Worcester does not explain his system, but contents himself with stating that he has one. To this he adds many secret modes of writing;—by a needle and thread, by a knotted silk string, by the fringe of gloves, by stringing bracelets, by pinked gloves, by holes in the bottom of a sieve, by a candlestick lantern, by the smell, the taste and the touch, and finally, "how to vary each of these, so that 10,000 may know them, and yet keep the understanding part from any but their correspondent" (XLIIL.) These modes of cypher all depend upon the same principle, and are by no means difficult of comprehension; that any of them, however, can escape unravelment by a person who has studied the art of decyphering, we are inclined to disbelieve on our own experience: and our opinion is confirmed by the following anecdote, which Mr. Partington cites in another part of this volume.

"With regard to the possibility of forming a key by which writing in any language may be deciphered, we have the following curious anecdote, furnished by the late learned and ingenious Mr. Astle, keeper of His Majesty's Records: he states, on the authority of a noble Lord, deceased, that the late Earl Granville, while Secretary of State, told him, that when he came into office he had his doubts respecting the certainty of deciphering. That he

M M

wrote down two or three sentences in the Swedish language, and afterwards put them into such arbitrary marks or characters, as his mind suggested to him; that he sent the paper to Dr. Willes, who returned it the next day, and informed his Lordship, that the characters he had sent to him formed certain words, which he had written beneath the cipher, but that he did not understand the language; and Lord Granville declared, that they were exactly those which he had first written, before he put them into a cipher." P. 5.

The *perpetual motion*, it seems, has been more nearly discovered than mechanics in general are prepared to admit; and the invention, most probably, was the result of one of Lord Worcester's speculations.

" No. LVI.

" To provide and make, that all the weights of the descending side of a wheel shall be perpetually farther from the centre than those of the mounting side, and yet equal in number and heft of the one side as the other. A most incredible thing, if not seen, but tried before the late king of happy and glorious memory, in the Tower, by my directions; two extraordinary ambassadors accompanying his Majesty, and the Duke of Richmond and Duke Hamilton, with most of the court attending him. The wheel was fourteen feet over, and forty weights of fifty pounds a-piece. Sir William Belford, then Lieutenant of the Tower, can testify it, with several others. They all saw, that no sooner these great weights passed the diameter line of the upper side, but they hung a foot farther from the centre; nor no sooner passed the diameter line of the lower side, but they they hung a foot nearer. Be pleased to judge the consequence.

" NOTE.

" The celebrated problem of a self-impelling power, though denied by Huygens and De la Hire, who have attempted to demonstrate its fallacy, has yet been supported by some of the most celebrated among the ancient as well as modern philosophers. Innumerable have been the machines to which the idea of the *perpetual motion* has given birth; but the most celebrated among the moderns is the *Orffyrean wheel*. This machine, according to the description given of it by M. Grævesande, in his *Œuvres Philosophiques*, consisted of a large circular wheel or drum, twelve feet in diameter, and fourteen inches in depth. It was composed of a number of thin deals, the spaces between which were covered with wax cloth, in order to conceal the interior parts of it. On giving the wheel which rested on the two extremities of an iron axis, a slight impulse in either direction, its motion was gradually accelerated; so that after two or three revolutions, it is said to have acquired so great a velocity as to make twenty-five or more turns in a minute: and it appears to have preserved this rapid motion for the space of two months, during which time the Landgrave of Hesse, in whose chamber it was placed to prevent a

possibility of collusion, kept his own seal on the outer door. At the end of that time it was stopped to prevent the wear of the materials. Grævesande, who had been an eye-witness to the performance of this machine, examined all the external parts of it, and was convinced that there could not be any communication between it and the adjacent rooms. Orffyreus, however, having been informed of the ill-timed curiosity of the professor, and incensed at the refusal of a premium of *twenty thousand pounds*, which he had made a *sine qua non* for disclosing the mechanism of its construction, broke the whole apparatus into atoms, and his life was soon after sacrificed to chagrin at his disappointment. The analogy between the Marquis's description and the Orffyrean wheel is sufficiently evident; and the experiment having been made in the Tower, more than fifty years prior to the attempt of the German mechanic, it is more than probable that the idea was derived from the noble author's work." P. 54.

Nor are we less indebted to the Marquess for most of the modern improvements (if such they be) in fire-arms. We profess ourselves to be old sportsmen of the flint and steel, rather than of the detonating school; the ingenuity of which perhaps surpasses its safety. From Nos. LVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. much may have been suggested to sagacious and enterprising gunsmiths; just as Nos. LXIX. LXX. LXXI. LXXII. and LXXIX. may have been applied by Messrs. Bramah to their impenetrable locks.

Mr. Partington espouses the hypothesis of Bishop Wilkins, to which we have above alluded, and, from No. LXXVII. (printed p. 69.) holds, that by a high pressure steam engine, which, with its charge for one hour, will not exceed 163 lbs. in weight, or by a gas light apparatus not amounting to more than a third of this weight, the problem of flying may be accomplished. We believe Sir George Cayley has nearly broken his neck once or twice, in consequence of cultivating this praiseworthy emulation of jackdaws and waterwagtails, yellowhammers* and boobies. Two pleasant inventions are recorded below:—

“No. LXXXV.

“A little ball, made in the shape of a plum or pear, which being dexterously conveyed or forced into a body's mouth, shall presently shoot forth such, and so many bolts of each side and at both ends as, without the owner's key, can neither be opened nor filed off, being made of tempered steel, and as effectually locked as an iron chest.

“NOTE.

“The steel fangs with which this instrument is furnished must, like the bolt of a common latch, be chamfered from the point, so that on its being inserted within the teeth, the bolts will instantaneously spring out; and no power short of the key previously made to fit the wards of the lock will suffice to free those who are thus ensnared.

* Query.—Ninnyhammers? Printer's devil.

This is evidently one of those discoveries which, though practicable in itself, appears better calculated for swelling the catalogue of the noble author's inventions, than for any beneficial result likely to accrue to the public from its discovery."

" No. LXXXVI.

" A chair made *à-la-mode*, and yet a stranger, being persuaded to sit down in it, shall have immediately his arms and thighs locked up, beyond his own power to loosen them.

" NOTE.

" Chairs of this description are stated to have been employed by the monks in the darker ages of Christianity ; and were originally designed for the purpose of entrapping those who, possessing more courage, or less of prudence than their neighbours, ventured to penetrate the mysteries of papal seclusion. They were formed like a common arm-chair, and provided with two levers at the extremity of the arms ; and the same number were fixed immediately below the seat. These, on pressing the cushion, were immediately discharged like a man-trap : four powerful springs acting on the levers for that purpose ; and so firmly will the occupant of a chair of this description be fixed, that it will take the united force of four or five persons to free the prisoner. A similar chair was exhibited at the *Villa Borghese*, Rome, in 1644—' They shew'd us also a chayre w^{ch} catches any who sits downe in it so as not to be able to stir out, by certaine springs, concealed in the armes and back thereof which at sitting downe surprizes a man on the suddaine, locking him in by the armes or thighs, after a true trefcherous Italian guise.—Vide *Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 107." P. 80.

Friar Bacon's head was not unknown to Lord Worcester. He proposes (LXXXVIII.) to make a brazen or stone head, which, like that which so much astonished Sancho and his master, shall " resolve any question in French, Latin, Welsh, Irish or English, in good terms, uttering it out of his mouth, and then shut up until the next question be asked." This model might be useful for a Secretary of State or a Chancellor of the Exchequer to fashion himself upon during a troublesome Session of Parliament. Mr. Partington elucidates it by a description and explanation of that most pleasing and long undiscovered illusion, *The Invisible Girl*.

Two only of the inventions out of the hundred (the XVIII. and the XXV.) appear to have baffled Mr. Partington's sagacity, and perhaps he has characterized them justly :—

" No. XVIII.

" An artificial fountain, to be turned like an hour-glass, by a child, in the twinkling of an eye, it yet holding great quantities of water, and of force sufficient to make snow, ice, and thunder ; with the chirping and singing of birds, and showing of several shapes and effects, usual to fountains of pleasure.

“ NOTE.

“ That a fountain may be made upon the principle of an hour-glass, and that when the upper division is exhausted, the lower may be elevated by a crank and lever, the fluid passing through the centre of its axis, we may easily conceive ; but how a fountain of water can produce snow ice, thunder, and the singing of birds, is a circumstance not easy to be comprehended.” P. 20.

“ No. XXV.

“ How to make a weight, that cannot take up an hundred pound, and yet shall take up two hundred pounds, and at the self same distance from the centre ; and so, proportionably, to millions of pounds.

“ NOTE.

“ This is indeed paradoxical, and so completely contrary to every established principal or rule in science, that we may fairly set it down among the number of those inventions which, by partaking so highly of the marvellous, have contributed to bring the whole *Century* into disrepute.” P. 27.

The LXVIII. invention, together with the three last, we must give at length :—

“ No. LXVIII.

“ An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher calleth it, *infra sphaeram activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough ; for, I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three-quarters full, stopping and screwing up the broken end, as also the touchhole ; and making a constant fire under it within twenty-four hours it burst and made a great crack : so that having found a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, have seen the water run like a constant fountain stream, forty feet high ; one vessel of water, rarefied by fire, driveth up forty of cold water : and a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks, that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and refill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim between the necessity of turning the said cocks.” P. 62.

“ No. XCVIII.

“ An engine, so contrived, that working the *primum mobile* forward or backward, upward or downward, circularly or cornerwise, to and fro, straight, upright or downright, yet the pretended operation continueth and advanceth ; none of the motions above mentioned, hindering, much less stopping the other ; but unanimously, and with harmony agreeing, they all augment and contribute strength unto the intended work and operation ; and therefore I call this a *semi-omnipotent engine*, and do intend that a model thereof be buried with me.”

“ No. XCIX.

“ How to make one pound weight to raise an hundred as high as one pound falleth, and yet the hundred pounds descending doth what nothing less than one hundred pounds can effect.”

“ No. C.

“ Upon so potent a help as these two last-mentioned inventions, a water-work is, by many years experience and labour, so advantageously by me contrived, that a child's force bringeth up, an hundred feet high, an incredible quantity of water, even two feet diameter. And I may boldly call it, *the most stupendous work in the whole world*: not only with little charge to drain all sorts of mines, and furnish cities with water, though never so high seated, as well to keep them sweet, running through several streets, and so performing the work of scavengers, as well as furnishing the inhabitants with sufficient water for their private occasions: but likewise supplying the rivers with sufficient to maintain and make navigable from town to town, and for the bettering of lands all the way it runs; with many more advantageous, and yet greater effects of profit, admiration, and consequence: so that deservedly I deem this invention to crown my labours, to reward my expenses, and make my thoughts acquiesce in way of further inventions. This making up the whole Century, and preventing any further trouble to the reader for the present, meaning to leave to posterity a book, wherein, under each of these heads, the means to put in execution and visible trial all and every of these inventions, with the shape and form of all things belonging to them, shall be printed by brass plates.-- Besides many omitted, and some of three sorts willingly not set down, as not fit to be divulged, lest ill use may be made thereof, but to show that such things are also within my knowledge, I will here in myne owne cypher sett down one of each, not to be concealed when duty and affection obligeth me.

“ *In bonum publicum, et ad majorem Dei gloriam.*

“ NOTE.

“ The three last inventions may justly be considered as the most important of the whole ‘Century,’ and when united with the 68th article, they appear to suggest nearly all the data essential for the construction of a modern-steam-engine. The noble author has furnished us with what he calls a ‘definition’ of this engine; and although it is written in the same vague and empirical style, which characterises a large portion of his Inventions, it may yet be considered as affording additional proofs of the above important fact.

“ The Marquis's ‘definition’ is exceedingly rare, as the only copy known to be extant is preserved in the British Museum.—It is printed on a single sheet without date, and appears to have been written for the purpose of procuring subscriptions in aid of a Water Company, then about to be established.

“ A stupendous, or a water-commanding engine, boundless for height, or quantity, requiring no external, nor even additional help

or force to be set, or continued in motion, but what intrinsically is afforded from its own operation, nor yet the twentieth part thereof. And the engine consisteth of the following particulars:—

“ ‘ A perfect counterpoise, for what quantity soever of water.

“ ‘ A perfect countervail, for what height soever it is to be brought unto.

“ ‘ A *primum mobile*, commanding both height and quantity, regulator-wise.

“ ‘ A vicegerent of countervail, supplying the place, and performing the full force of man, wind, beast, or mill.

“ ‘ A helm, or stern, with bit and reins, wherewith any child may guide, order, and control the whole operation.

“ ‘ A particular magazine for water, according to the intended quantity, or height of water.

“ ‘ An aqueduct, capable of any intended quantity or height of water.

“ ‘ A place for the original fountain or river to run into, and naturally of its own accord incorporate itself with the rising water, and at the very bottom of the aqueduct, though never so big or high.

“ ‘ By divine providence, and heavenly inspiration, this is my stupendous water-commanding engine, boundless for height and quantity.

“ ‘ Whosoever is master of weight, is master of force; whosoever is master of water, is master of both; and consequently to him all forcible actions and achievements are easie.” P. 99.

It was upon these discoveries that Lord Worcester appears to have founded his most sanguine hopes of the remembrance and the gratitude of posterity; and, under this impression, he attached to them also the following memorial of his piety:—

“ Oh! infinitely omnipotent God! whose mercies are fathomlesse, and whose knowledge is immense, and inexhaustible; next to my creation and redemption I render thee most humble thanks from the very bottom of my heart and bowels, for thy vouchsafing me, (the meanest in understanding,) an insight in soe great a secret of nature, beneficent to all mankind, as this my water-commanding engine. Suffer me not to be puffed upp, O Lord, by the knowing of it, and many more rare and unheard off, yea, unparalleled inventions, tryals, and experiments.—But humble my haughty heart, by the true knowledge of myne own ignorant, weake, and unworthy nature: proane to all euill, O most mercifull Father my creator, most compassionatting Sonne my redeemer, and Holyest of Spiritts, the sanctifier, threc diuine persons, and one God, grant me a further concurring grace with fortitude to take hould of thy goodnesse, to the end that whatever I doe, unanimously and courageously to serve my king and country, to disabuse, rectifie, and convert my vndeserved, yet wilfully incredulous enemyes, to reimburse thankfully my creditors, to reimmunerate my benefactors, to reinhearten

my distressed family, and with complacence to gratifie my suffering and confiding friends, may, voyde of vanity or selfe ends, be only directed to thy honour and glory everlastingly. Amen." P. lxx

Mr. Partington has closed the volume by a brief sketch of the subsequent progress of the steam engine, abridged from his own larger *Historical and Descriptive Account* of that machine. He is entitled to our best thanks for the very pleasing and popular form in which he has throughout conveyed a very considerable body of intelligence.

ART. VII. *Sermons on various Subjects. By William Paley. Edited by the Rev. Edmund Paley, A.M. Vicar of Easingwold. Two Vols. 8vo. Rivingtons. 1825.*

IN submitting to the attention of our readers two new volumes of Sermons, from the hand of so celebrated a person as Dr. Paley, we should have been glad to avail ourselves of any information from an authentic source, which might have had a tendency to facilitate our own inquiries, or have been proposed as a guide to those of others. But no assistance of this kind is directly afforded in the work itself. The editor is content to inform the public, in a very short preface, that these sermons having now been for the first time printed in a new edition of Dr. Paley's works, are also given in a detached form, for the accommodation of those who possess former editions; and that three of them, viz. the 7th, 9th, and 11th of the 1st volume, which had already appeared in a former work, are now reprinted for the sake of their connection with two others, which are new: a repetition very superfluous and uncalled for, in our estimation, as we may venture to predict, that the great body of Dr. Paley's readers would have thought it a lesser evil, to refer to a volume already in their possession, when necessary, than to pay a second time for the old matter in another form.

However this may be, such is the sum and substance of the information communicated; but where and on what occasions these Sermons were written, why, supposing them to be of equal or nearly equal merit with the others, they have been so long withheld from the public; or why, if much inferior, they are now published at all, are questions which, however likely to occur to every reader acquainted with Dr. Paley's works, will meet with no explicit answers from those who are alone competent to give them. And yet we are inclined to think, that some explanation of this kind

was not less due to the memory of the excellent author, than proper for the satisfaction of the public, under all the circumstances of the case; for though, sooner or later, these volumes will be sure to find their level amidst the productions of the day, yet must it be allowed, that first impressions, which with many people are the last too, are always worth consulting; and these depend not entirely upon the intrinsic merit of a work, but also upon the form in which it is presented to us, and the promise it holds out compared with the manner in which it is likely to be fulfilled. Opinions carelessly thrown out in conversation, are not to be judged with the same strictness as those which are committed to writing, nor should the loose scraps and notes of a literary man's portfolio be measured by the same rule as that which we apply to the more elaborate productions of the same person, prepared by himself for the public eye. These reflections have been forced upon us by the disappointment frequently expressed in our hearing, by persons who having taken up the work with expectations too highly excited, have laid it down with an opinion too hastily formed; and if our duty had not led us, instead of dipping into it here and there, to read it carefully and attentively throughout, it is not impossible but that, struck with some features which stand out in it, we might have been led away by somewhat of a similar feeling. As it is, we are glad to confess that we have risen up from the perusal of it with impressions much more favourable than those with which we commenced, and if we shall be happy enough to persuade others to bestow upon it the same attention, we are persuaded that they will derive from it the same results.

Under this impression, we think it incumbent upon us to state candidly, at the outset, our opinion, that these Sermons are, with few exceptions, the rejected results of a former scrutiny; and that the publication of them, so far from having ever entered into the contemplation of Dr. Paley, would never have been hazarded thus indiscriminately, even by his executors, if the unexampled success and popularity of the former volume had not taught them to rely largely upon the indulgence of the public, in favour of every thing which bears the stamp and impress of his mind. To this conclusion we are led, not so much by the well-known history of the former volume, and the delay which has taken place with regard to these, as by the internal evidence offered in the work itself. The faults are the same as those in the Parochial Sermons already published, only perhaps more frequent, while the merits and the usefulness are less eminent

and less striking. There is occasionally the same carelessness of language, the same abruptness of arrangement, and a more decided want of fulness in the exhortations and addresses; but the doctrinal discussions are by no means so well sustained; and we should look in vain for such interesting specimens as those on the Atonement and on Spiritual Influence, which contributed so much to recommend the former volume. But what chiefly confirms our conclusion is the fact, that the great body of the matter contained in these volumes is already familiar to our minds, having appeared before in one shape or other in Dr. Paley's former works. Some of the Sermons, which ought rather to be called Moral Essays with scriptural texts, bear the most striking likeness, both in the letter and the spirit, to several parts of the Moral Philosophy; such are those in the first volume, entitled, "Law of Honour," page 232; "Duties of Parents, Children, Servants," &c. which follow; and also, "Different Degrees of Rewards and Punishments," vol. II. 237. Others again savour very strongly of portions of the Natural Theology, viz. "The Being of God demonstrated in the Works of the Creation," 247, vol. II. and "The Goodness of God," &c.; while a still more considerable number are evidently made up of materials from the Evidences; see the last six Sermons of the second volume; insomuch that there is room to doubt, in all the cases,* whether the Sermons constituted, as it were, the casts or models from which the other works, or portions of them, were wrought; or whether they themselves were compiled from the other works, for the purpose of receiving a different application and direction. As to the style, it is generally, we think, upon a level with that of the former volume, and sometimes even rising above it; but there are some passages so very familiar and homely, that one would think they were notices proposed to be given out in the church-yard, rather than injunctions to be delivered solemnly from the pulpit. Such is the latter part of the Sermon on Sunday Schools:

Notwithstanding these defects, (defects which attach to the nature of the documents, not to the character of the author,) we rejoice exceedingly that the volumes have been

* The following short note escaped our attention at the first reading. It is calculated to throw a little light upon this question:

"The few following Sermons may seem placed out of their order; but they are added as Protographs of the Natural Theology and the Evidences of Christianity. They appear to have been written between 1780 and 1790."

published. They come from Dr. Paley, it is quite clear, even if we had not the good faith of the editor to assure us of it; and this itself will be a sufficient recommendation to those who are inclined to believe with us, that the most careless effusions of his pen, the dregs and rinsings of his mind, are of more value than the choicest productions of ordinary men. Nor will this presumption be found to fail in the present case. Let them be offered for what they are, and we are confident that they will be taken at their full value; and this cannot be inconsiderable. They are not, indeed, generally speaking, of so serious and impressive a nature, either in the matter or manner, as those which have attained so great a height of public favour, but they do well to come after them. They contain much to approve, nothing to blame, and little to controvert. There is enough that is new to give interest to the work, and even that which is not so, is by no means without importance; for it is often placed in such new lights, and worked up in such simple forms, as are calculated to obtain attention where arguments more laboured and more protracted might have failed. To the clergy, in particular, they supply many excellent hints and recommendations, both as to the importance of their duty, and the due performance of it; and to men of all ranks and descriptions much food for Christian reflection, and many excellent and sensible directions for their conduct and guidance in the several relations and dependences of life; and if a little more selection and concentration had been used, they would have been probably as popular and useful as the former volume. To us, indeed, the prodigious success and the multiplied editions of those useful and pious Discourses, have always appeared no less a triumph to the cause of Christian truth than an honour to the age in which we live. They are neither eloquent, learned, nor elaborate; nor is there in them any appeal either to the passions or to the prejudices of his readers; but they contain, in plain but serious and impressive language, the views and opinions of an acute, sensible, and eminently reasoning divine, upon some of the most important doctrines and duties of the Christian scheme; of one, who, having been a faithful and successful observer of the operations of the human mind, and the habits of human life, practically applies the knowledge he derives from them, not to the establishment of metaphysical dogmata, but to the promotion of the eternal interests of his fellow creatures; and not content with laying down general rules, or prescribing certain tenets and articles as necessary to salvation, points out the means and instruments in every man's bosom

by which, under the influence of Divine grace, he may lay hold of and persevere in Christian faith, and improve himself in Christian practice. These are the qualities by which his former Sermons have recommended themselves to the public favour; and their reception is a happy proof how much, in the eyes of well informed people, good reasoning and sound argument are preferred to what is called fine writing. It would be difficult, indeed, to estimate the quantity and the value of Christian feeling and intelligence which have resulted and will result from Dr. Paley's works; but, with respect to the Parochial Sermons, it is worthy of remark, that they have been bought and read much less by that class of persons to whom they were addressed, than by those of every rank above them, which proves, not that they were ill suited to his audience (for, however disposed to accept wisdom, this description of persons are not much in the habit of buying it in the shape of books), but that the principles and duties of Christianity require nothing but a candid and rational statement to become acceptable to well educated minds; and that the Christian scheme itself, so far from shrinking under the beams of truth and knowledge, as they become more diffusive or intense, approves itself proportionally to the clearer discernment of mankind, and rises in estimation and importance, as they rise in civilization and refinement; thus vindicating its Divine origin, not only by the universality of its application, but by its superior fitness and adaptation for the improved state of the human mind, and holding out fresh sources of consolation, fresh views and motives, as men are found to stand in need of them, and become capable of profiting by them.

But it is time that we should introduce our readers to the work itself. In the first volume will be found sermons on ordinary topics, with some charges, of which one so early as 1785. In the second, several on particular occasions, with others on various subjects. Our extracts must be considered as fair specimens of the work, for they are undertaken a good deal at hazard.

The first in the second volume, is an Ordination Sermon, and evidently prepared with all the attention which such an occasion required. The subject is a favourite one with Dr. Paley, the Pursuits of the Clergy, "Give attention to reading, to exhortation, to Doctrine." After commending the advantages of study, and of such study in particular as may be made subservient to Christian edification and instruction, the danger of having too much time at liberty, is thus well urged:—

“ I have known deplorable examples of the spirits sinking under this vacuity ; oftener, perhaps, of their taking refuge in resources which were hardly innocent, or, if innocent in their kind, indecorous by their excess. A literary station without learning is always gloomy to the possessor. Every thing which should have been a benefit to him becomes a burthen. The calm and silence which should dispose to meditation induces only melancholy. In the leisure to which the contemplative mind returns as to its home, the person we speak of sees nothing but a banishment from recreation or cheerfulness. There is no greater difference in the human character than in the disposition of different men towards retirement. The longing with which some seek, the delight with which they enjoy, and the reluctance with which they leave it, contrasted with the impatience by which others endure, or the fear with which they dread it, form an opposition of choice and temper both remarkable in itself, and upon which the happiness of individuals and their suitableness for the station which they occupy very much depend.

“ It can admit of no question which of these two is the temper for a clergyman. That which is desirable by him (I think by all, but certainly by him) results from the conduct of the mind, when it is not acted upon by strong internal impressions ; from the power at those times of commanding the objects of its thoughts, and directing it to such as will detain its attention, exercise its faculties, and reward its pursuits.” Vol. II. p. 11.

“ It is a recommendation likewise of this mode of passing our time, that it is without expense of fortune ; and a still greater, that it is never followed by disgust or reproach.” Vol. II. p. 13.

Particular studies are then recommended, and their connection with piety and virtue is pointed out ; nor will his closing observation lose an atom of its value, by the change which, under God's blessing, has been effected, from the stormy and tempestuous state in which he wrote to the bright sunshine of the times in which we live. Gratitude is a better motive for piety than fear.

“ When a philosopher surveys the magnificence and stability of nature, seen in regions of immeasurable space—worlds revolving round worlds with inconceivable rapidity, yet with such exactness as to be found to circumsolve at the point where they are expected ; or when he sees upon the globe which he inhabits the same nature proceeding in her grand and beneficial operations with unconcerned regularity—when from these speculations his mind is carried to observe the strifes and contentions of men, the rise and decline of their institutions and establishments, what does he experience in the greatest of these changes but the little vicissitudes of little things ? Again, when he advances his meditations from the works of nature to its Author, his attributes, his dispensations, his promises, his word,

his will,—most especially, when he looks to the wonders and the mercies of a renovated existence, to the tutelary hand of his Creator, conducting him safely through the different stages of his being—through the grave and gate of death to an order of things disposed and appointed for the reward of faith and virtue, as the present is for trial and improvement ; when he reflects how entirely this change supersedes all others, how fast it approaches, and how soon it will take place—in what a state of inferiority, I had almost said of indifference, is every interest placed in which it is not included ? And if ever there was a time when that stedfastness of mind, which ought to result from the study and contemplation of divine subjects, is more wanted than at another, it is the present. It is our lot to live in a disturbed and eventful period. During the concussions which have shaken, and are yet shaking, the social edifice to its foundation ; in the fate which we have seen of every thing man calls great, of power, of wealth, and splendour—where shall thought find refuge, except in the prospects which Christianity unfolds, and in a well-grounded confidence that Christianity is true ? And this support will not fail us. Erect amidst the ruins of a tottering age, the pilgrim proceeds in his course without perturbation or dismay : endeavouring, indeed, according to his power, and interceding earnestly for, the peace and welfare of a world, through which he is but directing his constant eye to a more abiding city,—to that country beyond the great river, to which the sojourning tribes are bound, and where there remaineth rest for the people of God.” Vol. II. p. 17.

The same train of reasoning is afterwards pursued in a Charge upon the Amusements of the Clergy.

The following valuable observation occurs in one of the charges, page 343. After recommending the practice almost uniformly observed by the clergy in former times, of using interleaved Testaments or Bibles, for the purpose of recording their own comments or remarks, he thus proceeds :—

“ Another useful contrivance was a common-place book. This may be serviceable in every branch of science, and in every species of study ; but it is for me only at present to render it as applicable to the studies of a clergyman, and especially to what every clergyman must wish to be provided with, a due choice and variety of subjects for his public discourses, and an assortment of topics suitable to each. Mr. Locke long ago observed, that the most valuable of our thoughts are those which drop as it were into the mind by accident ; and no one exercised in these matters will be backward to allow, that they are almost always preferable to what is forced up from the mind by pumping, or as Milton has more strongly expressed it, ‘ wrung like drops of blood from the nose,’ that is, in plainer terms, to such as we are compelled to furnish at the time. This being so, it becomes of consequence to possess some means of preserving those ideas which our more fortunate moments may cast up, and to preserve them in

such order and arrangement that we can turn to them when we want them. I recommend, therefore, for this purpose, a common-place book for sermons, so contrived as to answer two ends ; first, to collect proper subjects ; and secondly, under each subject to collect proper sentiments. Whenever, which will happen more frequently than we expect, reading, meditation, conversation, especially with persons of the same class and rank of life as our congregations are composed of, what we hear them say, or what we perceive them to think, shall suggest any useful subject of discourse, of explanation, advice, caution, or instruction, let it be marked down at the time. We may not want it at the time, but let it be marked down. A distinct subject should stand at the head of a distinct page, and have a whole page left to it, in order that when afterwards any thing relating to the same subject is presented to our minds, it may be inserted under its proper head. By which means, when we sit down to the composition of a sermon, we have only to go to our book for a subject, and not only for a subject, but for many of the sentiments which belong to it, and the division of argument into which our doctrine will run. And these are more likely to be natural, solid, and useful, from the very circumstance of having occurred spontaneously and occasionally, instead of being sought by labour and straining.

“ In the office of composition, to which the remainder of my address will relate, there are three directions which appear to me to comprehend all that can be laid down as to artificial assistance. These are repeated transcribing, repeated revisions, and revisions with intervals of considerable length. The late Mr. Hartley, whose knowledge of human understanding no one will dispute, whenever he saw a faulty composition, was wont to say it had not been written over often enough. Whatever be the cause of it, there is no position of the mind which brings the attention so closely and separately to the words of a composition, both to their choice and arrangement, or which enables a writer to descry so readily his own mistakes and oversights, as that in which the act of transcribing places him. No man ever sketches over his composition without mending it. By reading, he may judge perhaps better of the texture and disposition of the argument, than by writing, because he takes in more parts at once ; his eye surveys a larger field : but for the language, for a minute and as I have called it, separate attention to sentences, expressions, and even words, and for all the advantage which a vigorous scrutiny can give, in point of correctness and propriety, one writing is worth many readings. It may be said, perhaps, that so much anxiety about diction will destroy one of the best properties of popular writing, ease of style and manner. The very reverse of this is the truth, unless we choose to call slovenliness ease. There are no compositions in the language which have been so admired for this very quality of ease as those of Mr. Sterne, yet none, I believe, ever cost their author more trouble. I remember to have seen a letter of his, in which he speaks of himself as having been incessantly employed for six months upon one small volume. I mention this for the

sake of those who are not sufficiently apprised, that in writing, as in many other things, ease is not the result of negligence, but the perfection of art." Vol. I. p. 342.

We would gladly make some extracts from his admirable charge upon local and occasional preaching, in which there is much practical good instruction and advice ; but our room will not admit of it, and indeed the substance of it has been given in the Sermons and Tracts before. We cannot, however, deny ourselves the pleasure of selecting an argument from another, in answer to the objections brought forward against the education of the poor, because we think it not only very ingenious and more important than at first sight it appears to be, but because, though the question may seem to be at rest, his reasoning, in more respects than one, may be applied to the present times. In early life most of the books furnished to the children by parents and masters, will generally be found favourable to virtue.

" In after life, bad books can always be met by good ones. If we should concede to the adversaries of education, the superior activity of those who circulate noxious writings to that of those who wish to diffuse wholesome knowledge, or the avidity and relish with which one sort are received more than the other, the consequence would only be diversity of sentiment ; and this is agreeable to experience. When men read and think, diversity of opinion ensues,—more perhaps than might be desired. Where men neither read nor reason, there is little diversity of opinion at all. Now what I contend for is, that amidst diversity of opinion, though it be an evil, public authority can support and maintain itself. The ascendancy which necessarily belongs to it, added to the reasons which strike every man in favour of order and tranquillity, will usually confer upon it strength sufficient to meet the difficulties which arise from diversity of sentiment. I have said, that where the bulk of the common people are kept in profound ignorance, there is seldom much diversity of sentiment amongst them : whilst, therefore, government continues in possession of this sentiment all is well—but how if this sentiment take an opposite direction ? how if it set in against the order of things which is established ? It then actuates the whole mass, and that mass moves with a force which can hardly be encountered. This is the case of most real danger, and this is a case most likely to arise where the common people are in a state of the greatest ignorance." Vol. I. p. 384.

The argument has been touched upon before, but no where, as we believe, so well stated.

From the other Sermons we cannot extract so much as we could desire.

On the duty of keeping up a sense of sin in our minds, besides some repetitions from a former sermon, will be found several passages that savour of the practical knowledge he possessed of the human mind.

“ ‘My sins have taken such hold upon me, that I am not able to look up.’ It is a strong significant expression, ‘have taken such hold upon me,’ for they do indeed take hold; they seize the mind. The remembrance of sin, with the reflections which belong to it, possesses, where it enters, the whole soul; and it ought to do so. As they take hold of the thoughts, so they do of the spirits. Men are disturbed in their spirits by the evils of life: but sin, when understood, makes the evils of life nothing: it displaces them, by presenting something more near to us than they are. The force with which sin perceived, sin understood, seizes the spirits and the thoughts, is well expressed by the Psalmist, when he tells of their taking hold of him. ‘And they overwhelm him with shame and confusion.’ It was not the shame of men, for his sins might be unknown to them: it was not *that* sort of confusion which he alludes to, but it was shame and confusion before God. And this very often exists in reality; nay, so much so, that the man who has never felt it ought to doubt with himself whether religion be indeed within him. It is a different thing from the shame of men: it is a secret humiliation and debasement, when we call to mind our behaviour as towards God. The Publican in the Gospel would not so much as lift up his eyes unto heaven. He felt his humiliation and self-debasement; yet was it entirely between his God and him. The Pharisee saw him afar off, but it is not said that he saw the Pharisee, or that he was moved by the presence of men, or by any consideration of the presence of men: nay, the contrary must be taken for granted, to give proper force and significance to the parable. It must be taken on the Publican’s part, to have been a secret and close communication with his Maker.” Vol I. p. 38.

The three Sermons upon Licentiousness and Debauchery, are full of excellent cautions, warnings and preservatives, and may be strongly recommended; and after all that has been urged by himself upon the Evidences, and by others upon the Propagation of Christianity, the last six Sermons in the second volume, upon these subjects, will be still read with great advantage and improvement.

One extract we shall make, for the purpose of affording a specimen of the force and effect he can give to an old statement differently directed. It is in page 365, 2d volume, and intended to shew, that the writers of the New Testament were faithful witnesses of what they related:

“ Now if the fact be established, which appears to me unquestionable, that the first teachers of Christianity suffered great extremities, and some of them death in the cause, and for the sake of their religion, it carries with it the strongest possible proof of the truth of that

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religion. One man relates a story—it appears to me so improbable in its own nature, that I could not bring myself to believe it; five or six others join with this man in the same agreement; this staggers, but by no means satisfies me—they protest over and over again—they declare it with every possible mark and expression of seriousness and earnestness—this also has some weight; but to come to the truth and certainty of the matter, I pretend that the relaters of this are, and treat them all as, impostors. I threaten them with imprisonment if they do not confess the truth, and retract the story—my threats have no effect; they answer they cannot but declare what they have seen and heard—I carry my threats into execution—confine them in prison—beat them with stripes—try what hunger, or cold, or nakedness, will do—not one of them relents—spite of all I can do, or all I threatened, they persevere in their original story: I consider that perhaps these people may be mistaken—nay, but I reflect, that is impossible; what they relate is not opinions and notions, but matters of fact, and of such a nature that they cannot be mistaken: what they tell us they saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears; they must know the truth or falsehood of what they say—either they are the most obstinate, deliberate impostors, or what they say, notwithstanding all its seeming improbabilities, must be true. I will make, however a decisive experiment. I will make this short proposal to them; either disown and give up your story, or prepare to suffer death—to seal your asseveration with your blood—some of them do so—what shall I now say? I can no longer refuse conviction.

“Now this description agrees in all its points with the case of Christianity. And upon this I rest—produce me an example of any one man, since the beginning of the world, voluntarily suffering death for what he knows to be false, and I give up the cause. If no such instance was ever heard of, I cannot see upon what grounds, or in what way, we can know right from wrong; or on what pretence we can reject the evidence of the apostles, martyrs, and first preachers of Christianity.” Vol. II. p. 365.

We cannot take our leave of this author, now for the last time, coming specifically under our review, without adverting once more to the general value and character of his labours as a Christian instructor and divine. He is said not to be an original writer, and with the exception of his *Horæ Paulinæ*, an original work, strictly speaking, and of inestimable value, the observation may be correct; but he has chosen a wiser path, and is entitled to higher praise. In striving for novelty and invention, upon a subject which has already occupied so many centuries, and employed so many minds, there is always danger of degenerating into what is frivolous or fanciful; but the direction his labours have taken, is not only valuable in itself, but admirably suited to his powers; and the judgment and sagacity with which he has selected topics of Christian evidence, the breadth and stability he has given to the foun-

datations upon which they rest, the fairness, the strength, the ingenuity of his reasoning, and the justness of his conclusions, will form a monument of his industry and talents, and a pillar of faith and truth, to which posterity will look with gratitude, when the memory of many other works, which may have amused their generation, will have passed away

ART. VIII. *Tremaine, or the Man of Refinement.* 3 Vols.
Colborn. 1825.

WORKS of imagination may promote and ought to promote the interests of religion and morals. The drama, the epic, and the romance, in the hands of men of genius have often produced a more extensive effect than writings avowedly didactic. Voltaire and Byron have done incalculable mischief. Milton and Shakespeare have done great good. But the result both good and bad would be materially different, if these writers had drawn out the various lessons inculcated in their works in the form of regular proposition. They teach us at present by a skilful delineation of character, or a natural succession of circumstances, to approve or condemn different principles and actions. The moral is woven into the texture of the story, and developed by the conduct and conversation of the actors. The artist manifests his skill in the personification of general ideas, and employs an individual character to exhibit and enforce an universal truth. We learn without the fatigue of study, and are conscious that knowledge has increased, while our object was amusement and relaxation. The ear that is closed against remonstrance or argument, gathers up the lessons communicated by feeling and imagination; and even where there is no approach to morbid sensibility, the whole man; passions and understanding, instinct and reason, yields to a power which can excite and controul him in every scene of his diversified existence. It is to this that works of fiction owe their value. If they are merely calculated to instruct, the task might be accomplished better by an essay or a sermon. If they are merely calculated to amuse, they descend almost always to the level of a vulgar novel. A pernicious love of variety is engendered and fed; the intellect is dissipated rather than refreshed; and the novel-reader becomes unequal to the exertion of serious thought; wastes his time in unprofitable idleness, and brings disgrace, in the eyes of the hasty reasoner, upon every one who writes or reads works of imagination.

Religious novels are intended to remedy this defect. An author desires to make his story instructive, but does not know how to set about it. His abilities are calculated for the Minerva Press. But bent upon reforming the age in which he lives, he humbly conceives that the task may be done, by interlarding an every-day novel with discussions and dialogues, religious and moral. The skill and invention of the poet are not wanted. The precision and gravity of the philosopher are dispensed with, and half a dozen common place sermons engrafted upon the adventures of a circulating library romance, compose an edifying book for boarding school and family instruction.

This is bad enough; yet things are ten times worse when the work is decidedly religious. Then the name and works and worship of the Deity are mixed up most unbecomingly with the loves of the hero and the heroine, and the chit-chat of their various friends. Then, as in certain puritanical coteries, we are invited by the novellist to a 'tea and bible' party; and are expected to discuss the gravest subjects in the lightest mood, and with the most superficial knowledge. Then we are to listen to the pious rhapsodies of a Frederick and a Matilda, interspersed with occasional remarks by Mr. Trueman, or Mr. Faithful. The doubts and scruples of an ingenuous youth or blushing damsel are removed by love and argument; and the history concludes with some half-dozen marriages after the newest and most approved pattern. To this class of works we decidedly object. As literary compositions, they cannot stand the test of genuine criticism. As moral lessons, they are calculated to do more harm than good.

They furnish a plausible excuse for reading the most contemptible trash. They corrupt the taste, and mislead the understanding. And if they became extensively popular, they would turn our wives and daughters into controversial divines, or pragmatistical infidels.

A large portion of these remarks may be applied to 'Tremaine.' With great pretensions, inherent and extraneous, it is in fact a religious novel; characters and incidents make a very small part of the three volumes. The story can hardly be called a vehicle for the metaphysical theology with which it is connected. They are placed in uninterrupted contact, but might be separated by the rudest hand, without mutilation or injury. If the novel were printed in the first volume, and the dialogues upon the attributes and providence of God, upon the immateriality and immortality of the soul, upon the responsibility of man, predestination and free-will, in the second and third, the effect of the whole would be un-

changed. Instead of common place adventures, embellished by scepticism and religion, we should have the story in a nutshell, and the philosophy would appear in its proper dress. Readers would thus know what they were about. The novel fancier would amuse himself for half an hour with the 'gracious' Georgina, and the refined Tremaine; while the inquirer after truth fastened eagerly upon the Appendix, in hopes of satisfying a voracious appetite, and finding employment for a strong digestion.

This circumstance is fatal to the claim of first rate literary merit, which has been made for the author of Tremaine. Admitting that he is not quite on a level with the ordinary religious novelist, we must still deny that he has written a powerful work of imagination, or given the semblance of life and reality to fictitious circumstances and characters. His story is a poor one throughout; and it breaks down completely in the third volume, and leaves us to chapter after chapter of barefaced theology. If this theology were of the most valuable kind, its introduction would still be awkward and ill-contrived; and the poverty of invention which is betrayed throughout, would be a formidable defect. When we consider the nature and extent of the reasoning, the error appears inexcusable; and the work assumes that fourth-rate consequence, which limits its circulation to the season that gave it birth.

The author, or rather the editor (for according to the ridiculous humbug of the day, we have an unknown author, and an editor in masquerade) informs us, that he cannot tell whether the story be true; but that it is certainly practical. We doubt the fact; and we must quote Tremaine in support of our hesitation. His character is thus described in the introductory chapter:—

“ We have said that Tremaine was in the meridian of his age. He had formerly read much, and he had lived a great deal in the world, though chiefly in the highest circles of it; a sort of natural or early acquired fastidiousness having, even as a younger brother, forbidden much mixture with any other.

“ Being the younger son of a younger brother, he was designed, having much quickness of parts, for a learned profession. There was a considerable family living which might have made him easy in fortune, and accordingly he gave some little time to Divinity. But this pursuit did not prevent the cultivation of those high acquaintance, among whom his own connections threw him, and whose manners and notions were particularly pleasing to his frame of mind. He indeed, at first, loved the court, for the sunshine with which it often dazzles a young bosom: and he thought at one time of pursuing a court life, but soon drew back from finding that his heart had need of better

things. In short, if fashionable society had charms for him, literature and reflection had more ; or at least it was always doubtful to which he was most devoted. This disposition at once to refinement and sensibility, pushed as far as it would go, formed at length a peculiarity in his character which never quitted him ; nor was it at all diminished by his being, at the same time, not only peculiarly alive to the charms of female society, but fastidiously nice in his notions of female character. That with much susceptibility, therefore, he was still a bachelor, though approaching the middle of life, that he should even have seemed to take his leave of the sex, is not at all inconsistent. His fastidiousness, though always allied to integrity and feeling, coloured, indeed all his pursuits ; his earlier conduct scarcely more than his subsequent fate.

“ Finding, therefore, many of his tastes promoted by the pursuit of the ecclesiastical profession, and none of them thwarted, he listened to the advice given him by his friends, and the advantage held out by the head of his family, in the promise of the living before mentioned.

“ Let it not be thought, however, that Tremaine was sordid. He had been early imbued with piety, and was always benevolent ; and although his predilection for polished manners kept him too often from showing that disposition in any active mingling of himself with his fellow creatures, he was always alive to their wants, and never failed to relieve them when he could.

“ Tremaine’s first impressions in Divinity delighted him. A great first cause, with all its million of consequences, ramified in endless curiosity ;—a deep research into antiquity, tradition, criticism, and even poetry—held possession of his soul for a time. But at length metaphysics came, and what was worse, metaphysical jargon ! His mind was appalled, more perhaps through his taste than his understanding ; and having left his landmarks, he betook himself to Bolingbroke and Voltaire, instead of proceeding with the Bible. In short, he dabbled with instead of studying ‘ Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,’ till, like the devils who had dabbled before him, he

‘ Found no end, in wandering mazes lost.’

“ He embraced, indeed, a kind of Epicurean notion of the Deity, which while it confessed his existence, by denying every thing else, rendered it of little consequence whether he existed or not ; and after trying a little, and but a little, to unravel the difficulties in which he had enwrapped himself, and which task the subtlety of his own mind only rendered a more hopeless one, he thought it right to refuse the living, and renounce the church.

“ Had he been contented with this, he might have been rewarded by the approbation which at least his disinterestedness and principle deserved. But, unfortunately for himself, he was not sufficiently decided against the tenets he had rejected, to render his satisfaction perfect in the sacrifice he had made. An amiable and sincere clergyman, apparently happy in the performance of his duties, always made him doubtful ; and he was disposed to seek refuge, at last, in an opi-

nion which he took pains (though here also without success) to render as fixed as he could, that all church ceremonies were useless, and almost all churchmen insincere.

“ He was indeed too naturally just not to feel uneasy at this ; for he had a disposition, particularly in his youth, to feel

‘ All various Nature pressing on the heart ;’

and he was always happiest when most under that influence.

“ At the same time, a listless temper, operating upon an over-delicate taste, made him too often reject what, if not rejected, might have made him happy.

“ Tremaine’s unsatisfied mind having induced him to reject the church, he endeavoured to find anchorage in the certainty of the law. That is, for about twelve months he studied its philosophy in the moralists—its antiquities in the historians—and its rewards in the splendour which attends upon the eloquence of counsel, and the honours of the bench. But he studied them in his lodgings in May Fair, not at the Temple ; for except at the only dinner he ate in the Temple Hall, when he *endeavoured* to keep a term, he never was known to have been in an Inn of Court. He once, indeed, heard the Chancellor from the woolsack in the House of Lords, on a great constitutional question ; and he once heard a distinguished popular advocate, in mitigation of the crime of a young woman of high birth, who, sacrificed by her family to a man she could not love, and who did not love her, fell, after a struggle, into the arms of the man who had always possessed her heart.

“ It was the impression produced by these speeches that sent him to the law : but the bent of character above described, soon sent him back again. His over-delicate and sickly fancy could not endure law society. The hard sense, indeed, which he there met with sometimes arrested his understanding, but the pedantry in which it was attired, absolutely petrified him. Spoiled by his prejudices, if not by sheer finery, he stayed not to discover, as he might have done, the genius, taste, and real elegance of mind which belong to many, who are yet the most learned at the bar. As to their females, having once ventured to one of their assemblies in Lincoln’s-Inn Fields, he escaped, after an hour’s purgatory, vowing never to see another.

“ No arguments of his friends could persuade him that happiness of any kind could be found in what he called such a second-rate profession. Though his patrimony was now almost exhausted, he betook himself to arms, and entered the guards. Here at least he was sure of finding honourable feeling, polished manners, and gallantry of spirit. He made a campaign, and obtained distinction ; that is, such distinction as a captain of a company could acquire. But from the lateness of his entry into the army, he had the mortification to find himself commanded by persons some years his juniors, some of whom had been his inferiors at school, and none of whom, while he was obliged to obey them, he was willing to acknowledge his superiors. It is true, his family interest placed him at head-quarters ; but it was not there that he was always likely to

feel satisfied. He was indeed remarked as a sort of *frondeur*, who was ever commending merit which others did not choose to allow, and advocating the claims of officers who had nothing but their friendlessness to recommend them. Yet he was often forced to confess that even these by no means reached, in personal qualifications, the high notions he had formed of the military character; and some of them at last, abandoning him as their protector, got before him by the lowest arts of flattery and the most vicious complaisance.

"This excited new disgusts. The whole constitution of the army, he said, was wrong; it was a mistake to suppose it composed of gentlemen; it neither rewarded nor ennobled its members. In this state of things he came to a downright quarrel with his General (a relation of his own), for sending home one of his staff with the intelligence of a victory, when another had distinguished himself more in the battle. It was in vain the General condescended to point out, that, in order to avoid invidious distinction, a rule had been adopted to send home officers in their turn. He served out the campaign, and at the end of it quitted the army, with some addition to his reputation on the score of gallantry, and not a little on the score of discontent. Thus situated, his mind soured, his hopes crossed, his youth wasted, and his fortune spent, an employment of some consequence was offered him about the court; but as it was also a political employment, which required its possessor to support the minister, and as the politics of his family had ever led them to opposition, he unhesitatingly declined it, assigning the true reason. This gave him considerable *éclat*, particularly as he was known to be poor; and it was under these circumstances, that, by the death of an uncle and cousin nearly at the same time, he suddenly found himself master of an immense estate.

"Tremaine was now not far from thirty, and his heart beat high at the prospects before him. He resolved to be happy, and if the indulgence of a disposition boundless in generosity, and naturally kind, could confer happiness, he ought to have found it; for it were endless to recount the instances of his active bounty to all who stood in need of it. Many a family rescued from perdition, and many a companion of his less prosperous life, pushed in the world, beyond even hope, by his assistance, bore living and joyful witness to the fidelity of his attachments and the largeness of his heart.

"But with all this, he was more spoilt than ever. Though no longer in the heyday of youth, he might yet be called young. All things seemed to court him, yet his temper grew more and more delicate; and as to his natural fastidiousness, never having discovered that, he of course took no pains to correct it." Vol. I. p. 10.

The author considers this a noble character, and repeatedly assures us, that the mind of his hero was of the highest class. The three volumes are devoted to a description; in the first place, of this refined gentleman's *amourettes*, in which he proved himself a considerable fool: in the next

place, of his politics, in which he was very like other people; in the third, of his *ennui*, which is exceedingly tiresome; and in the fourth and last, of the cure for all his follies, administered by a country clergyman and his pretty daughter. The old gentleman argues, and the young lady smiles. Mr. Tremaine thinks they dislike him because he is thirty-eight years of age, and is astounded at being told that his scepticism is their only objection. To cure his scepticism, he flies first to Oxford, and secondly to France; studies Cudworth and Spinoza; meets his father-in-law-to-be, in a tower by the side of the Loire, and a great deal of love, and a little argument, persuade him to believe not in Christianity, but in Providence and a future state. This conversion is deemed satisfactory, and Mr. Tremaine's addresses are accepted accordingly. The heroine recovers from her incipient decline; and the story ends with marriage and settling in Yorkshire.

We think that this is a poor conversion. The scepticism to be cured is of an unusual and unnatural character. It is removed by an insufficient and unsatisfactory process. In reality, Tremaine appears to be the victim of idleness. His infidelity is taken up in a lounging *poco-curante* style. He continues at the great age of thirty-eight, a willing slave to fashion; and then he suddenly turns round, not in his proper character, of one who does not believe in religion, because it would be infinitely too much trouble; but of a deep thinker, an extensive reader, a reluctant advocate for materialism, fate and chance. This is out of all keeping. Many a dandy sceptic the world actually contains, and the animal is offensive above measure. But a dandy who strives to believe, and cannot; a dandy who strives in vain to persuade himself that his soul is immortal, we have never yet happened to see nor hear of. To make the character of Tremaine consistent, he should have thought the Bible infinitely beneath his notice; he should have thought that his own penetration and reason could teach him all that men desire to know; he should have admitted, that such and such religious truths might possibly be true, and then have been too busy to make up his mind about them. Instead of this, he is a dogmatical unbeliever; ransacks the Boyle lectures for objections to natural religion; is converted by the same lectures, to something like a belief in it; and then the curtain drops; the worthy clergyman's great task is done; Christianity is expected to follow, as a matter of course; and the present generation is to be edified and reformed, by this glorious triumph of love and argument over a shallow coxcomb who thinks himself a philosopher.

As a specimen of the philosophy, we give the following passage:—

“ You have made out this, too, better than I expected,” proceeded Tremaine; “ but, if I understand you, we must at best fall back upon our old difficulty, since you prove all to be the act of Heaven, the leader—not of man, the led. For although you guard yourself by the salvo that the will is free to determine, yet if the motives presented are sufficient to produce the determination, I see no difference between that and positive force. In your illustration, you supposed a few leaders to propound all business of the House of Commons. They, then, in effect do that business; and if so, though those who adopt it, may in fact be free, yet the junta alone are principally and really responsible. The effect of this upon our question is obvious; for, from your own account, it is Heaven that moves us, though we think we move ourselves, in the same manner as I toss an apple before a child to make him move in the direction I wish him. Thus, then, all our acts are God’s acts; and though, spite of the mechanism you have supposed, some responsibility may attach upon us, yet, in effect, all that is done, being done by Heaven, the evil and sins of the world have Heaven for their instigator. This is fearful, and from you I looked for a far different exposition.”

“ This is no more than what I expected from one so keen in objection,” replied Evelyn. “ Nay, I will own to you, I think it the greatest difficulty in the whole subject. Still I think it may be solved.”

“ If it can, you will have my eternal thanks,” said Tremaine.

“ At least be assured,” continued Evelyn, “ that I mean no such impiety as that Heaven is the author of sin. In order to this, I would beg you for ever to keep in mind, that there is a broad and marked distinction *between an event, and the moral conduct that produces it*. The event, according to us, must always be God’s, either by his willing, or suffering it to be brought about; the manner of bringing it about may be entirely the agent’s.”

“ This is important,” said Tremaine.

“ Again, the agency may be of a nature either virtuous or vicious, according to the character of the agent employed; which character is his own, and is not affected from the mere circumstance of his being used as an agent. A physician may use violent or gentle remedies, as best suits the nature of the case, yet is he not the author of the poison, or the emollient, which it may be necessary to administer.”

“ Proceed,” said Tremaine.

“ If a poison, therefore, be to be administered as a medicine, our physician does not make it more a poison, because he mix it up, or give it to his patient. So, if the Almighty, in his wisdom, chuse to remove even a good man from the world, or, for impenetrable purposes of his own, to occasion his downfall, or try him by any severity of discipline, (of all which we never can be the judges,) should he do this through the instrumentality of wickedness, and a man who, in his free-agency, has become ripe and ready for this instrumentality,”

"I see your meaning," said Tremaine; "and allow that Heaven, though it ordain the event, does not cause the wickedness."

"On the contrary," returned Evelyn; "so determined might the Deity be to leave man perfectly free, that in casting the scheme of his dispensations when he originally created mankind, he might, according to my theory, from foreseeing what every man would do in given circumstances, have originally shaped his own government of nature accordingly."

"This would allow him even to alter, or accommodate his plans; but is it possible," said Tremaine, "that you can mean to go so far?"

"It is so clear from all we see of the powers of God," replied Evelyn, "that nothing can happen without him; and also so clear, that he has left us free to determine of ourselves upon our actions, that I am ready to go any length, not amounting to impossibility, in explaining the seeming inconsistency."

"Do you mean then," asked Tremaine, "that if any very wicked man, Borgia, for example, had chosen in his free-will to be virtuous, that the course of things originally in the Divine mind, would have been affected by it?"

"I go all that length," said Evelyn.

"This is the most extraordinary doctrine I ever heard," observed Tremaine, yet seriously revolving the train to which this led.

"It is not altogether new," returned Evelyn; "at least there is a very curious dialogue of Laurentius Valla, quoted and enlarged by Leibnitz in his Essay upon the Goodness of God, and the Free-will of Man. In this, he supposes Sextus Tarquinius to consult the Delphic oracle as to his fate. It is predicted. He complains. The oracle refers him to Jupiter and the Destinies; to whom he bemoans himself, and says, they might have made him happy if they had pleased. Jupiter answers, it is you who determine your own lot. You *chuse* to go to Rome to be a king, and I know best what will happen there if you do. Give up going to Rome, *and the Destinies will spin another thread for you*. Sextus does not see why he should give up the chances of being a king, and thinks he may avoid the evils of a visit to Rome, and be a good monarch notwithstanding. He goes, and is undone."

"This is amusing," said Tremaine; "but how does this come up to your doctrine?"

"The story is not ended," observed Evelyn, "Theodosius, the high-priest and favourite of Jupiter, is a little shocked at the answer to Sextus, and submissively begs to know, whether he might not have been allowed to be a good king as he desired. Jupiter, through Minerva, shows him the palace of the Destinies, in which are the plans of many worlds, varying according to the choice and actions of men. In some of these, he sees Sextus, under another choice, exceedingly happy; but he had chosen as above stated, and the plan of the world he was in was shaped accordingly."

"This is a profound speculation," observed Tremaine.

"It is so," said Evelyn; "but I wish you to pursue it. It will

show you that men who have chosen ill may be used by the Almighty for his own purposes, yet they, and not Heaven, be the authors of their own sin. Having chosen sinfully beyond redemption, God may then make use of them, and for a while appear to let them prosper till his purposes are answered. It is in this sense that many a scriptural phrase of seemingly dangerous ambiguity is to be explained, where God is supposed to *harden* men in their sins; to have hardened Pharaoh's heart, for instance, than which, without such explanation, few expressions can be so liable to abuse."

"This account is not without satisfaction," said Tremaine; "for I own this very point has often provoked, as well as baffled, my inquiries."

"You will observe," continued Evelyn, "that I have supposed the case of a suffering good man destined to trial." Vol. III. p. 253.

We do not object to this explanation, but it is neither very powerful nor very new. Mr. Tremaine, however, is perfectly satisfied; and the question we put to the author and editor is, what sort of scepticism was Mr. Tremaine's, when it withered away before such common observations! Had he been the confirmed and learned infidel that he is here and there stated to be, he could easily have made a stouter resistance against the assaults of the well-meaning Mr. Evelyn. Occasionally he states the standing difficulties and objections, with smartness, if not with precision; but the first shot from the enemy's battery, puts his forces in disorder, and every body can perceive that there is weakness or treachery in the camp.

On the whole, perhaps, we have under-rated the Man of Refinement. We do not deny that he supplies us with some good dialogues and descriptions, with an occasional touch of mirthful satire; but he does not come up to that pitch of greatness upon which he has been placed by partial admirers. There is no proof that the author lives in the best society, or has read good books. His knowledge of the fashionable world may all have been acquired at second hand. His learning, if genuine, is tinctured with pedantry; if fictitious, it deserves to be laughed at. But there are several successful scenes; the general character is amiable, and the general effect not uninteresting. Some of the episodes, of which, by the way, there are far too many, form pretty little stories; and if the great story had been worked up with equal diligence, the work would have deserved a better character. We extract the history of young Lord St. Clair, a temporary rival of Mr. Tremaine, as a specimen of the author's lighter manner. If the rest of the novel had been composed in a similar strain, and the

philosophy reserved for a separate treatise, the readers of every class would have rejoiced.

“ LORD Viscount St. Clair had been bred at Eton, and afterwards at Cambridge. At the first of these he learned to construe most of the odes of Horace; at the last, he took an honorary degree. He afterwards travelled into Greece and Italy, with a gentleman, whose expenses he paid, and who published his tour in a thick quarto, in which my lord's name was mentioned not less than seven or eight times. On his return, he began to collect a library, and filled a large room with curious editions, and specimens of the antique from Athens. Being of an active disposition, he had not time to cultivate his literary taste, but made up for it by a very laborious attention to politics, and for the first three months of his first session in the House of Commons never missed a division, in which he voted always with the ministry, and was more than once appointed a teller. Emboldened by this success, he the next session volunteered moving the address; but being of very independent principles, and moreover having been rather impertinently rallied by his companions at the clubs in St. James's Street (to all of which he belonged), on his devotion to the court, he the very next day voted against his friends, to shew his independence, and continued to do so ever afterwards.

“ All this created for him considerable reputation; and his table for the rest of that session was covered with political pamphlets, many of them from the authors.

“ There is no saying to what this career might not have led; but his father dying, and having acquired a taste for architecture in his travels, he pulled down the Gothic mansion at St. Clair, and built up a handsome Italian villa in its stead. During this time he made a collection of all the books upon architecture that had been published for the last hundred years, most of the plates of which he actually inspected. He also betook himself to planting, and understood Bishop Watson's calculation on the value of larches perfectly well.

“ It is seldom that a person dedicated to ambition, literature and the arts, embraces amusements requiring violent personal exertion; but being of a very versatile genius, Lord St. Clair became a member of the Leicestershire hunt, and at length (having entered several horses at Newmarket) of the Jockey Club.

“ Still there was wanting something to the universality of his reputation; and a nobleman of celebrity having just then broke with her, he formed a ‘liaison,’ rather ‘dangereuse,’ with a certain Pauline, who was at that time at the pinnacle of fashion. This giving his mother some uneasiness, to whom he was always particularly dutiful, (visiting her and his new house the first of every September), he had the greatness and piety to give up his mistress, at a considerable expense indeed, though after a calculation which only did honour to his skill both in figures and self-knowledge. By the first of these he found he could get rid of the lady for little more than one year's purchase; by the last, that it had been some time since he had not cared a farthing about her. But this being acci-

dental, and at any rate not known to all the world, did not at all diminish his character as an excellent son.

"All this made him, as was natural, a very considerable person; and being now eight-and-twenty, and blessed with a suitable fortune, every body had begun to speculate upon the lady he would marry. Nay, there were many bets upon it at White's. Some of these pointed at the family of a noble peer, high in office, merely because our viscount was in opposition, an anomaly, which has in fact, much to the credit of our liberality of manners, become exceedingly in fashion. Others, again, propounded an opinion that he had either too much impetuosity, or too much indifference, to be within any speculation at all as to marriage; and that if he married, he would *commit* matrimony, as he had every thing else.

"Such was St. Clair." Vol. II. p. 336.

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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
FOR JUNE, 1825.

ART. I.—*Literæ Sacræ; or, The Doctrines of Moral Philosophy and Scriptural Christianity Compared. In a Series of Letters.* Longman. pp. 331. 1825.

THE deistical writers who appeared in England in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though they differed amongst themselves on almost every other point, concurred in asserting the universality, the sufficiency, and the absolute perfection of natural religion; and, consequently, rejected all extraordinary and particular revelation, as inadequate and unnecessary. The first of these, in point of time, who attempted to reduce deism into a consistent system, was that singularly-gifted man, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was distinguished above all modern deists, by the vigour of his intellect, the extent of his learning, the purity of his morals, and, more than all, by his deep and unfeigned piety. According to his system of natural theology, the whole of religion is contained in the five following articles: 1, that there is one supreme God; 2, that he is to be worshipped; 3, that virtue joined with piety, is the best mode of worshipping him; 4, that we must repent of our sins to obtain pardon; and 5, that there is a future state of reward and punishment after this life is ended: these, he asserts, are certain common notions or principles, which God has imprinted on the minds of men, and which have been universally acknowledged in every age and clime, and under every form of exterior worship. It must be admitted, that they are, indeed, clear truths, to which, when they are distinctly proposed and fully developed, no rational being can well refuse his assent; but the question is, in what way the knowledge of them was first imparted to mankind. That they are common principles, or innate notions, intuitively apprehended, and universally acknowledged, is a gross and palpable mistake, which Locke has solidly confuted in detail, and into which it is truly surprising, that a man of Lord Herbert's great parts, and acute observations, should have fallen. But living, as he did, in the full light of Christianity,

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and having from his earliest years imbibed these principles, which, to his maturer reason, subsequently appeared indisputably certain, he seems to have persuaded himself, that the same knowledge was imparted to all mankind, and that the truth of these maxims was intuitively perceived by every rational being: by this singular process, unconsciously employing the light of revelation to prove a revelation needless. The sufficiency and perfection of natural religion could hardly be denied, and the necessity or expedience of revelation could hardly be maintained, were it certain, that all mankind, in all ages, countries, and religions, were universally agreed in the belief of these fundamental principles: concerning which it would make little difference, whether they were properly innate, and originally imprinted by God himself on the human mind, or so plainly written in the book of nature, that every reasoning creature must of necessity acquire a distinct knowledge and full assurance of them. Were these five articles really innate notions, as Lord Herbert believed, they must, of course, be universally acknowledged, and it would be as impossible that any rational man should call them in question, as that he should doubt his own personal identity; neither could they be impaired or effaced, into whatever depths of ignorance and barbarism mankind might be precipitated. Thus, he himself declares, that he would sooner doubt whether the beams of the sun enlightened the earth, than suppose that the knowledge of God, the evidences of whose being and attributes are so obvious from his works, did not enlighten the minds of its inhabitants. Yet a little enquiry will shew, that none of these truths were so fully and so universally acknowledged in the world, as to make a further revelation needless; and that some of them are rather matters of pure revelation, than discoverable by the unassisted reason of mankind: and as Lord Herbert's system of catholic theology places deism in the most advantageous point of view, and it will be impossible to deny his conclusions if we admit his premises, it is of great importance to enquire, whether his innate self-evident notions have been universally admitted, either by the ancient heathens, or by the more enlightened deists of modern times. We call them *more enlightened*, because they enjoyed the light of the christian revelation, of which some, as Lord Herbert and Tindal, availed themselves to a considerable extent, though others resolutely closed their eyes against it.

With respect to his two first articles, that there is one supreme God, and that he is chiefly to be worshipped, which have far the fairest claims to be entitled self-evident principles

of religion, few who have examined the systems of pagan polytheism and idolatry, will arrive at the same conclusion with this extraordinary man, that the notion and belief of one supreme God, the Maker and Lord of the universe, the sole object of our adoration, is indelibly imprinted by him on the human mind; fewer still, who remember how cruel and unnatural, how impure and impious, how absurd and ludicrous were many of the rites and ceremonies of heathen worship, will be disposed to admit, that the proper manner in which God is to be worshipped, was universally acknowledged by them, much less that all mankind intuitively perceive that the Deity is chiefly honoured by the practice of piety and virtue. Again; that if men repent of their sins, God will pardon them; it is certain that mankind are not universally agreed as to what is sinful; many enormous vices having been openly practised and defended by the philosophers, and sanctioned both by the priests and legislators of the heathen world; and as to repentance, it would be as difficult to shew that any ancient writers employed the word in the same sense in which we do now, and Lord Herbert himself unquestionably used it, as it would be easy to prove, that their chief hopes of pardon were placed in various lustrations, expiations, and atonements, the due performance of which, constituted the most remarkable part of the ancient heathen worship. And as to the very important doctrine of future rewards and punishments, their apprehension of it was in the highest degree obscure and indefinite; and, such as it was, neither derived, nor derivable, from any observation of the constitution and course of nature. How very faint are the probabilities which the analogy of nature suggests, that death is not the termination of our being, but that we may continue to exist in a future state of life and perception, the celebrated work of Bishop Butler very fairly proves; for though all the arguments which natural religion can supply in support of this awful truth are there accumulated, and placed in the strongest light, instead of establishing the point, they merely serve to shew that the thing is *possible*, and that there is nothing in the analogy of nature *contrary* to the doctrines of revelation respecting a future state of reward and punishment. A future state of existence being admitted, that it will be a state of reward to the good, and punishment to the bad, is, indeed, rendered very highly probable by what we actually experience of God's moral government in this present life. One of Bishop Butler's arguments to prove, that the destruction of our present organs of perception affords no presumption that the living agent itself will be destroyed, though it

does not prove *that* point, seems to afford a strong presumption in favour of the christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body. "By the experience of dreams," he says, "we find we are possessed of a latent, and, what would otherwise be an unimagined unknown power of perceiving sensible objects in as strong and lively a manner, without our external organs of sense as with them." Now this is a great mistake; for it is demonstrable that, in our dreams, sensations are conveyed to the mind, not *without* the external organs of sense, but *by them*. The fact is highly curious. In sleep, the mind acts on the organs of sense, and causes a revival of former impressions on them. Thus men who are blind with *cataract*, (which does not affect the optic nerve,) though they cannot see when they are awake, constantly see in their dreams. But persons who are blind with *gutta serena*, (by which the optic nerve itself is injured,) never dream that they see. Hence it should appear, that the external organs of sense are so indispensable, that we can hold no intercourse whatever with sensible objects, but by their means; and, consequently, the analogy of nature renders it in the highest degree probable, that, for the consummation of our happiness, our bodies will be restored to us in a future state. But this by the way. Let us enquire whether the modern deists have agreed in acknowledging these supposed fundamental articles of natural religion, any better than the ancient heathens.

Those who desire full satisfaction on this point, may consult, if they please, Dr. Leland's "View of the Deistical Writers," in which they will see it incontrovertibly proved from their own writings, that, except in the belief of a Deity, and the rejection of all revelation, they neither agree with one another, nor with themselves; acknowledging, indeed, the being of a God, but denying, for the most part, his particular providence; representing prayer as rather displeasing than acceptable to him, and, as at the best, superfluous, since things will go on in their appointed course, whether we pray to God, or not; ridiculing the notion of repentance, as unworthy of God, and degrading to mankind; and, above all, almost unanimously rejecting the belief of a future state of reward and punishment, describing it with Lord Bolingbroke, as "an invention of the ancient theists, philosophers and legislators, to give additional strength to the sanctions of the law of nature," yet affirming, that the moral proofs on which it rests "are precarious, to say no worse of them," and that "*revelation apart*, all the phenomena from our birth to our death seem repugnant to the immateriality and immortality of the soul." In short, the system of universal religion, as it is

developed in the writings of these later infidels, with the exception of Lord Herbert, who alone of all the deists, seems to have been influenced by a spirit of purity and piety, scarcely inferior to that by which his saintly brother was distinguished in the church of Christ, with this single exception; the theological system of later infidels will be found subversive of the principal foundations of religion, both natural and revealed, and destructive of all sound morality and virtue. They rejected the doctrines of revelation, because the fundamental principles of our holy faith are so humiliating to the pride of man, and the restraints which it imposes on his irregular desires are so intolerable. Lord Herbert, on the contrary, by a mistaken apprehension of the doctrines of our redemption, and of the terms of our pardon and acceptance with God through Christ's mediation and atonement, objected to the Christian religion, that it held out encouragement to sin, by offering forgiveness on too easy terms. His deism, indeed, which he persuaded himself was a pure system of mere natural religion, though it was not christianity, (for it wanted the peculiar doctrines which immediately refer to the offices of the Son and the Holy Spirit of God in the work of our justification and sanctification) was, unquestionably revealed religion; but mutilated, and robbed of its divine authority; for whatever is by one man's reason propounded to others from the book of nature, as an article of religious belief, will always be received as a matter of doubtful disputation. The being of a God, the maker and governor of the universe, though it be a truth which nature has every where written in the plainest characters, is one of which there is no ground to think, that unassisted reason would ever have discovered it; and notwithstanding the confident boastings of deistical writers, of the universality and perfection of natural religion, as opposed to revelation, which they represent as partial and inadequate, the fact appears to be, that there never was any such thing as mere natural religion in the world.

The question is, from what source mankind derived the *first notices* of those fundamental truths which have been assigned as the basis of natural religion; and when it is considered, that the notion of a Deity has been found to obtain even amongst the most barbarous and unenlightened nations, and yet that the proof which natural religion affords of the Divine Being and attributes is singularly abstruse, and that the chief arguments on which it rests, are not accessible, except to those who have made very considerable proficiency in physical science, it is hardly possible to imagine, that the first knowledge of this great truth was imparted to the world

otherwise than in the way of a divine revelation. It seems, indeed, difficult to conceive, that the Creator should have concealed from our first parents the knowledge of himself, and of the worship which they owed him. Again, when it is considered, that the primitive religion consisted of little more than the rite of animal sacrifice; that this rite, together with the notion of vicarious atonement, was universally admitted throughout the gentile world; that in many countries, perhaps in most, the custom of human sacrifices prevailed, and that, especially in the nations of Phenicia and Canaan, parents immolated their best-loved and first-born children to avert calamity from themselves; that the efficacy of bloody sacrifices to expiate the sins of men, has so little foundation in natural analogy, that the great doctrine of atonement, through the vicarious sufferings and death of Christ, is the chief stumbling block at which unbelievers take offence; and that, setting revelation aside, no satisfactory or consistent account can be given of the universal prevalence of this mysterious institution in every quarter of the world; its origin must almost of necessity be ascribed to positive divine appointment. And if we are constrained to admit the fact of divine communications vouchsafed to mankind in the infancy of society, which if we deny, we shall be driven into insuperable difficulties; the great objection to subsequent divine revelations, as the Mosaic and the Christian, on the score of their being incredible, and irreconcilable with what we experience of God's method of dealing with his creatures, will be completely obviated; and in opposition to the deistical writers who have so unwarrantably exalted natural religion, at the expense of that which is revealed, we may utterly defy them to prove, that, independent of all divine revelations, mere natural religion has ever existed in the world. Add to this, that the analogy of nature, instead of instructing men to hope that their sins will be pardoned on repentance, would rather lead them to conclude, that, at least in sins of a deeper dye, repentance will be wholly unavailing; for we learn, by every day's experience, that by wilfulness, or even by mere inattention to their affairs, men may draw upon themselves the heaviest calamities, from which no subsequent efforts of repentance and amendment can relieve them; and, lastly, considering that not only the belief of a future state is left on the deistical hypothesis in a state of extreme uncertainty, but that the other doctrines of natural religion want confirmation and authority to ensure their general reception, and to produce their full effect in the world; it is hard to imagine on what grounds an unprejudiced mind can deny that a revelation

was necessary, and consequently, that it was suitable to the divine goodness to afford one to mankind.

But whilst we reject the notion of the paramount supremacy of natural religion, we must not call into question its evident utility on pretence of exalting revelation; for as the Almighty speaks to his creatures by his works, as well as by his word, and both the book of nature and the book of revelations proceed from the same author, we shall find that the most perfect harmony subsists between them. The skilful Christian teacher may often, like St. Paul, appeal with success to the manifestations of the divine power and goodness, which are displayed throughout his creation, and thus make use of the law of nature itself as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ; and by unfolding the analogies of natural and revealed religion, he may convince the deist, that the very same objections, which he urges against Christianity, may by the atheist be pressed with equal force against the acknowledgment of a God, who is the author and sovereign of nature; in other words, that his objections are absurd and untenable. And it must likewise be admitted, that the study of the book of nature is of great service to those who are already believers; not only as it serves to extend our views of the Creator's power, wisdom and goodness, but as it gives stability to our convictions, and enables us "to find a support in argument for what we had taken up upon authority."

Of the work which has given rise to the foregoing reflections, we cannot speak in terms of commendation. Almost equally dissatisfied with those who have exalted natural religion at the expence of revelation, and with their opponents who, to win them over to the christian cause, have argued that christianity is an authoritative republication of the law of nature; the author of the "*Literæ Sacræ*," to be even with the deist, utterly denies that the existence of the Deity can be demonstrated by abstract reasoning, or by arguments drawn from nature. In this view of the subject, he is, of course, directly opposed, not only to such writers as Locke, Paley and Bishop Butler, but also to St. Paul himself, who expressly asserts respecting the gentile world, that "that which may be known of God is manifest to them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead." (Rom. i. 19, 20.) And again he tells the inhabitants of Lystra, that "the living God, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things therein, though in times passed he suffered all nations to walk in their own

ways, nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness. (Acts xiv. 15, 16, 17.) We would suggest these passages to the author, who seems to be a pious and well-intentioned man, in the hope that they may induce him to re-consider the matter, and abate somewhat of the extreme confidence with which, under a total unconsciousness of his own inability to the task, he sets himself to confute the "Natural Theology" of Paley, to criticise the profound "Analogy" of Bishop Butler, and to assail the giant Horsley, with the weapons of his pigmy warfare. It is fair, however, that we should let him speak for himself.

"The first argument," he says, in the commencement of his second letter, "insisted upon by those who abandon the Scripture, and would prove the existence of a deity by the power of reason alone, is an analogical argument drawn from experience, that man, as a piece of mechanism, must have had a maker. We know, that in the production of artificial objects a cause is necessary. We also know, that the reproduction of man is from natural causes. But it is further argued, that because a particular sort of machines must have had an inventor and a beginning to be made, so, as a machine, man must have had an inventor and a beginning. It is answered that the terms of agreement, necessary to form an analogy, are wanting in this case. There is not a sameness of nature, which the schoolmen hold to be essential to this kind of reasoning. We cannot reason from objects of art and labour to objects which are naturally produced. The former are the mere temporary instruments of some known moving power; the latter are self-moved: the former never can possess the power of reproduction; the latter does possess that power within itself. We may therefore argue more speciously, that the power of reproduction has always been exercised in the formation of man; for from the immutability of the laws of nature, unless we have some assurance of there having been a first cause, we may look upon the laws of nature themselves as uncaused." P. 26.

"Another," (we should have conceived that Paley's famous illustration of the watch was the thing already objected to), "and a more pleasing analogy has been advanced, and most ably insisted on by Butler and Paley: an able writer also of the present day, in a celebrated periodical work, forcibly uses the same; which is, to prove the existence of the Deity from the design and order of creation. As far as this argument extends to the physical laws of creation, it has no force beyond what may be drawn from any curious, or brilliant experiment in natural philosophy: it proves no more than that matter is subject to certain mechanical laws, and still leaves open the question of, who imposed those laws upon it? But this argument forms the ground of a most plausible assertion, viz. that there

is a moral design in creation, for the happiness of mankind, by naturally rewarding virtue and punishing vice. And the structure erected upon this foundation is so pleasing, that it would be painful to think that it is built on the sand, did not the truth reveal to us a still more pleasing prospect. Is virtue *always* rewarded in the world, or is vice *always* punished? P. 27.

“ So far, therefore, from the design of moral rewards and punishments showing the order, and ensuring the happiness of mankind, and thereby proving a designer; there is no perceptible design in the world, as wickedness is often successful, and treachery and fraud have the advantage over fair dealing and honesty; nor can we reconcile the ways of life to the notion of a designing providence, until we are instructed how to look upon them, by God himself. So far, therefore, from the design of creation proving the existence of a God; before God reveals it to us, we cannot even know that there is a design.” P. 29.

As a specimen of his rambling, incoherent, and inconsequential way of writing, the following extract from the fourth letter may suffice:—

“ In speaking of the infinite power of God, metaphysicians qualify it with language which destroys its omnipotency. God, they say, can do all things which do not imply a contradiction.” P. 48.

“ As our intellectual faculties are not capable of discovering such a wonderful Being, neither are they desired to find Him out to perfection; they are only desired to receive Him as he has been pleased to reveal Himself: and unless ‘ his doctrine had dropped as rain, and his speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass, his name had never been published, nor greatness ascribed unto our God;’ but through His eternal Spirit He hath revealed to us ‘ the things which He hath prepared for them that love Him;’ and this revelation is addressed to our understanding, in such language and in such figures, as are fit objects for its confined powers, whether submitted to our reason or to our faith.

“ When the glory of God appeared to Moses, to the people, to the high-priest, and to Saul, it assumed the semblance of a flame. The urim and thummim, which beamed a miraculous splendor, was composed of precious stones. In Jacob’s dream, a ladder connected a material heavens with the earth. Our blessed Lord compared the action of the Holy Spirit, with the wind that bloweth where it listeth; and when He himself was transfigured, ‘ His face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was bright as the light, and a bright cloud overshadowed Him.’ When Christ ascended from the earth, we are simply told that He was changed; at the last day we shall also be changed into ‘ like glory.’ We are saved by faith; yet we shall be judged for works. And to him that overcometh, ‘ I,’ says the Almighty, ‘ will be his God, and he shall be my son.’ P. 49.

The eighth letter is devoted to a critical examination of Bishop Butler's "Analogy," and proves nothing, as our readers may well believe, but that the author does not understand, and, to all appearance, is incapable of understanding that noble work, from which numbers will continue to derive the greatest benefit and illumination, and will, that we may use the words of Bishop Hallifax, "have reason to be thankful to Providence for having thrown it in their way." It is no small trial of patience to find such a writer as the present presuming to condemn Paley for defining "virtue (or morals) to be a part of religion," (p. 119); and in the same page, censuring Bishop Butler for speaking of "the moral character of the author of nature;" and Horsley, for enlarging on the intellectual and moral powers of Christ; and himself dogmatically asserting, that "the author of nature cannot have a moral character." However common, or fatal, the error of those may be, who as our author complains, "instead of meaning religion when they speak of virtue, mean only moral goodness when they speak of religion;" however justly he may lament, that this is "an error which has crept into the language, and manners, and religion of the age, and by a fatal substitution of a moral for a religious life, blinded many to the light of the Gospel, and kept them back from the promises of salvation;" (p. 121.) We must not only take the liberty of doubting, whether the present work will serve to guide a single wanderer into the way of truth, or bring conviction to the mind of a single sceptic, or strengthen the faith of a single believer; but to express our fears that it might do much positive mischief, if its palpable extravagance and absurdity did not provide an antidote to the evil.

ART. II. *An Inquiry into the Origin and Intent of Primitive Sacrifices, and the Scripture Evidence respecting it. With Observations on the Opinions of Spencer, Bp. Warburton, Archbp. Magee, and other Writers on the same Subject; and some Reflections on the Unitarian Controversy. By John Davison, B. D. late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.* London, Murray. 1825. pp. 199. 8vo.

THE author of this work has long enjoyed a distinguished academic reputation at Oxford, and has more recently become known to the public at large, by an elaborate Treatise on Prophecy. His talents and acquirements are evidently of a

superior order; but there is a degree of stiffness and formality in his mode of thinking and writing, which his best friends and sincerest admirers must wish him to throw off as soon as possible.

The subject of his present publication is one which has called forth the abilities and learning of our most eminent divines. In the whole range of Theology perhaps there has been no point more keenly or acutely debated than the origin of sacrifice. While Spencer and Warburton, and more recently Mr. Benson, have contended for its human origin, by far the greater number of our orthodox divines, from Bp. Taylor to Archbp. Magee, have felt the importance of maintaining its divine appointment. Nor shall we hesitate at once to confess, that, notwithstanding all Mr. Davison has urged, our sentiments accord with those which are generally established. We think that a great deal too much has been inferred from the silence of Scripture; for it has always appeared to us, that the divine appointment of sacrifice was virtually included in the appointment of the Sabbath. We do not see how any believer in Revelation can consistently maintain, that God would set apart the Sabbath day for his worship, without informing man in what way he ought to worship him. The appointment of the day seems to us to include in it the appointment of the rite. That this was the manner in which the Sabbath was sanctified or observed, we think is evident, from the expression (Gen. c. iv. v. 4.), "*In process of time*," or, as the margin reads it, "*in the end of days*, it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground," &c.; nor, unless the sacrificial rite had been previously ordained by God, do we see why two individuals, whose characters and dispositions were so opposite to each other, should both have fallen on the same mode of divine worship.

It is a very insufficient answer to this statement, that the Sabbath was instituted before the fall, and therefore could not, in its original appointment, have had any connection with sacrifice. If it had been the appointment of a merely human legislator, there might have been some weight in such an observation; but we can never admit it to apply to him, "who sees from the beginning to the end." "The Sabbath was made for man," and though instituted in the time of innocence, was principally designed for that state in which the world has been, since man was sinful and guilty. By the believer in Revelation it will be always maintained, that this world was created for the purpose of being saved and redeemed through the death of Christ; that the rite of sacri-

fice therefore, was not an accidental invention of the human mind, but that it was the appointed ordinance of God, in conjunction with the moral constitution and condition of man; that it was the type and emblem of the Redeemer before his incarnation; that it is still the commemoration of his death and sufferings; and that under every variety of modification, and even abuse and corruption, it still bears witness to that great atonement which was made for the sins of the whole world.

But while we contend for the divine appointment of sacrifice, we by no means deny its suitableness and congeniality to the wants and circumstances of our nature. We believe that it was appointed by God, because it was suitable to man; and we think that it indicates a very meagre and unsatisfactory style of thought, either to sink it into a barren tradition, or to account for it as a mere invention of the human mind.

There are some, and we are sorry to include Archbishop Magee amongst the number, who speak of the "*natural unreasonableness*" of sacrifice, and who would account for its divine origin from its want of all connection with human notions of propriety. But it is surely very dangerous thus to break off all alliance between natural and revealed theology, and to represent the Deity as selecting any mode of worship, on account of its irrationality. Neither, on such a theory, can the universality of sacrifice amongst all the nations of the earth, be possibly accounted for. Whatever depends merely on arbitrary appointment has no other support than tradition, and the memory of such tradition will, in many cases, be forgotten. An example of this kind occurs in the history of the Sabbath, which, though expressly given to all as a *day of rest*, was gradually forgotten by many nations, the time having nothing in it of a moral nature to support it. But on the contrary, when sacrifice was appointed, it met with a natural support from the principles of the human mind; and hence even barbarism and superstition could not eradicate, though they could pervert its force; and thus we at once realize, and explain the exclamation of Pliny: "*Adeò ista (sacrificia) toti mundo consensere quanquam discordi & sibi ignoto.*"

But if we are dissatisfied with that theory of sacrifice, which makes it dependent exclusively on the tradition of a divine appointment, we are still less pleased with that account which assigns to it no other than an human origin. If the silence of Scripture is to be interpreted as a positive argument against its divine origin, then, by a parity of reasoning, we may deny the divine origin of language. But what be-

believer in Revelation can think that God would leave his rational creatures in this forlorn situation? Is it at all consistent with the Scripture history of the origin and creation of man, to think that the Deity would prescribe to him no form of worship? That he would set apart the Sabbath-day, without instructing him how he was to offer up his devotions? And when man became so liable to error, by his fall from innocence, is it possible to think that no form of worship would be given him, but that he would be left entirely to his own inventions?

Again, in the earliest periods of the antediluvian world, we read of the distinction between "the Son of God," and the "sons of men," by which we are clearly to understand those who adhered to the *primitive worship*, and those who had in some degree become apostates and idolaters. But in what could the *primitive worship* consist, but in adhering to the rites of sacrifice, and to the hopes held out by it of future deliverance?

The promise, that "the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head," would naturally lead the first generations of men to some hopes of this kind, however indistinct; and some trace of these expectations we may discover in the name of Noah. Gen. c. v. 29. But the distinction which is clearly made between *clean* and *unclean* beasts (Gen. c. vii. v. 2), appears to us to place the question beyond all controversy. Nor can it be pretended that this distinction was made only by the historian, as addressing the Israelites, since the numbers of each to be kept alive in the ark are mentioned as expressly different, and the greater number of the *clean* animals, we think, can only be explained on account of their being set apart for sacrifice. "And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar." Gen. c. viii. v. 19.

But as we are not undertaking to write a dissertation on sacrifice, it is time for us to turn to Mr. Davison, whose theory professes to take a middle road between that of Bp. Warburton and that of Archbp. Magee. With the former, he agrees in ascribing to sacrifice in *general* a *human* origin; but he differs from him by supposing that *expiatory* sacrifices rest *solely* on divine institution. We desire to give no offence to Mr. Davison, but we are bound to say, that we think his theory the most objectionable and untenable of any that has been yet proposed. Indeed, it does not appear to us, that this author is at all satisfied with his own representations on this subject; for at page 22 he argues, as if the connection

between sacrifice and the expiation of sin were discoverable by reason. "The substitution of the victim was surely no improbable, no extravagant, no very devious effort either of nature or reason, when nature was awakened, and reason prompted by the sentence of the divine law," &c.; whereas his argument subsequently goes to shew, "that expiatory sacrifice is *inexplicable* on the principles of natural reason." But if the victim could be substituted for the sinner, the notion of expiation must have been previously entertained; and *here* we think that Bp. Warburton has clearly the advantage, not only in the *simplicity*, but in the force of his statements.

But, we suspect that Mr. D. has a very fine distinction, by which he would answer us, viz. that of "the suppliant suing for pardon, and the suppliant absolved," p. 29. Now the truth is, that no suppliant sues for pardon without feeling some hope of obtaining it; and that the difference between a propitiatory and an expiatory sacrifice, is a difference of degree and not of kind. Hence it is, that in the Scriptures of the New Testament, whilst the death of Christ is sometimes spoken of as the *propitiation* (ἱλασμός), it is at other times mentioned as the *atonement* (καταλλαγή). What Bp. Butler, with his usual caution, has asserted on this subject, is undoubtedly true, "that we seem to be very much in the dark concerning the *manner* in which the ancients understood atonement to be made, *i. e.* pardon to be obtained by sacrifice." *Analogy*, part 2, c. 5.—But, we think that Mr. D. has by no means displayed similar caution, in confidently asserting, that "one of the last resources of reason would have been, that of adopting the blood of a victim as the positive remedy for the guilt of moral transgression." P. 29.

Upon our theory, which unites the sentiments of reason with the commands of Revelation, it is indeed useless and nugatory to inquire, whether reason would have fallen on this mode of sacrificing *without* a divine command; but so far we are prepared to maintain the argument, that the whole history of sacrificial worship in the Pagan world testifies the *reasonableness* of these vicarious offerings, when considered as the channel of obtaining the pardon of sin, or of averting the punishment due to it. Whoever wishes to consult the opinions of antiquity on this subject, should read the admirable treatise of Grotius, *De Satisfactione Christi*. But a single passage from Pliny will suit our purpose:—"Vetus priscis temporibus opinio obtinuit, februa esse omnia, quibus malefactorum conscientiae purgarentur deleterenterque pec-

cata." Now, we feel assured, that no divine command, which received no assistance from reason and conscience, could have been *universally* remembered and adhered to by all the nations of the earth. "Expiatory sacrifice," says Mr. D. "must have been of God's own appointment, to reconcile it either to God or to man himself, till he was fallen under the most deplorable superstition." P. 29. We consider this a very bold and dangerous assertion. It represents the Deity as choosing a merely arbitrary mode of worship for his creatures, as not adapting it to the circumstances of their minds, but as selecting it on account of its irrationality! Nor does it at all mend the argument to resolve it into the effects of *superstition*. Superstition is the *abuse* of religion; it is literally *δεισιδαιμονία*, an excessive dread of the Deity as a punisher and avenger. This leads the worshipper into the most cruel and barbarous methods of attempting to propitiate his wrath; but still the motive, though perverted, is in itself natural and praiseworthy; and it is the very same motive which, when placed under proper regulation and controul, teaches us "to mortify our corrupt desires," and to turn with sorrow and repentance, "meekly acknowledging our vileness, and truly repenting of our faults."

We have said, that we deem the theory of Mr. Davison both dangerous and untenable. It is *dangerous* because it destroys all those fine arguments of Bishop Butler and other eminent divines, which are founded on the suitability of an atoning sacrifice to the wants and wishes of our nature, and which thus connects the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel with our moral sympathies and affections. It is *untenable*, because the Bible itself assures us, that expiatory sacrifices were in general use previous to the age of Moses. When the Canaanites offered their sons and daughters to Moloch, who can doubt that they offered them as victims to avert the divine wrath? In the writings of Homer, Eschylus, and Herodotus, we meet with numberless traces of the same sacrifices, and the Spaniards when they discovered Mexico, found that human nature was essentially the same under another hemisphere:

"Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum."

The question is not, whether external rites of this kind could perfectly *satisfy* the human mind, but whether they did not afford them *some* glimpse of *hope*, and whether they were not the best, if not the only expedients which they could adopt? Men felt themselves guilty and deserving of punishment; they also naturally thought there might be *some* hope of pardon and forgiveness. To evince their sorrow and to

testify their hopes, they offered up such sacrifices, both because they had received them from tradition, and because they seemed to be the best and most rational means of obtaining their desires. Such are our sentiments on this important subject, and we think, that the whole history of the ancient world corroborates our reasoning.

To the believer in revelation we may also address the following argument :—On the principles of the Bible, you believe that this world was created by and for Jesus Christ—that it constitutes his mediatorial kingdom—that “ he was the Lamb slain from *before* its foundation.” You also believe, with Mr. Davison, “ that the earliest act of religious worship, offered by him to his Creator, of which we have any record, was by sacrifice ;”—that, when all other nations had corrupted themselves by idolatry and superstition, that is, by *forgetting* the true end and intention of sacrifice, it pleased God to select the Israelites, and to establish his covenant with them, by means of those sacrifices which were the types and emblems of the death of Christ. Now, we ask you, whether it is not much more consistent with these opinions to believe in the divine origin of sacrifice, than to suppose it the mere invention of man? As the atonement of Christ related to the sins of the *whole* world, why should we cut off the connection between the great majority of the human race with that sin offering which in due time was to be manifested, but which was obscurely and unconsciously denoted by their victims and oblations? If there is any philosophy common to nature and grace, it must consist in combining the sentiments of the human heart with the doctrines and discoveries of revelation ; and sorry should we be to think, that the greatest mystery of godliness has no such alliance and sympathy with the principles of the human mind.

“ Christ offered himself a propitiatory sacrifice, and made atonement for the sins of the world. Sacrifices of expiation were commanded to the Jews, and obtained amongst most other nations, from tradition, whose origin probably was revelation. And they were continually repeated, both occasionally and at the return of stated times, and made up great part of the external religion of mankind.” But now once in the end of the world Christ appeared to put sin by the sacrifice of himself: “ And this sacrifice was, in the highest degree, and with the most extensive influence, of that efficacy for obtaining the pardon of sin, which the heathens may be supposed to have thought their sacrifices to have been, and which the Jewish sacrifices really were in some degree, and with regard to some persons.” *Analogy*, part 2, ch. 5.

Such are the profound and philosophic sentiments of Bishop Butler, which we far prefer either to those of Spencer or Warburton on the one hand, or of Mr. Davison on the other. "Human principles," says Mr. D. p. 37, "can no more account for the expiation of sin, than human resources could provide it." Be it so, and yet it is undoubtedly true, "that, when in the daily course of natural providence, it is appointed that innocent persons should suffer for the faults of the guilty, this is liable to the very same objection."—"The infinitely greater importance of that appointment of christianity, which is objected against, does not hinder, but it may be, as it plainly is, an appointment of the *very same kind*, with what the world affords us daily examples of." *Analogy*, part 2, ch. 5. To our minds, we must add, that this kind of reasoning is far more satisfactory than all the special pleading which we meet with in the work we are reviewing, and that it harmonizes with the pages of inspiration more fully than any other theory, however learnedly or accurately supported.

Having thus largely considered the *general* object of Mr. D.'s publication, we must confine ourselves to a brief notice of some of its more important details. At p. 44, Mr. D. attempts to controvert the assertion of Archbishop Magee, "that sacrifices existed before the law, both criminal and piacular." Whilst he allows the former, he denies the latter part of what he terms "this *complex* proposition."—That piacular sacrifices, *i. e.* sacrifices which were offered up in the hopes of atoning for sin, were offered *before* the time of Moses, we think, there can be no more doubt, than that men knew and felt themselves to be sinners before the year of the world 2,500, and we deem it very unnecessary to prove it from any *Hebrew* criticisms. Unless the feelings and sentiments of the human mind were totally different before that period to that which they have been since, such piacular sacrifices must have constituted the greater part of their external religion. Nor is it, by any means, true, that the Scriptures are silent on this subject. The Israelites are expressly warned against imitating the sacrifices of the Canaanites, whose victims were dreadfully piacular. Nor, is it introduced by Moses as if it were a *novel* institution, in its *principles*, but merely guarded by proper limitations. And it is in this sense that *we* understand the statement of Outram, "tam vero sacra piacularia, *qualia a Mose descripta sunt*, usquamne forte in usu fuerint ante legem sacram Hebrais datam, ego minime definiverim."

There is one point into which Mr. D. has been betrayed into some degree of misrepresentation, from his anxiety to shew

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that the sacrifices under the Mosaic law bore no *likeness* to those under the primitive and patriarchal religion. He asserts that it is a *new doctrine* which is contained, *Levit. xvii. 11*, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood," &c. Now it happens the very same assertion is to be found, *Gen. ch. ix. v. 4*, "But flesh with the life thereof, *which is the blood thereof*," &c. and though nothing is *expressly* added about the "*atoning power* of blood," yet, as the caution is so similar, it may be fairly received as intimating something peculiarly sacred in it, and at any rate, it should moderate the dogmatism of Mr. D.'s assertion. "This, I say, is a new doctrine, a doctrine of which we find no positive information, nor *any probable vestige* in the primeval religion." P. 32.

But Mr. D. proceeds to establish this point by reasoning, and his argument is this: Atoning sacrifices could not have existed before the Mosaic law, because they must either have been expiatory of moral or of ceremonial offences. Not of ceremonial, because, previously to the ceremonial law, they could not exist; not of moral, because even the sacrifices of the Mosaic law did not expiate them. This is the argument, but to us it is by no means satisfactory. That the Mosaic expiations to those who worshipped God in spirit and in truth, were the appointed channels of conveying peace and pardon to the mind of the worshipper, even for sins knowingly committed, we can have no doubt, or the Jews must have been in a most desperate and forlorn condition. See *Levit. ch. 6*. The truth is, that the offering of sacrifice is a remembrance of sin—that it is confession of guilt accompanied with some hopes of pardon, and whether under the law of Moses or under the light of nature, it always availed, in *some degree*, to keep up the feelings of sorrow and repentance on one hand, and of hope and pardon on the other.

We fully agree with Mr. Davison, that "the principles of natural religion are asserted in Scripture," p. 104—109; but we wish that instead of making them independent, he had identified them more completely with the doctrines of revelation.

We shall now proceed to his *second* part, in which he attempts to prove, "that the human origin of sacrifice infringes neither on the rites of the law, nor the doctrines of the Gospel." P. 132.

He commences with arguing, "that if men intended thankfulness and penitence by their sacrifices, then, to suppose that God would proscribe those sacrifices simply on account of their human reason, would be equivalent to the supposition, that he must proscribe the essential duties of thank-

fulness and penitence from which they proceeded." P. 134. We know not how this kind of reasoning may be estimated by others; but to us it seems to have nothing in it essential to the argument. We believe that no one ever conceived, "that God would proscribe the use of sacrifices *simply* on account of their human reason;" but unless Mr. D. can make it appear, that, the notion of sacrificing a living animal is *equally* congenial to the mind and faculties of man with the sentiments of prayer and praise, and with the duties of justice and charity, we do not see that a comparison of this kind throws any light on the subject.

Nor is it at all necessary for us to shew, "that the previous perversion of sacrifice must have been a reason sufficient to debar its usage under the subsequent appointments of divine law," p. 135, it being quite sufficient for our argument to make it appear, that its *divine* origin is far more probable, because, without such appointment, the primitive worship of man must have been merely of his own invention. Nor, do we see either the truth or utility of entirely separating the Mosaic law from the primitive and patriarchal religion. We believe, that the sacrifice which was offered by Abraham instead of his son, was as much a symbolical representation of the death of Christ, as any of the sacrifices under the Jewish theocracy. We think it a very false and dangerous assertion, that "nothing which human reason did discover of the fitness of sacrifice makes the *smallest approach* to the new purposes and effects with which revelation has invested it," p. 139; for if so, we can never shew, with the apostle, "that *it became us* to have such an high priest." It is not true, that our supposition goes to shew, that "man had discovered all that God has revealed and ordained;"—no; but that human reason in conjunction with tradition, naturally rested *with some degree of hope*, in such vicarious oblations. "God's revelation," says Mr. D. "was in the atonement, and man's discovery was only in his guilt; things as wide asunder, as the disease and the remedy of it." We admit the illustration, but not the argument. No man ever laboured under a disease without wishing and hoping for a remedy; and exactly so, when men felt and knew themselves to be guilty, they naturally hoped for some pardon and atonement; and this they looked for chiefly through the channel of vicarious sacrifices. With regard to Mr. D.'s remarks, respecting "the atoning power contained in the blood," p. 143, we have already shewn, that it was revealed to the patriarch Noah many ages *before* the time of Moses.

It is a very poor retreat from the argument to say, that "superstition invented the notions of pagan expiation," and then to add, "that the superstitious sacrifice was no *image* of the real or efficacious one." P. 144. What all men in all ages and countries have agreed to follow, must be the voice and the dictate of nature; and as such, the notions of pagan atonements will always be understood. "Their sounds have gone out into all lands, and their words unto the ends of the world." As to what the primitive fathers believed on this subject, we are not very solicitous to inquire. Their authority as *interpreters of Scripture*, has long since been shewn to be of little value, though they will always be esteemed as credible witnesses of contemporary facts. Nor will the names of Spencer and Warburton, nor even of Tillotson, avail against the mighty host of those who have supported the contrary opinion. We wish to speak with tenderness and respect of men who have, in many respects, done great service to the cause of religion; but their names would have been held in still higher reverence, if they had not departed from generally received opinions.

In the third part, Mr. D. attempts to shew, that "there exists no tenable ground for maintaining that *any disclosure* was made in the *primitive times*, of a connexion between the rite of sacrifice, if that rite be still assumed to have been divinely appointed, and the future expiatory sacrifice of the Gospel." P. 149. By the expression "*primitive times*," we presume that Mr. D. means to denote the period antecedent to the Mosaic law; and, with regard to these, he affirms, "that the oblations of the old world, whatever they were, are invested with no intelligible sign of the peculiar nature of the christian redemption." P. 151. To this we shall only say, that short as is the Scripture account of the antediluvian world, we think, there is sufficient evidence to shew, that the distinction between clean and unclean animals then existed; that the promise given to Adam on his fall, was sufficient to awaken *some* hopes of future deliverance; that the sacrifice of Abel is spoken of in the New Testament, as having reference to the christian faith, and that, unless the belief of the primitive religion, as proceeding from God, and having reference to his scheme of redeeming the world by the death of Christ, be admitted, we can never connect the history of the world with the history of the christian faith.

As to the charge of "levity and presumption," (p. 157), on those who believe that the first ages of men were not left to follow their own inventions in the great article of religious worship, we can only say, that it seems to us to imply much

greater levity, and much greater presumption, to affect to question it, and more especially, as it is supported by the authority of nearly all our great and leading divines. To argue merely from the silence of Scripture on this head, is to take a great deal too much for granted. The prophecy of Enoch is not mentioned in the Old Testament, and is only incidentally noticed in the New; but short as the notice is, it shews us enough of *his* faith to make it appear, that he expected *Jesus Christ* to be the judge of the quick and the dead—an expectation that could not well have existed in his mind, without some other notions respecting the Gospel dispensation. To Mr. D.'s observations respecting the danger of allowing too much to tradition, (p. 159), we deem it needless to make any reply.

After all, we are not quite sure that Mr. D. thinks very widely different from us on this subject, for, to our surprize, he adds, after citing some passages of the New Testament, “these passages do not impart, that *no disclosure* of the plan of the Gospel redemption had been granted to the foregone ages, but no disclosure sufficient to put men in possession of the *perfect truth*.” P. 162. This is exactly our belief; and if Mr. D. had been content with only correcting the extravagant notions of Bochart and Lamy, we should never have thought it necessary to have differed from him.

At p. 168, Mr. D. informs us, that “he does *not* press a peremptory decision against the divine origin of sacrifices;” but if so, we cannot but deplore his ingenuity in arguing against it, especially as his authority is so likely to unsettle the opinions of many of our younger divines. It is always dangerous to produce doubts and hesitations on religious subjects, and to be busied in shaking the leaves of the tree of knowledge, and making a stir among them, instead of reposing beneath its shade, or gathering its fruit. (Preface.) But in our age, when theory and conjecture are robbing us of nearly all that is important in revelation, we feel ourselves bound to protest against that innovating spirit which is even worse in its effects than bigotry and dogmatism.

Nor will Mr. D. admit, that even Abraham, or the succeeding patriarchs, had any notions of sacrificial atonement, though he seems afterwards to correct himself, by adding, that, “in the surrender to sacrifice of a beloved son, the patriarchal church begins with an admission of the christian reality.” P. 171. For our parts, though we have no “superabundance of learning,” yet, the simple affirmation of Christ, “that Abraham rejoiced to see my day, *he saw it and was glad*,” is more than sufficient to determine our notions respecting him.

"The next epoch of Scripture brings us to the Mosaic law." P. 173. But here, though "oblation and atonement are linked together under a divine appointment," yet the types of the law, according to Mr. D. are nothing more than "concealed prophecies." P. 174. "They were a sacred hieroglyphic of which their author alone could be the interpreter." P. 175. Again, we admit the propriety of the illustration, but not the force of the argument. We believe that no hieroglyphics were ever used without conveying some meaning to those who used them; the meaning might be dark and obscure, but still it conveyed some real knowledge; and such is our belief of the good men who lived under the Jewish theocracy.

"The last period of the ancient state of revealed religion, is the age of the prophets." P. 175. But notwithstanding Mr. D. allows "that the prophetic volume becomes the unambiguous witness of the Gospel doctrine," yet he will not admit that they were understood by those to whom they were addressed. But here we cannot fully ascertain his meaning; if he means they were not then understood, as they were when explained by the Apostles, we have no difference with him. But if his meaning is, that they had *no conception* of a vicarious sacrifice, and of the necessity of atonement, we think that his doctrine is unscriptural. "I tell you that many prophets and good men have *desired* to see these things, and have not seen them." We have now taken a full review of Mr. Davison's argument for the human origin of sacrifice, and we close his book with a still stronger belief than ever of its divine institution. The argument which he draws against the Divine appointment of sacrifice from the silence of Moses, appears to us just as strong against its human invention. In either case, the *first* act of sacrifice is not related; for no one can think that Adam had not made such religious offerings. We again assert, that the best solution of this difficulty will be found in including the institution of sacrifice under the sanctification of the sabbath.

ART. III.—*Observations on the Doctrines of Christianity, in reference to Arianism.* By George Miller, D.D. Rivington, London. Watson and Milliken, Dublin. 8vo. 1825. pp. 233.

THE student in divinity has been much indebted of late years to writers of the Irish church. Archbishop Magee, Bishop Jebb, Dr. Hales of Killesandra, and Dr. Graves, stand high

in the estimation of all competent judges; and have certainly contributed in a very eminent degree to the illustration of Scripture, and the defence of Christian truth. Of the archbishop, indeed, it is impossible to speak in terms of ordinary praise. The vigour and acuteness of his mind have perhaps rarely been surpassed, and the solidity of his erudition is equal to its extent. His work on Atonement and Sacrifice, comprises the whole question between Socinians and the Christian church. If it has not the exact arrangement of Leslie's Dialogues on the same subject, it has almost every other quality which can establish an author's fame. Two Charges, also from the same pen, are among the very best compositions of the kind. The first of these, which was delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Raphoe, in 1821, is not sufficiently known in England. It is a capital production; full of practical wisdom and of just remark. The latter part, which relates to the true construction of our Articles, deserves particular regard.

We are happy to introduce to our readers another Irish divine in the person of Dr. Miller. The book before us was occasioned by a volume of Sermons recently published by Dr. Bruce, a Presbyterian minister, at Belfast. In this volume, it appears, the Arian heresy is openly maintained. With Dr. Bruce's Sermons, we are not immediately concerned; but it will be impossible to give a just view of Dr. Miller's argument without continual reference to the positions of his adversary.

After a few judicious remarks on the general character and tendency of Arian doctrines, Dr. Miller comes to close quarters with his opponent:

"We are required," says he, "to dismiss from our consideration the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and the whole body of the apostolic epistles, as relating almost exclusively to the concerns of ecclesiastical government; and in studying the Gospels themselves we are directed to admit that only as authorised doctrine, which may be clearly proved from the narratives of all the four Evangelists, rejecting as superfluous to human salvation every declaration of divine truth, which might be found in the writings of fewer than the whole number. Each Gospel, we are told, must have contained the whole of that which was necessary for the instruction of mankind, and therefore a communication not made by all should be regarded as not demanding our belief and acceptance.

"This method of narrowing the foundation of our faith for the purpose of contracting the superstructure, now employed to justify the Arian doctrine, had been by Doctor Priestly applied to remove the difficulties of simple Unitarianism, and has already been condemned as unwarranted by Bishop Horsey, in his celebrated controversy

with that distinguished leader of the Unitarians of England. 'Nothing,' says Bishop Horsey, 'seems to have been less the intention of any of the Evangelists, than to compose a system of fundamental principles. Instruction, in that age, was orally delivered. The general design of the Evangelists seems to have been nothing more, than to deliver in writing a simple unembellished narrative of our Lord's principal miracles; to record the occurrences and actions of his life, which went immediately to the completion of the ancient prophecies, or to the execution of the scheme of man's redemption; and to register the most interesting maxims of religion and morality, which were contained in his discourses. The principles of the christian religion are to be collected, neither from a single Gospel, nor from all the four Gospels; nor from the four Gospels with the Acts and the Epistles; but from the whole code of revelation, consisting of the canonical books of the Old and New Testament: and for any article of faith the authority of a single writer, where it is express and unequivocal, is sufficient. Had St. Paul related what he saw in the third heaven, I hope, Sir, you would have given him implicit credit, although the truth of the narrative must have rested on his single testimony.' P. 10.

This pertinent quotation from Bishop Horsey's Fifteenth Letter to Priestly, is quite sufficient to expose the absurdity and extravagance of the modern Marcion. The author, however, has added many excellent remarks of his own, which we strongly recommend to the attention of our readers. In the mutilation of Scripture Dr. Bruce has indeed surpassed most of his predecessors. The editors of the improved version have hardly been so bold; they discard many passages, and put a false construction on many more, but they do not require us to give up the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, as relating merely to ecclesiastical government, and unconnected with Christian doctrine. This is indeed a summary method of interpreting the word of God; but to such miserable expedients are men driven, when they once forsake the plain and even line of truth. Thus may we learn to estimate the authority of Arian and Socinian tenets. If the word of God be true, they must be false. They are not scriptural, but those who believe them profess that they are derived from Scripture. Such, we maintain, is the simple fact; and how is the difficulty to be met? This question may be easily solved by all who have examined the subject with ordinary care. To reject the whole of Scripture, would expose the advocates of these opinions to the charge of infidelity. To receive the whole, would demolish their entire system. They admit, therefore, such parts only as best accord with their own conceptions; but even here many obstinate passages occur which will not bend to any device of Unitarian criticism.

Those interpreters are then reduced to the last resort. Having vainly endeavoured, like *Valentinian of old, to alter the sense by laboured and sophistical comment, they adopt the more desperate expedient of Marion, and expunge the text, the chapter, or the book itself from the pages of inspiration. So much for tampering with Scripture. The process of Unitarian interpretation has been most accurately described by Archbishop Magee in the postscript to his Appendix. "It is first laid down, that on abstract principles of general reason, that a certain thing *can not be*. Then comes Scripture, declaring in plain words that *it is*. But then comes forward a dictum of Priestley, or Evanson, or Lindsey, or Wakefield, or Cappe, or Belsham, by some different translation, or punctuation, or some new and ingenious mode of interpreting, or somebody else, to assert that the words *may* be made to bear some other possible meaning. But should all these fail; should the words be too plain, and simple, and precise to admit any sort of distortion, then they are clearly to be rejected as spurious, because the Unitarians have already determined that *the thing can not be*.

The next point which deserves our particular attention is, the attack of Dr. Bruce upon Calvinistic opinions. In his anxiety to get rid of the doctrine of atonement, he maintains the "total exemption of our nature from original sin," and strongly inveighs against the Calvinistic notions of predestination, election, and reprobation. Dr. Miller has managed this part of the controversy with admirable skill. We need not say that he is no defender of Calvinism; he is a sound and temperate expositor of Holy Writ, and points out to his opponent that sober statement of Christian truth which has been adopted by the church of England. This is equally removed from the extreme positions of Calvin and Socinus, and never can be made by any fair and legitimate construction to breathe the sentiments of either. We cannot forbear extracting some passages on this important subject.

"To the observations, which Doctor Bruce has made on predestination, election, and reprobation, so far as they are opposed to the notion of an arbitrary determination of the eternal happiness or misery of men, no regard being had to the moral conduct of the individuals so discriminated, the author of this treatise will offer no reply. These doctrines he does not himself esteem as truly expressing the sense of the sacred writings, and therefore, as far as they are concerned, he is willing to make with the author of the ser-

* Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione antevertit. Tertullian. De Præscrip.

mons a common cause. He is himself far from believing 'that God, by an absolute decree, hath elected to salvation a very small number of men, without any regard to their faith or obedience whatever, and secluded from saving grace all the rest of mankind; and appointed them, by the same decree, to eternal damnation, without any regard to their infidelity or impenitency.' This appalling doctrine he does not hold, because he considers it to be not warranted by any authority of the sacred writings; not reconcilable to our notions of the moral attributes of God, to which he has himself appealed; and contradictory to numerous passages of the Scriptures, inviting all persons to repentance, and offering alike to all the benefits of the divine mercy in the great plan of human redemption.

"But, though the author of this treatise agrees with Doctor Bruce, in rejecting the doctrine of arbitrary, and, as they are termed, *irrespective*, election and reprobation, he is by no means disposed to concur with him in the opinion, which he would establish in its place. Doctor Bruce, as the alternative, has adopted on this subject an opinion, which had been advocated by Locke and Taylor, that predestination relates exclusively to that outward calling of the Gentiles, by which they were invited to become, together with the chosen people, members of the church of Christ. It must indeed be acknowledged, that some passages of the sacred writings, in which the writers address, as the elect of God, collective bodies of men, may appear to bear this meaning, because among these numbers must have been some individuals, who could not be supposed to have been objects of the divine acceptance. But even in such passages it may easily be understood, that the terms *elect* and *predestinate* may still be referred to individuals in a looser application, in the same manner in which a numerous body of men may be denominated Christians, though neither can this appellation be properly applicable to every individual." P. 27.

"The two doctrines of *irrespective*, or arbitrary predestination, and of the direct imputation of the guilt of Adam to his posterity, appear to have been extreme opinions generated in the vehemence of theological disputation. Neither has been adopted in the articles of our church. For the former it has substituted an assemblage of the expressions of the sacred writings, with admonitions against the abuses of an extreme interpretation. In regard to the other it has been silent, maintaining however the transmission of a moral corruption, by which all the posterity of Adam have become inclined to evil. Doctor Bruce, on the other hand, has permitted himself, in his rejection of these opinions, to be hurried into others which are not less extreme. Condemning the doctrine, which represents human salvation as the arbitrary work of God, not having any reference to the conduct of the individuals who are its objects, he has pronounced that the predestination, of which the Apostle speaks, must relate only to that outward calling, by which men are brought into the visible church of God, comprehending consequently many, who cannot be among the objects of divine acceptance, and therefore not connected with the future condition, of individuals. This indeed is an opinion,

which, though it appear not reconcilable to the language of the Apostle, may however be safely entertained, if the fundamental doctrine of our dependence on Jesus Christ for salvation be notwithstanding preserved inviolate. But when Doctor Bruce, in opposition to the extreme interpretation of the doctrine of original sin, contends that the nature of man is still as upright as in the beginning, and consequently, that it depends only on our own free choice, whether we shall conform to the commandments of God, it must be manifest, that 'boasting' is no longer 'excluded,' since it must be still possible, according to such a view of human nature, that every individual should by an undeviating obedience entitle himself to the favourable acceptance of God." P. 44.

We now come to Dr. Bruce's opinion of the nature and character of Jesus Christ. On a false view of this great question, the whole fabric of Arianism is built. "We cannot," says Dr. Miller, "properly appreciate our redemption, if we form an unworthy conception of Him who was the grand agent in our deliverance from the penalties of sin; nor can we, without a just notion of his dignity and office, determine what sentiments we are bound to entertain in regard to him; what conduct we are bound to observe in relation to his person." Dr. Bruce, we find, would dispose of the whole question by a definition.

" 'The strictest assertors of the divinity of Christ,' says he, 'acknowledge him to be a derived being—Now the primary and fundamental idea, which we annex to the word God, is that he is himself underived, and the cause of every thing that exists.' Thus to prove that Christ is not God, all that we have to do, is to define God to be a being underived, for the conclusion will follow by a necessary inference. It may however be easily shown, that this argument is merely an example of the fallacy denominated *petitio principii*, or *begging the question*. The question is, whether any distinction can exist in the divine nature, by which that nature, acknowledged to be itself underived, may yet be communicated to various persons. To assume that the divine nature must in every case be underived, is to take for granted, that no such distinction can exist, as is the very subject of inquiry. It is indeed acknowledged that Jesus Christ is a derived being, and that the divine nature is in itself underived; but it is contended that Jesus Christ participates by derivation that nature, which is underived in the Father. This question must be determined by scriptural authorities, not by a definition, by which the conclusion is assumed.

Another general argument urged by Doctor Bruce, is that to embrace the Arian doctrine is the best method of escaping from difficulties. This may perhaps be admitted. But what is the legitimate inference? That the Arian doctrine cannot be the truth. Difficulties should be expected to be found, when mortals endeavour to penetrate the mystery of their redemption; the plan in its whole extent must

be too vast, the agents in their exalted nature must be too sublime, for our very limited comprehension. The absence of difficulties should therefore rather be understood to indicate, that the mind had erred in its inquiries into divine truth,* and that the system, which it had framed, was of man, and not of God." P. 46.

Dr. Miller now enters upon the critical examination of some passages which have been perverted by his opponent, and by the whole body of Arian and Socinian writers. In this part of the discussion it is hardly possible to introduce any thing completely novel. The authenticity and the sense of almost every passage affecting the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, has been again and again disputed and confirmed. Dr. Miller, however, has treated the subject with so much ability and judgment, as to claim the attention and the gratitude of every divine. In reference to the commencement of St. John's Gospel, Dr. Bruce has observed, that the word *Θεός* is applied "in the sacred writings to various subjects, to angels, to men, to heathen idols, and to Satan. The inference from this," says Dr. Miller, "would appear to be, that the meaning of the term should, in each instance, be determined from a consideration of the context."

"The inference of Doctor Bruce however is, that the term has no definite signification whatsoever. According to this mode of interpretation we must understand the declaration of the Evangelist, in this the solemn opening of his narrative, to have been in its true meaning this: 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was something called God, whether a being truly so denominated, an angel, a human being, a heathen idol, or Satan.' No one of the various meanings of the term can be selected from the rest, unless the principle of determining the meaning from the context be acknowledged, and this would direct us to the acknowledgment of the divinity of Christ. When we perceive that the term is applied to any of these inferior subjects, we discover the application from the passage itself. How are we led to such an interpretation in the brief statement of the Evangelist? If a vague interpretation, comprehending all meanings, be nakedly propounded, can it be believed, that an Apostle, writing under the influence of divine direction, or even under the guidance of ordinary discretion, could have composed such a sentence, and have prefixed it to his Gospel, as a formal and solemn enunciation of the dignity of the being, the incidents of whose ministry he was going to narrate? If this be indeed the fair construction of this introductory sentence, the inference, which would naturally present itself to the mind of a reader, would be, that the man who could so trifle with his understanding, was unworthy of his attention." P. 53.

Dr. Miller then examines (from page 60 to 80) those important conversations recorded by the Evangelists, in

which our Lord was understood by his Jewish hearers as claiming a divine character. This part of the book does not easily admit of abridgment; but we strongly recommend it to the attention of our readers. The same mode of reasoning has been adopted by other writers; and particularly by the present Bishop of Salisbury, in a sermon before the University of Oxford, in the year 1792. Dr. Miller, however, has made the argument his own, by the free and masterly style in which he has proposed it. His expositions of Scripture are admirable. We cannot, however, assent to the change he would propose in the translation of John i. 1. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with *the* God, and the word was God." He observes, "the article *the*, thus inserted, indicates the unoriginated self-existent Father; and the word is described as God, without any such emphatical designation of an undervived existence." This, we think, is rather a refinement. The sense is clear without the English article; and the insertion of the article in this place is hardly consistent with the plain and noble phraseology of our version. The Greek article is not always to be rendered by the English definite; nor is the English indefinite always to be used where the Greek article is wanting. The proper adjustment of this matter is frequently a nice question: much must be left to the skill and judgment of the translator; and in speaking of such a scholar as Dr. Miller, we would urge any objection with the greatest deference. We cannot, however, consider this proposed alteration as one of his happiest efforts.

Our attention is next drawn to some well-known passages in the Apostolical Epistles, which bear on the question of our Lord's divinity. These passages, indeed, and the whole epistles in which they stand, Dr. Bruce would fain exclude from consideration. His proposal is extravagant, but not unnatural. When a man seriously believes that any passage in Scripture is spurious, merely because it interferes with his opinion, he may soon advance to any degree of absurdity. The mariner who throws aside his chart and compass, is not in a more perilous condition. This is strongly exemplified in the treatment which the famous text of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 5, has received from Socinian writers. Every effort has been made, but without success, to prove that the word Θεός in this text is not authentic. The punctuation was then attacked; and has undergone every variation that can be imagined, possible and impossible. Conjectural *emendation* was the next expedient. On this matter we would not willingly dwell; but we can not help adverting to the suggestions

of Schlictingius and Wetstein, which are still regarded by Socinians as the noblest specimens of critical sagacity. Schlictingius proposes, without the shadow of authority, to transpose the words $\acute{o}\ \acute{\omega}\nu$, and to add an aspirate to the latter. The sentence then was, $\acute{\omega}\nu$ (i.e. of the Jews) $\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\nu\alpha\varsigma$. This, at least, has the merit of ingenuity. Wetstein suggests, that if St. Paul had intended to convey the sense which is commonly affixed to his words, he would have written $\acute{o}\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. Of these conjectures Bishop Middleton has acutely observed, that the former "obtrudes upon the passage an argument which is improbable, and Greek which is impossible;" the latter presents "a form of expression to which no parallel can be found in the uncorrupted remains of Greek literature, sacred or profane." Mr. Belsham, indeed, has discovered that Wetstein's conjecture "gives a new and beautiful turn to the whole sentence." The novelty we freely admit, but the beauty is beyond our apprehension. In such a case, the opinion of Bishop Middleton may perhaps have as much weight as that of the Editor of the improved version, and the *translator* of St. Paul's Epistles.

After all, why should a single argument be wasted on this question. When a reading is doubtful, let conjecture be exercised, subject always to established rules of criticism; but when it is confirmed, as in this case, by all MSS. hitherto collected, by all ancient versions, and we will venture to add, by all the Fathers* who have quoted the passage, who will gravely dispute its authenticity? Why need we discuss the comparative value of various readings, when none but that which appears in the printed text is supported by the slightest evidence? Neither Wetstein nor Griesbach have been bold enough to disturb this splendid testimony of our Lord's divinity; and every scholar knows that they could not have done so, without sacrificing their critical integrity. They certainly did not want the inclination. If a decent argument could have been produced to invalidate this text, the Socinians would not have given themselves so much trouble to distort it.

The brief remarks of Dr. Miller on this and other passages (Philip ii. 6. Coloss. i. 15. 1 Tim. iii. 16. Isaiah ix. 6. Zech. xiii. 7.) are clear, pertinent, and judicious. We will not attempt to abridge them. It may, however, be observed,

* We say *all the Fathers*; for although Chrysostom, Cyrilian, Hilary, and Leo, are supposed to have read the text differently, we consider this point as completely settled by Archbishop Magee. Vol. II. Part II. page 105. &c.

that he expresses himself dissatisfied with the English version of the words *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*. There can be no doubt that King James's translators have failed in giving the true force of this difficult expression. Dr. Miller understands the words to signify the *fore begotten of all creation*, or the *begotten before all creation*. This translation appears to us substantially correct, but we prefer the language of Bishop Middleton, "*begotten before every creature*," i. e. before any created being had existence. Thus it was explained by the majority of the ancients.

It is remarkable, that those professors of Christianity who are desirous of *simplifying* the Gospel to the greatest degree, are at the same time continually involving themselves in the most intricate discussions. Dr. Bruce, like other writers of his school, inquires whether the death of Christ was so indispensably necessary that men could not have been saved without it; and concludes, that though the mode of Christ's death was an important part of his ministry, it might have been dispensed with by the Father without defeating the end of his mission. He argues, that unless we suppose the Jews were necessitated to perpetrate this crime, they might have been converted, and in this case Christ would not have been put to death.

"To us it appears," says Dr. Miller, "sufficient to say that God did foresee, that the Jews would not be converted by the ministry of his Son, and that accordingly Christ was, in the divine purpose, 'the lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' We are persuaded that the Jews were not necessitated to commit the crime of putting Christ to death: we are not less persuaded, that God did, in his prescience, foreknow from the beginning that the Jews would, as a nation, reject the Gospel, and wreak their vengeance on him who should teach them to look to a spiritual Messiah: and we are assured by the most unequivocal declarations of the Scriptures, that in this state of things, with which alone we can have any concern, the death of Christ was a necessary condition of that forgiveness, which the Almighty was willing to bestow upon repentant and believing mortals. Should man in such a case turn upon his Maker, and say, nay, but what wouldst thou have done, if the Jews had been converted?" P. 107.

Here, indeed, is a proof, if proof were wanting, that they who fabricate a religion which can not be found in Scripture, fall into fresh perplexity at every step. To get rid of one mystery, they raise up others of greater magnitude, and are continually shifting the positions which they are unable to maintain. It was happily and acutely observed by Dr. Young, that "the Socinians have been unlucky in the execution of

their main design, for they have not purged mystery out of the Scriptures, they have only changed it's place. They have taken mystery out of the doctrine of the Scripture, where it was venerable, and worthy of the majesty of God, and they have placed it in the phrase of Scripture, where it is opprobrious and repugnant to God's sincerity." They have even proceeded farther. They have arrogantly pronounced upon matters beyond the reach of human inquiry, and then falsified the word of God, because it interfered with their opinions.

We have not room to follow Dr. Miller closely through the remainder of this admirable book. There is a passage, however, which states with so much accuracy the sentiments of the Church of England, as opposed to Arians and Calvinists, that we cannot forbear extracting it :

" By the Unitarian the death of Christ is regarded as having only given, like the death of any other teacher of religion, a solemn attestation of the truth of the doctrine which he taught. By those who hold that Jesus Christ was more than a prophet, and that his death was instrumental to the salvation of men, three different opinions have been entertained concerning the nature of its instrumentality. One extreme of these three opinions is, that the crimes of men were imputed to Jesus Christ, who, though really innocent, was regarded by the Father as guilty, and his suffering accepted in the place of the punishment of the real offenders. This is the doctrine, which, though unjustly attributed to the established church, has justly provoked the animadversions of Doctor Bruce. The other extreme opinion is that of Doctor Bruce himself, and probably of all those, who are denominated Arians ; this maintains that the salvation of men is effected, not directly by the death, but by the intercession of Christ ; and that his death is concerned only as a part of that obedience, for which he was rewarded with the power of procuring the pardon of offenders. The intermediate doctrine, which is that of the established church, is that repentant sinners are saved, not merely by the intercession of Jesus Christ, but directly by the efficacy of his death, which the Father had constituted the means of human salvation, though without imputing guilt to him, who *knew no sin*, or accepting his suffering simply as a commutation of punishment for the satisfaction of offended justice. What is the nature of that direct connection of the death of Christ with the salvation of men, the church does not pronounce, because it has not been revealed, but we deem the doctrine itself to have been explicitly declared in numerous passages of the sacred writings, and therefore to be one, which we are bound to receive with the humblest reverence. It is for a sincere and pious reader of the Bible to consider, whether he is at liberty to understand as merely figurative, all the passages so strongly describing Christ as an offering for the sins of the world, and to frame a system of redemption through the inter-

cession of Christ, in which his death should be regarded as but indirectly instrumental, and of secondary, and even contingent importance.

“ If there be at this day, and in these countries, as Doctor Bruce has alleged, a multitude of enthusiasts, whose fanaticism prompts them to delight in the prevalence of vice, as more plainly illustrating the instantaneous operation of the Holy Spirit in conversion, the author of this treatise, and the church of which he is a member, would join with Doctor Bruce in the utmost severity of his condemnation of a persuasion so unchristian and so pernicious. That there are enthusiasts, who delight in the actual prevalence of vice, the author has not known; though he has been satisfactorily assured, that enthusiastic preachers have expatiated with complacency on the vicious practices of their own lives, which had preceded their conversion, and that one in particular had declared from his pulpit, that a life of sin was the best preparation for the divine acceptance. Those indeed are horrors, which every reasonable Christian must reprobate and reject; but he should at the same time take care, not to suffer his abhorrence of a pernicious enthusiasm to hurry him into a rejection of the essential doctrines of his religion. The Anabaptists of Germany were deservedly odious to every man of a moral and religious mind: what Protestant however will hold, that Luther, in his indignation at their vicious extravagancies, should have abandoned the Reformation?” P. 120.

These are the sentiments of a scholar and a Christian. The man who can thus reason and discriminate is an able champion of the truth, and a safe guide in theological discussion. Under such instructors, the younger part of the Irish clergy can hardly fail to rise in public estimation. We confidently hope that they will continue to advance in learning, activity and zeal, and thus to refute in the most effectual manner, those base aspersions which are daily heaped upon their heads.

Dr. Miller has subjoined to his observations on the doctrines of Christianity, a very masterly vindication of the Athanasian creed. Here he undertakes to shew,

“ That the parts of the Athanasian creed, which have been understood to condemn to everlasting perdition, those who should not faithfully hold the particular opinions detailed in the creed, are really but declaratory of the judgment of our Saviour, recorded by Mark the evangelist, and have been introduced only that attention may be awakened to a subject of so great importance: that the creed does not propose any metaphysical explanation whatsoever of the doctrines which it maintains, but, asserting them in an authoritative manner, refers all to the Scriptures as revealed truths: that the apparent contradictions in the statements of the creed arise only from the negations opposed to the contrary errors of those, who on the one part rejected the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and

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on the other maintained an entire distinctness of three divine beings ; that the divine unity is represented as consisting in a common God-head, in which however the Father, being the only underived Person, and the source of the divinity of the others, is especially distinguished by the title of God Almighty, as of primary dignity : that the difficulty of this great mystery consists in the utter inadequateness of our limited faculties to comprehend any infinite object, and should therefore be considered as exclusively to be referred to the authority of revelation : that the question of the eternity of the Son belongs to a consideration of existence, to which we know that we cannot apply our notion of successive time, though we are incapable of conceiving existence independently of succession ; and that the assertion of it can be understood by us only as the negation of an opinion, which would degrade the Son from a participation of the divine nature to the infinitely inferior rank of a created being : and that the doctrine of the incarnation, as stated in the creed, could be so stated only for maintaining, that the second Person of the Trinity did take upon him our whole nature, and did not merely assume a human body, and the outward semblance of a man." P. 207.

We need not add a word in commendation of Dr. Miller. His book may safely be left to stand upon its own merits, and will soon be appreciated as it ought to be by all who are competent to form a judgment. It is indeed a painful task to trace the aberrations of the human mind in a matter of such unspeakable importance as the doctrines of religion. The inquiry, however, is not without its use. It proves the vanity, the danger, and the sin of adding to or diminishing from the word of God. It shews that when men once depart from the obvious sense of Scripture, they virtually discard it as a rule of faith. Their creed has no longer any solid foundation. They may believe any thing or nothing ; and may quickly wander from one notion to another, till they become determined infidels. These remarks are confirmed by the whole history of Arian and Socinian heresy. The doctrine of our Lord's divinity lies at the very root of Christianity. It is the life and essence of the whole system ; and those who disbelieve it, must invent a method of salvation for themselves very different from that which is revealed in Scripture. We take leave of this subject in the language of an illustrious man, whose authority the Socinians are very fond of quoting. His own words will prove with what justice Grotius is represented as the advocate of their opinions : "*Minimè mirum est profecto, si qui Christo gloriam naturalem, hoc est veritatis deitatem, sustinent, eundem et officia ipsius immittunt, et beneficia ipsius præcipua recusant ignoscere. Tibi, Domine Jesu, ut vero deo, ut vero redemptori, ut vero sacerdoti, ut veræ pro peccatis victimæ, cum patre et spiritu, uno tecum deo, sit honos et gloria.*"

ART. IV. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1824. Part II. Physical and Miscellaneous Papers.*

IN our last Number we took a cursory view of the recent progress and present state of Astronomical Science, as displayed in its periodical records. We now propose to extend a similar survey to such other parts of physical knowledge as have of late called forth, in any peculiar degree, the labours of men of science.

Among such contributions there is always much which will not be of a nature to attract particular attention, or which may be sufficiently described by a very brief notice.

In the volume of the Philosophical Transactions just named, we may enumerate several papers of this description. Mr. Dillwyn has continued his former remarks on fossil shells, in a second letter to the president (No. 21), and Dr. John Davy has communicated some further particulars relative to a case of pneumato-thorax before described. This paper (No. 14) will be interesting chiefly to the medical profession; as that by Dr. Wollaston (No. 13), on the apparent direction of the eyes in a portrait, will be to the painter and caricaturist; in fact, we could not give an intelligible account of it, without the spirited embellishments from the designs of Sir T. Lawrence, with which it is accompanied.

In the department of physiology Sir Everard Home has been assiduously employed, and has, in the present volume, given us two papers; one (No. 22) on some particulars in the anatomy of the Mexican Proteus, called Axolott, into the details of which we shall not enter; the other (No. 11) on some curious facts respecting the walrus and seal discovered by the examination of specimens brought to England by the polar ships. These facts consist in the peculiarities of structure of the hind flipper, or foot of the walrus, the structure of the stomach, and of the placenta. The former of these alone we consider as of general interest. In a former part of the transactions, Sir E. Home had ascertained the peculiarity of structure in the foot of the common fly, as well as of some species of lizards, by which they are enabled to walk and support themselves in positions opposite to gravity, as on a ceiling, or on a smooth perpendicular glass. This structure consisted in certain folds on the under surface of the foot, which the animal has the power of expanding, so as to produce a vacuum in the cells or cavities formed between them, when the foot is placed against any surface. By this means the weight of the animal is supported against

gravity by the pressure of the air. Precisely the same structure was now found in the hind foot or fin of the walrus. By this means it is enabled to hold itself firmly against the smooth surface of the blocks of ice in the polar seas. The anatomical structure of the muscles and tendons by which this power is given, closely resembles that of the corresponding parts in the human hand, which, if enveloped in an elastic covering extending beyond the ends of the fingers, might be used in a similar way. P. 235, &c.

In a short paper (No. 18), Mr. Tredgold has given a set of very neat experiments on the elasticity of steel, from which he infers, that its elastic force is sensibly the same at all states of temper. He conceives his results to agree very closely with the explanation given by Dr. Young of the hardening of steel:—

“ After a piece of steel has been raised to a proper temperature, a cooling fluid is applied, capable of abstracting heat more rapidly from the surface than it can be supplied from the internal parts of the steel. Whence the contraction of the superficial parts round the central ones, which are expanded by heat, and the contraction of the central parts in cooling, while they are extended into a larger space than they require at a lower temperature, produces that uniform state of tension, which diminishes so much the cohesive force in hard steel. The increase of bulk by hardening agrees with this explanation; and it leads one to expect, that any other metal might be hardened, if we could find a means of abstracting heat with greater velocity than it's conducting power.” P. 359.

Captain Sabine, assisted by Lieutenant Forster, during their visit to Spitzbergen in the summer of 1823, made some observations, partly for the purpose of verifying the heights of certain hills on that coast, and partly for that of comparing the barometrical with the geometrical method of determining elevations. With respect to the former object, they found the chart, as well as the elevations of the hills, laid down by Capt. Phipps, extremely incorrect. The accordance between the determinations of an elevation measured with the greatest possible care, and with the best instruments, was found to be very close. It appears to Captain Sabine, that the erroneous statement of the height of the hill in Capt. Phipps's delineation, must have been an error in the insertion, rather than in the observations. “ The genuine record,” he observes, “ might now have furnished materials, interesting perhaps in a geological point of view, of tracing how much, or possibly how little, diminution in height the naked and pointed summits of the Spitzbergen hills have sustained in the lapse of half a century, and in a climate

which is considered as peculiarly destructive." (No. 16, see page 308, &c.)

The velocity with which sound travels through the atmosphere was a point investigated by several philosophers in the early periods of modern science. Newton gave the theory of its propagation, and expressed its velocity by a formula. Actual experiments however, on this velocity, instituted in various countries, went to prove the velocity as found by observation, about $\frac{1}{2}$ greater than can be deduced by theory. This difference was accounted for by La Place, on the supposition that heat is evolved by the compression of the particles of air by the undulations. To determine the quantity of heat thus generated was found impossible; empirical corrections were therefore of necessity resorted to; and the accuracy to which this can be done must depend upon the accuracy of the experiments; hence the advantage of repeating them with greater attention to precision. One of the greatest improvements made in the mode of performing operations of this kind, was the plan of observing at *two* stations the interval between the appearance of the flash and the hearing of the report of guns fired simultaneously at each. Thus the effect of wind in altering the interval was annihilated, the one result being increased by the same quantity as the other was diminished.

This precaution was not adopted till the experiments of the French Academicians were made, in 1822, at the suggestion of M. La Place, in 1823, at the proposal of his Royal Highness Prince Frederick, Master General of the Ordnance to the King of the Netherlands, the officers of the artillery, together with Professors Moll and Van Beck, undertook a most elaborate series of observations in Holland. (The full account of their operations and results is given in the volume before us, No. 23, p. 424, &c.) A vast number of precautions not used in former experiments were adopted. The state of the atmosphere, in all its affections, was carefully observed at each station with the best instruments, and the distances of the stations accurately determined by trigonometrical measurement. Of the various details we shall not attempt any description, but shall merely state, that the various results were carefully corrected for the state of the atmosphere, and compared with theory, and with previous determinations. The greatest attention was bestowed on having the shots rigidly simultaneous, by means of accurate time-keepers at each station. The place selected was an extensive heath in the province of Utrecht, and the stations were small hills distinctly visible from each other, at about

$2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, the one named Kooltjezberg, the other Zevenboompjes. The general result from all the experiments was, that sound travels at the rate of 1089.7445 English feet per second, at 32° Farenheit. This result agrees nearly with that of the French philosophers, which is rather greater, as also that of Flamstead, Halley, &c. An extensive comparison of all former determinations, is given at the end of the paper.

On a former occasion we laid before our readers some account of Sir H. Davy's researches relative to the preservation of copper from oxidation, by the contact of more oxidable metals. In the volume of the Transactions now before us, we have a short paper, (No 12), from the same author, describing some further investigations on the same subject. He tried several experiments with the view of ascertaining the proportion of protecting metal which might be most advantageous; hammered iron was compared with cast, and he found that the latter, which is the cheapest and most easily procured, is likewise best suited to the purpose; it lasts longer than any other protector, and the plumbaginous substance which is formed after the action of sea water upon it retains the original form of the iron, and does not impede the electrical action of the remaining metal.

It would naturally follow, as a consequence of the theory upon which the process was deduced, that in many cases there would be a deposition of alkaline substances upon the negatively electrical copper; this Sir H. Davy found actually took place. Some sheets of copper having been exposed nearly four months to the action of sea water, and defended by from $\frac{1}{33}$ to $\frac{1}{80}$ of their surface of zinc and iron, became coated with a white matter, which on analysis, was found to be principally carbonate of lime, and carbonate and hydrate of magnesia. Copper on vessels, defended to this extent, on becoming thus coated, became also covered with weeds, insects, &c. When the protection was diminished to below $\frac{1}{130}$ of the surface, the electrical power of the copper being less negative, more neutralized, and nearly in equilibrio with that of the menstrum, no such deposition or adherence of weeds, took place; the surface was slightly corroded, but not to such a degree as to be at all injurious. This experiment is of great practical importance, as pointing out the exact limits to be adopted in defending the coppering of ships. Sir H. Davy considers the wear of cast iron from the oxidation to be not so great, but that a mass of two or three inches in thickness will last for some years; this, he

thinks, however, will depend in some measure upon other circumstances, such as the saltiness of the sea, and perhaps the rapidity of the ship's motion. It was with the view of ascertaining the effect of this last circumstance, that the author has since made a voyage in a steam-boat across the German ocean, and we understand, found that the utmost velocity of the vessel made no difference whatever in the protecting power of the iron.

But in carrying on these researches, our author has not confined himself to the particular application, important as it is, which has now been mentioned: he has extended the principle to several other objects. Of these the account he has given in the conclusion of the paper is but short, and we cannot do better than extract it.

“ Weak solutions of salt act strongly upon copper; strong ones, as brine, do not affect it; and the reason seems to be, that they contain little or no atmospheric air, the oxygen of which seems necessary to give the electro-positive principle of change to menstrea of this class. I had anticipated the result of this experiment, and upon the same principle, of some others.

“ Alkaline solutions, for instance, impede or prevent the action of sea-water on copper; having in themselves the positive electrical energy, which renders the copper negative. Lime water, even, in this way, renders null the power of action of copper on sea-water.

“ The tendency of electrical and chemical action being always to produce an equilibrium in the electrical powers, the agency of all combinations formed of metals and fluids is to occasion decomposition, in such an order, that alkaline, metallic, and inflammable matters are determined to the negative part of the combination, and chlorine, iodine, oxygene and acid matters to the positive part. I have shewn in the Bakerian lecture for 1806, that this holds good in the voltaic battery. The same law applies to these feebler combinations. If copper in contact with cast-iron be placed in a vessel half full of sea-water, and having its surface partially above that of the water, it will become coated with carbonate of lime, carbonate of magnesia, and carbonate of soda; and the carbonate of soda will gradually accumulate, till the whole surface in the air is covered with its crystals: and if the iron is in one vessel, and the copper forming the arc with it in another; and a third vessel of sea-water in electrical connection by asbestos, or cotton, is intermediate, the water in this intermediate vessel continually becomes less saline; and undoubtedly by a continuance of the process might be rendered fresh.” *Phil. Trans.* 1824, 2, 246.

We should add, that in a note, the author mentions, that he is at present engaged in applying the principle of the experiment just described on alkaline solutions, to the preservation of animal and vegetable substances. Also, that scientific artist, Mr. Pepys, has ingeniously applied the protecting

principle by inclosing finely cutting instruments in handles, on cases lined with zinc.

Several years have now elapsed since the president of the Royal Society in the further prosecution of those researches on flame, which had already led him to the most important practical results, discovered some new and curious phenomena in the combustion of mixed gases, by means of fine wires of platinum, introduced into them at a temperature below ignition. A wire of this sort being heated much below the point of visible redness, and immersed in a mixture of coal gas and oxygen gas in due proportions, immediately became white hot, and continued to glow until all that was inflammable in the mixture was consumed. The wire, repeatedly taken out of the mixture and suffered to cool below the point of redness, instantly recovered its temperature on being again plunged into the mixed gases. The same phenomena were produced in mixtures of oxygen with olefiant gas, with carbonic oxide, with cyanogen, and with hydrogen; and in the last case there was an evident production of water. When the wire was very fine, and the gases had been mixed in explosive proportions, the heat of the wire became sufficiently intense to cause them to detonate. In mixtures which were non-explosive from the redundancy of one or the other gas, the combination of their bases went on silently, and the same chemical compounds were formed as by their rapid combustion. For the accounts of these researches, we refer our readers to the *Phil. Trans.* 1817, Part I.

In the autumn of 1823, results of a nature closely analogous in some respects were announced by Professor Doberheimer of Jena, with this striking additional circumstance, that when platinum in a spongy form, is introduced into an explosive mixture of oxygen and hydrogen, the metal, even though its temperature had not been previously raised, *immediately glows*, and causes the union of the two gases to take place, sometimes silently, at others with detonation. It is remarkable, however, that platinum in this form, though so active on mixtures of oxygen and hydrogen, produces no effect, at common temperatures, on mixtures of oxygen with those compound gases which were found by Sir H. Davy to be so readily acted upon by the heated wire. One gas, carbonic oxide, indeed appears from the statements of M. M. Dulong and Thenard, to be capable of uniting with oxygen, at the temperature of the atmosphere, by means of the spongy platinum; but Dr. Henry in repeating the experiment, found, that though this is in strictness true, yet the combination was so extremely slow, that the due diminution of volume was not

completed till several days had elapsed. And on mixtures of olefiant gas, of carburetted hydrogen, or of cyanogen, with oxygen, the sponge does not, by any duration of contact, exert the smallest action at common temperatures.

It was this inefficiency of the platinum sponge on the compounds of charcoal and hydrogen, in mixture with oxygen, while it acts so remarkably on common hydrogen, and also, though slowly on carbonic oxide, that suggested to Dr. Henry the possibility of solving by its means some interesting problems in the analysis of gaseous bodies; he hoped more especially to be able to separate from each other the gases constituting certain mixtures, to the compositions of which approximations only had been made, by comparing the phenomena and results of their combustion, with those which ought to ensue, supposing such mixtures to consist of certain hypothetical proportions of known gases. For instance, it might be expected that, from a mixture of hydrogen and carburetted hydrogen with oxygen, the platinum sponge would cause the removal of the hydrogen, leaving the carburetted hydrogen unaltered. To ascertain this, and a variety of similar points, he made artificial mixtures of the combustible gases in known volumes, and submitted them, mixed with oxygen, sometimes to contact with the sponge, and sometimes with balls made of clay and platinum; a method also used by Professor Dobereiner, the sponge being mixed into a paste with fine clay, and then formed into small balls, by which means it is readily passed up into a gaseous mixture, through the mercury in the pneumatic trough. Dr. Henry's paper is of considerable length, and is so full of curious facts, that it is hardly possible to abridge it. Various mixtures of nearly all the gases formed the subjects of numerous experiments; in the first instance at common temperatures, and subsequently when the temperature was considerably raised. The former condition distinguishes those experiments which are comprized in the first section of the paper. The general conclusion to this section is given in the following words:—

“From the facts which have been stated, it appears, that when the compound combustible gases mixed with each other, with hydrogen, and with oxygen, are exposed to the platinum balls or sponge, the several gases are not acted upon with equal facility; but that carbonic oxide is most disposed to unite with oxygen; then olefiant gas; and lastly, carburetted hydrogen. By due regulation of the proportion of hydrogen, it is possible to change the whole of the carbonic oxide into carbonic acid, without acting on the olefiant gas or carburetted hydrogen. With respect, indeed

to olefiant gas, this exclusion is attended with some difficulty, and it is generally more or less converted into carbonic acid and water; but it is easy, when olefiant gas is absent, so to regulate the proportion of hydrogen, that the carbonic oxide may be entirely acidified, and the whole of the carburetted hydrogen be left unaltered. This will generally be found to have been accomplished, when the platinum ball has occasioned a diminution of the mixture, at about the same rate as atmospheric air is diminished by nitrous gas, when the former is admitted to the latter in a narrow tube." P. 276.

In the 2d section Dr. Henry proceeds to trace the effects of the platinum on gaseous combinations at increased temperatures. He conceives that the effect of varying the proportion of free hydrogen to the compound combustible gases, on the degree of action which is excited by the platinum sponge, will perhaps admit of being explained by examining the facts already stated in connexion with the degrees of combustibility of the compound gases under ordinary circumstances. He then states the order of their combustibility, as given by Sir H. Davy; and, observes, that it is precisely in this order that the three compound gases require hydrogen to be added to them, in order to be rendered susceptible of being acted upon by the platinum sponge. He hence considers it extremely probable, that the temperature produced by the union of the hydrogen and oxygen, forming part of any mixture, is the circumstance which determines the combustible gases to unite or not with oxygen, by means of the sponge.

Dr. H. however thought it further desirable to ascertain the exact temperature at which each of these gases unites with oxygen by means of the sponge. For this purpose the gases mixed with oxygen enough to saturate them, were severally exposed in small retorts, containing a platinum sponge, and immersed in a mercurial bath, to a temperature which was gradually raised till the gases began to act on each other. In this way a vast number of results, equally new and interesting, were obtained, which it will be impossible here to particularize. The 3d section, we shall only add, contains the application of the facts before ascertained to the analysis of mixtures of the combustible gases in unknown proportions.

The whole paper, it is obvious, must be carefully perused by any one who wishes fully to appreciate its excellence; and as a model of accurate and elegant experimental inquiry, we cannot too highly recommend it to the attention of the student.

Our readers will hardly need to be reminded of the valuable investigations respecting the deviation of the needle on ship-board, from the action of the iron of the vessel, which we

have from time to time brought under their notice, and in which so much has been effected by Mr. Barlow, of the Royal Military Academy. To these researches some addition has lately been made by Mr. G. Harvey, of Plymouth. This gentleman's name will be known to our readers as connected with various able investigations on the effect of magnetism on chronometers, &c. He has lately turned his attention to the magnetism of ships; and an elaborate paper on the subject is inserted in the volume of the Transactions now before us (No. 20). Whether the author has ever heard of Mr. Barlow's discoveries we do not know; but it would seem rather strange, that in taking up an inquiry so closely connected with that in which Mr. B. has made such distinguished advances, he should not so much as allude to any previous researches on the subject. It may certainly be said, that his object was not identically the same as that of Mr. B. or any earlier inquirer; but, from the introductory paragraph, it appears to us to differ very little.

“It having appeared, from many unquestionable experiments, that the variation of the compass as determined on shipboard, is subject to remarkable anomalies arising from the unequal influence of the iron distributed through the various parts of the vessel, and from the changeable intensity of the same, occasioned by the different directions of the ship's head with respect to the magnetic meridian, and from its different situations on the surface of the earth, it seemed desirable that some attempt should be made, to discover in what way the attractive forces are distributed throughout the vessel, and particularly in the vicinity of the binnacle, by a series of careful experiments.”—P. 310.

Such was Mr. Harvey's object. He accordingly made experiments on board several vessels; some having no iron on board, except what was employed in their construction; others in a state of complete equipment. Several stations were fixed upon in different parts of the vessel, having a reference to certain imaginary planes, and the intensity of magnetic action at each station was to be determined with the ship's head in several different positions, with respect to the magnetic meridian. The instrument employed for determining the intensity was similar to that denominated the apparatus of Coulomb; consisting of a magnetized cylindrical bar, two inches and a half long, and $\frac{3}{8}$ ths of an inch diameter, delicately suspended by a single fibre of a silk-worm to the extremity of an adjusting screw, which worked in the cap of the glass vessel inclosing the bar. A brass wire likewise passed through the cap, having its lower end bent into an angular form, for the purpose of placing the bar in a direction at right angles to the magnetic

meridian, previous to its being allowed to oscillate. On the different days devoted to the experiments, before visiting the ship, the time of making 50 vibrations of the needle was determined in the centre of a meadow, and of which the substratum was clay-slate, by a mean of six sets of experiments, performed with the utmost care; the time being registered to quarter seconds. The instrument was then taken on board, and placed in succession at the different stations, previously assumed in the ship, and the mean of six sets of experiments determined at each station with the same care as on land. The times of performing the oscillations on shore, and at each of the assumed points in the ship, necessarily gave the magnetic intensity at each station in terms of the terrestrial intensity, and which in this case was represented by 100.

The results of extensive observations conducted in this way on board four different vessels, with others of a more limited kind on board six others are given in tables. From a comparison of these, it appears that the changes of intensity under the different circumstances are remarkably great and irregular. It is impossible here to describe them particularly, as they are only to be explained by a reference to the sections and plans of the ships with which the paper is illustrated. Mr. H. calculated the position of the centre of force in each case, which was found to undergo very curious changes; in one instance he found the locus of it to be a curve of double curvature.

The magnetism arising from position is, it is well known, of a very variable kind; developing its intensity in some situations of an iron mass, with singular energy and force, and in others exhibiting only an action of the feeblest kind. These changes, manifesting their influence in an instantaneous and rapid manner, are considered by Mr. Harvey to account for many of the anomalies in the course of these experiments, from the numerous alterations which took place in the bearings of the ship's head, and the consequent change of intensity of every mass of iron.

From a subsequent set of experiments he concludes, that the changes of magnetic intensity, at any station in the vessel are regulated by laws analogous to those which influence simple masses of iron. The variations of intensity, however, at the several stations were of a very unequal kind. In some parts of the ship the alteration of a quarter of a point in the direction of the head was productive of a greater change than the variation of an entire point at some other stations. Nor does the change of intensity at the same point appear to be proportional to the alteration in the direction of

the ship's head. Such inequalities must however be considered as necessary consequences of the irregular distribution of the iron, and of its inequality of action.

One of the most curious of Mr. H.'s results is, that no definite relation appears to exist between the magnitudes of the ships, and of the resulting intensities; but it seemed in general, that the *changes* of intensity were considerably greater on board small ships than in those of larger size.

We omitted to allude to one interesting topic, which is adverted to near the beginning of the paper. Mr. H. found that the proximity of houses sensibly affected the instrument, when carrying on his operations on land; and it was to guard against this that he chose his station in an open field. This fact was observed some years ago (though Mr. H. does not allude to it) by Professor Hansteen, who concluded, from observations made on the effects of a tower at Copenhagen on an apparatus like Mr. Harvey's, for measuring the intensity, that every vertical mass on the earth's surface, composed of any materials whatever, acquires a species of magnetic power, having a south pole above and a north pole below. [See Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, No. 8, p. 299.] We may here take occasion to remark, that the fact observed by Professor Hansteen appears to us not unlikely to afford a satisfactory solution of several apparent anomalies which the magnetic needle has presented to the notice of different observers; among these there is one of a very remarkable kind, which we alluded to in our Review of the Philosophical Transactions, 1823, Part II. In a paper in that volume, by Mr. Barlow, a remarkable difference is mentioned between the indications of the needle in and out of doors. Mr. B. seems very doubtful as to the nature of this effect, and is rather inclined to ascribe it to the influence of light; [see his paper, p. 340, &c.] We have long been rather disposed to attribute it to some modification of the same effect as that mentioned by Hansteen, and which we think by no means unlikely to be of a *thermo-electric* nature.

In the present improved state of navigation, the accuracy of chronometers is a point of the most essential importance, and one to which accordingly the greatest attention has been given, both in respect to the construction of the machine, and to the investigation and prevention of external causes of inaccuracy. It has been shewn by Mr. Fisher, astronomer to the Arctic expedition, and subsequently by other experimenters, that chronometers are sensibly affected by magnetism; but besides this source of irregularity in their rates, there is another, which appears hitherto to have been over-

looked; this is the variable density of the medium in which the balance performs its vibrations. To this curious point the attention of Mr. Harvey has been directed, and in the paper which he has laid before the Royal Society, and which appears in the present volume of the Transactions, he conceives it will clearly appear, that changes in the density of the air will produce very sensible alterations in the rates of delicate chronometers.

His first experiments consisted in subjecting chronometers to a *less* pressure than that afforded by the ordinary state of the atmosphere. This was done by partially exhausting a receiver under which they were placed; with several chronometers it appeared that the rate *increased* with the *diminution* of pressure; but with others, exactly the reverse took place. The same experiment was varied, by transporting the chronometers to a place considerably elevated above the sea, and comparing their rate with that which obtained at the level of the sea. Here again the same difference of rate, with the same irregularity as to particular chronometers, was exhibited. This was tried in several different places, and calculated on the same data for various others at different elevations. Thus, although it appears from these experiments that the alterations of rate in the *same* chronometer depend on the density of the medium in which it is placed, yet the magnitudes and characters of the changes in *different* time-keepers are very dissimilar, which would seem to arise from *some* peculiarity of construction.

From these effects of a diminution of atmospheric pressure, it was inferred by the author, that from an *increase* results entirely the reverse would arise; that is, that each particular instrument, if it *gained* by being placed in air of a *less* density than the ordinary state of the atmosphere, ought to *lose* by being subjected to a *greater*. Accordingly by introducing different time-keepers into a condensing engine, furnished with an appropriate mercurial gauge, those *opposite results* actually took place.

Thirdly, to obtain alterations of rate of the most striking and remarkable kind, the effects of suddenly removing the instruments from condensed into rarified air, and *vice versâ*, were estimated by a series of careful experiments. The results were exactly such as might have been expected, and differed in different instruments as before.

The fourth point to which Mr. Harvey's attention was directed was, to consider how far the ordinary changes in the density of the air may be likely to exercise an influence on the rate of a chronometer. The range of the

mercurial column in London, may on an average be estimated at $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the author thinks there can be no doubt, but the difference produced in the density of the air by such a range, must, if the transition be at all sudden, and the difference constant for 24 hours, or even less, be sufficiently considerable to affect the majority of chronometers; he found however, a great difference in this respect existing among the chronometers which he tried; the change of density which in one machine would occasion an alteration of rate amounting to several seconds, in another, would scarcely produce any sensible effects; and he found, during the whole of the experiments, a considerable difference in this particular, between pocket and box chronometers; the former being most readily affected by alterations of atmospheric density.

After stating the particulars of these experiments, Mr. H. makes the following interesting remarks:—

“ From these experiments it may therefore be inferred, that a difference in the density of the atmosphere represented by a quantity less than an inch of quicksilver, if continued for a day, was capable of affecting all the chronometers employed; and this is an atmospheric change by no means uncommon in this variable climate. Nor is it indeed necessary that the alteration of density should even continue for twenty-four hours, since from the change of rate being instantaneous (as will be proved in a subsequent page), six hours will be sufficient in some cases to disclose it. In cases however where the variations of the mercurial column are but small, and its transition from one state to another marked by a gradual character, the effect on the generality of chronometers, is scarcely if at all perceptible. With a difference in the mercurial column of an inch and three quarters, or two inches, I have little doubt but all time-keepers will be influenced; and it is moreover known, that from a species of re-action in the atmospherical columns, it not unfrequently happens that the greatest depression of the barometer succeeds to a considerable elevation of it, and *vice versâ*, so as to exhibit a difference of this kind. In the instance of the remarkable depression of the barometer, in December 1821, Mr. Howard informs us it sunk on the 25th instant to 27.83 inches, and on the 27th remained for twelve hours stationary at 28.07 inches; and from which time to the 31st, it rose to 30 inches. How many examples might be selected from the experiments recorded in the preceding pages, to prove that a difference of two inches in the barometer for 12 hours, would be sufficient to produce an alteration of rate; and there can be little doubt, that had the rates of some good chronometers been carefully attended to,* during this singular alteration of atmospheric density, variations of rate at least equivalent to that produced by transporting a time-

* I have attempted, but without success, to obtain the rates of some good chronometers during this period.

keeper from London to Geneva; would have been observed. The sudden changes to which the density of the atmosphere is sometimes liable in this climate, renders it necessary therefore, that a correction should be applied to the rate of a chronometer proportional to the alteration of density; the correction partaking in some cases of a positive character, and in others of a negative. A similar correction must likewise be necessary when a traveller ascends to any considerable elevation above the sea; for example, to Geneva, to the plains of the Castiles, or to the table land of Mexico. The value of the correction will be different for different time-keepers, and in all cases must be determined by previous experiment.

“ The changes here alluded to can influence chronometers only beyond the tropics, since between them it is known, that the fluctuations of the barometer do not much exceed a quarter of an inch; but in the arctic regions, where the causes which promote alterations of atmospheric density are the greatest, the effect on the time-keeper must be the greatest also. In proportion, however, as we ascend above the level of the sea, the uncertain changes of the barometer are known to approximate to uniformity; and therefore at higher elevations, the same chronometer would preserve a greater regularity of rate than in the lower regions of the air.” P. 397.

It now became the subject of question, whether the alterations of rate displayed under the circumstances of the foregoing experiments, is acquired *immediately* on the change of pressure taking place, or whether any length of time is required to produce the effect. Numerous experiments shewed that the former is the case.

Mr. H. tried a further experiment, to ascertain, whether the increase of *temperature*, generated by the condensation of air, had influenced the results. This was found not to have had any perceptible effect.

To account for these changes of rate, the most simple supposition is, that a change takes place in the arc of vibration of the balance, in consequence of the altered density of the air. If the adjustment of the balance were so perfect as to give an exact isochronism in its vibrations, the increase or diminution of the arc would not affect the isochronism, nor consequently the rate. But if, as must be the case in reality, the isochronism be in the slightest degree imperfect, this change in the arc will cause a change in the rate. From the very delicate nature of the balance, and increase in the density of the medium, will tend to diminish its arcs of vibration. Mr. Attwood (Phil. Trans. 1794) gave an expression for the function which represents the daily aberration of a chronometer. It depends on the ratio of the original and disturbed arcs, affected by an exponent denoting the ratio between the

elastic force of the spring, and the angular distances from the point of quiescence. It is shewn, that according to certain alterations in these elements, the rate will undergo certain alterations. It appears, that if the supposition be that which accords with the elastic force of the spring being in a *less* ratio than that of the angular distances from the point of quiescence, then if the disturbed arc be *less* than the original, the value of the function will be positive, or the chronometer will gain in condensed air, and *vice versâ*. If on the other hand, we suppose the ratio of the elastic force of the spring to be *greater* than that of the angular distances, then in condensed air the value will be negative, and the chronometer will lose; and *vice versâ*.

Every reader will be struck with the extreme elegance of this application of mathematics to the physical problem. It at once points out to us a cause which will produce a change of rate on an alteration of density in the medium, and equally accounts for that singular circumstance, that the change should be of an opposite character in different instruments. Upon the whole, we cannot quit the subject, without recommending to the critical and mathematical reader, the whole paper, as a truly beautiful specimen of pure experimental inquiry in the first instance, combined with a subsequent application of the resources of analysis, leading at once to the true theory of a class of phenomena of no inconsiderable interest in a practical point of view.

Our remarks have already extended themselves to a greater length than, we fear, will be agreeable to many of our readers; we must, therefore, be very brief in our notice of the only remaining investigation to which we have to direct their attention. This comprizes an example of the practical application of chronometers in some important determinations of longitudes. The paper is entitled, "a short account of some observations made with chronometers, in two expeditions sent out by the Admiralty, at the recommendation of the Board of Longitude, for ascertaining the longitudes of Madeira and Falmouth, by Dr. J. L. Tiarks; No. 19." In these excursions, a point of very high importance in geography came into notice. Dr. T. by observations with numerous excellent chronometers, transported many times backwards and forwards between Dover and Falmouth, as also afterwards between Portsmouth and Falmouth, found the differences of longitude so deduced to be greater by several seconds of time, (on the former instance 4 sec. corresponding to 1 min. in distance), than those found by the trigonometrical survey. Having verified this remarkable discrepancy, by using every possible

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degree of exactness in his observations, the author enters upon some mathematical investigations, to point out how the error must have crept into the results of the survey. This he shews, took place in the mode of reducing the results for the sphericity of the earth; and points out, that the value adopted in calculating the survey for the earth's ellipticity is incorrect, whilst the results of his chronometrical observations agree very closely with the most exact determinations of the figure of the earth. This agreement will doubtless be very much in favour of the chronometers, and there cannot remain much doubt, that the error which Dr. T. has the merit of having pointed out, does really exist; but it may perhaps become a subject of question, after what has been ascertained respecting the changes of rate to which chronometers may become subject, whether the variation in the pressure may not have been such in the intervals of these observations as to require attention, and to have been sufficient to cause some part of the difference.

ART. V. *Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures; in Three Parts, &c. By the Rev. George Paxton, Professor of Theology to the Associate Synod.* 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 16s. Edinburgh, 1825.

THERE is nothing which respects the East more remarkable than the permanency of the habits, manners and institutions by which its several tribes and kingdoms are distinguished. The character of the people has been as stable and immoveable as the mountains and valleys which diversify the face of their country; and the features of Ararat or of Libanus, are as much altered by the action of time, as are the national usages of the wandering hordes or powerful empires which occupy the plains by which they are surrounded. The mode of life which prevailed in the days of Abraham, is followed by the Arabian shepherds of the present day. The manners of Laban's family again; the pursuits and occupation of Jacob, his marriage, the character of his wives, and the principle on which he procured them, are still vividly represented in the pastoral districts of Mesopotamia, as well as among the numerous clans who watch their flocks in the desert between the Red sea and the Persian gulph. In the establishment of a modern Emir, we find the same wealth, the same authority, the same employments, recreations, domestic habits and public regulations, which marked the state of an Ishmaelitish prince, two thousand years before the Christian era. The traveller in Arabia, in

these latter days, beholds exhibited in the heads of the greater families, the dignity and opulence of the man of Uz; sees the descendant of Esau living by his sword; and the progeny of Hagar traversing the wilderness, armed with the bow and quiver, rich in camels and she asses, and their hands, as of old, lifted against every one who intrudes upon their parched and desolate inheritance.

It is for these reasons, that the ancient history, the religion, and the civil institutions of all oriental nations are found to receive the best and most pleasing illustration, from a survey of the habits and manners which they continue to follow at the present day. The case is extremely different with regard to all European countries. For example, it would be in vain to seek in the usages and manners of England, as they appear in the nineteenth century, an illustration of any obscure passage in the works of Gildas, or of Jeffery of Monmouth, or of Matthew of Westminster. On the same account, the present habits of Saxony or Bavaria do not throw any light on the *Germany* of Tacitus; while the description which Julius Cæsar gives of the aboriginal inhabitants of Great Britain does not tend in the smallest degree, to identify the dwellers on the Thames or the Forth, with the fierce barbarians who, in his time ventured to oppose in the field of battle, the legions of Rome. The modes and establishments of the West are deficient in that principle of permanency and sameness, which enables us to compare the present with the past; and to derive from the practice of our own days, a guide to lead us, with perfect intelligence, through all the intricacies and darkness of the most ancient annals, and to a full and intimate acquaintance with the remotest nations of the earth. For these advantages, we must confine ourselves to the language and institutions of Asia, and throughout that vast continent we shall find that all the uses of thinking and acting are like the laws of the Medes, which admitted of no change.

When biblical criticism and sacred antiquities first invited the attention of Protestant Divines, their industry was fortunately directed to the remains of oriental literature, and to an examination of the actual condition of society in those countries of which the inspired writers were natives. One of the first authors in this department was Bochart; whose *Geographia Sacra* and *Hieroicoicon* are works which continue to be highly esteemed, and to afford great assistance to a number of less laborious compilers. In his time, indeed, comparatively little information had been obtained from the volumes of travellers in Palestine and other eastern

countries; and we have to add, that the little which he did possess, was a good deal obscured, by the unseasonable introduction of Hebrew analogies and Talmudical imaginations. But with all these objections to his labours, Bochart must be acknowledged to have conferred a signal favour on theological learning, by his ingenious interpretation of many difficult passages in the ancient Scriptures, and particularly by the new light which he derived, in a great variety of cases, from his minute knowledge of sacred geography, and of the natural history of the East.

In more modern times we have been supplied with a large stock of materials for illustrating the Holy Scriptures, as well as other portions of ancient history. We owe much to Pococke, Maundril, Chardin, and the Abyssinian Bruce. This last writer paid particular attention to Jewish antiquities, and thereby succeeded in giving the proper meaning to a number of words and phrases in the Old Testament, which were not formerly understood. Since his day, we have to add the names of Shaw, Norden, Morier, Niebhier, Dr. Edward Clarke, Browne, Buckingham, Forbes, Belzoni and Wilson, to all of whom the oriental scholar is very much indebted. Hyde, Richardson, Jones and Malcolm, have added their contributions to a more recondite and mystical species of learning; but these authors, as well as Reland, Henry, Juriew and Lewis, are entitled to the lasting gratitude of every one who is desirous to view the ancient world, through the medium of its literature, religious rites and domestic usages.

Every student of divinity is acquainted with Harmer's Observations, and with Burder's Oriental Customs and Literature; and we may add, there is no one who has read them with attention, who will not be ready to approve the plan upon which these works are constructed, and the accuracy and talent with which they are compiled. The volumes now before us are written with the same object, and are, generally speaking, formed of materials derived from the same sources. Mr. Paxton divides his subject into three parts, and illustrates Scripture, 1st from the Geography of the East; 2dly, From the Natural History of the East; and 3dly, From the Customs and Manners of ancient and modern Nations.

In the first part, he draws largely and freely upon Dr. Wells and Bochart; abridging with success their dissertations on the situation of the Garden of Eden, the Mountains of Ararat, the Land of Shinar, and the City and Tower of Babel. Then he comes to the *Dispersion of Mankind*, the

Conquests and Kingdom of Nimrod, the Mountains of Canaan, and the Lakes and Rivers of Palestine. With respect to the two former of these subjects, the Professor would have obtained some useful knowledge in the learned work of the late Dr. Hales, entitled, an Analysis of Ancient Chronology; more especially in regard to the character and dominions of Nimrod, on which he has not, we think, adopted the most probable opinions. There is not, we grant, any sure ground on which to come to a decided judgment, in relation to a point which has received so little light from history; but Dr. Hales has collected every ray of that light, and made it to bear so skilfully upon the facts in which all writers agree, that henceforth, we are satisfied there will be among oriental scholars, a nearer approach to unanimity, respecting the origin of the Assyrian empire, than there has hitherto been.

The second part embraces a description of animals and vegetables. The latter are classed under the two heads of "Herbs and Shrubs of Canaan," and the "Woods and Trees of Palestine." The former denomination comprehends "Insects, Reptiles, Amphibious Animals, Beasts of Prey, Birds of Prey, and Domestic Animals." There is a great deal of instructive and entertaining matter in all these sections, but it is not such as to admit either of quotation or abridgment. We may be allowed, perhaps, to make an exception in favor of the following passage, which appears to explain very naturally some circumstances touching the parable of the fig-tree, which have not been clearly understood:—

"It is well known that the fruit of these prolific trees always precedes the leaves; and consequently when our Saviour saw one of them in full leaf, he might according to the common course of nature, very justly look for fruit, and haply find some boccores, if not some winter figs, still adhering to the branches. But the difficulty admits of another solution, which some may perhaps reckon more satisfactory. It has already been stated, on the authority of Pliny, that one species of fig-tree is always green, and always bearing fruit, some ripe or very far advanced, according to the season, some in the bud or in the blossom. The statement of this renowned ancient is confirmed in general by Norden, who gives the same account of the sycamore, 'This tree,' he informs us, 'rises to the height of a beech, and bears its fruit in a manner quite different from other trees. It has them on the trunk itself, which shoots out little sprigs, in form of a grape stalk, at the end of which grows the fruit, close to one another, most like bunches of grapes. *The tree is always green, and bears fruit several times in the year, without observing any certain seasons; for I have seen some sycamores that have fruit two months after others.*' Such, it

is reasonable to suppose, was the fig-tree which incurred the malediction of our Lord. It stood by the side of the public road leading from Bethany to Jerusalem; it was therefore a wild fig or sycamore, for this was the only species that they planted in such situations. It is always green, (with leaves unquestionably); but he might discern the leaves of the tree, and its general verdure, long before it was clear to observation whether any figs adhered to the trunk or not. It bears fruit several times in the year, without observing any certain seasons; our Lord, then, did not expect this tree to bear its fruit out of the proper season, for he knew it disregarded the usual time of figs, and produced at any season of the year."

The third part of the work is the most important of the whole; containing illustrations of Scripture, from the pastoral life of the Orientals; from the state of agriculture in the East; from the houses, cities, walls and towers of the East; from the dress of the Orientals; the meals and public entertainments of the East; from the marriage ceremonies; from the contracts and covenants of Eastern nations; from the various modes in which the Orientals expressed their respect for one another; from the honours shewed to the dead; from the administration of justice in Palestine and the East; from the public games in Greece; and from the military affairs of the ancients. We know not whether the following observations are quite new, but they are at least ingenious and amusing:

"Many of the Arabian inhabitants of Palestine and Barbary wear no shirts, but go almost entirely naked, or with only a cloth cast about their bodies, or a kind of mantle. It is not improbable that the poorer inhabitants of Judea were clothed in much the same manner as the Arabs of those countries in modern times, having no shirts, but only a kind of mantle to cover their naked bodies. If this be just, it greatly illustrates the promise of Sampson to give his companions thirty sheets, or as it is more properly rendered in the margin of our bibles, thirty shirts, if they could discover the meaning of his riddle. It cannot easily be imagined that they were what we call sheets, for Sampson might have slain thirty Philistines near Askelon, and not have found one sheet: or if he slew those who were carrying their beds with them on their travels, as they often do in modern times, the slaughter of fifteen had been sufficient, for in the East, as in other countries, every bed is provided with two sheets; but he slew just thirty, in order to obtain thirty *sedenim* or shirts. If this meaning of the term be admitted, the deed of Sampson must have been very provoking to the Philistines; for since only people of more easy circumstances wore shirts, they were not thirty of the common people that he slew, but thirty persons of figure and consequence. The same word is used by the prophet Isaiah, in his description of the splendid and costly dress in which people of rank and fashion then delighted, rendered in our transla-

tion fine linen: which seems to place it beyond a doubt that they were persons of rank who fell by the hand of Sampson on that occasion."

We find from the following anecdote, extracted from Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, that a sovereign was held in consideration according to his weight: whence we are to infer, that in proportion as a prince became corpulent, he gained a firmer hold upon the affections or reverence of his people. The interest which the subjects of the Mogul felt or pretended to feel, in his personal prosperity, was long manifested by a curious ceremony. On his birth day, in obedience to an ancient custom, he is weighed in a balance, in the presence of his principal nobility. The ceremony is performed in a spacious apartment of the palace, into which none are admitted but by special permission. The scales in which the emperor was weighed when Sir Thoms Roe resided at his court, were plated with gold; and the beam on which they hung, by great chains, was made of the same precious metal. The emperor, sitting in one these scales, was weighed first against silver coin, which was immediately afterwards distributed among the poor; then he was weighed against gold, and after that, against jewels. By his weight, of which the physicians keep an exact yearly account, they presume to give an opinion relative to the present healthful state of his body; of which, whatever be their real sentiments, they always speak in flattering terms. This ceremony of weighing the Emperor of Hindostan is performed twice every year, at the solar and the lunar anniversary of his birth; and according as he is lighter or heavier than before, the physician appointed to attend, pronounces him in a prosperous or declining state. Hence the doom of Belshazzar, written upon the wall, admits of a literal interpretation; it alludes, says Mr. Paxton, to a custom which the Hindoos, when they emigrated from Persia, the land of their fathers, carried with them, and transmitted through a long succession of ages, down to modern times.

In the account here given of the entertainments of the Jews, we find an observation which appears to explain very satisfactorily an expression which was used on a certain occasion by our Blessed Lord, and which has not only created much difficulty to the biblical critic, but has even been made one of the main props of a very unnatural and revolting hypothesis in religion. "The names of the persons to be invited were inscribed upon tablets, and the gate was set open to receive those who had obtained them; but to prevent any getting in that had no ticket, only one leaf

of the door was left open, and that was strictly guarded by the servants of the family. Those who were admitted had to go along a narrow passage to the room; and after all who had received tickets of admission were assembled, the master of the house rose and shut to the door, and then the entertainment began." Our Lord evidently refers to the custom of his own nation in his answer to one who idly inquired, Are there few that be saved? "Strive," said he, "to enter in at the strait gate; for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able. When once the master of the house hath risen up and shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without and knock at the door, saying, Lord, Lord, open unto us; and he shall answer and say unto you, I know not whence ye are."

The allusion made by our Saviour affords a key to the true meaning of his words; which is, that mankind should be careful to avail themselves of their privileges before the time appointed for their probation shall elapse; because when the limited period shall have expired, such as were invited will find themselves in a condition even more painful and hopeless than that of those to whom no invitation had ever been tendered.

In Hindostan, when a person of rank and opulence receives a guest whom he wishes to distinguish by peculiar marks of regard, he pours upon his hands and arms, in presence of the whole company, a delightful odoriferous perfume, puts a golden cup into his hand, and pours wine into it till it runs over; assuring him at the same time, that it is to him a great pleasure to receive him into his house, and that he shall find under his roof, every comfort that he has it in his power to bestow. The reference in the 23d Psalm to their custom, which, it is probable, was at one time general throughout the East, is at once beautiful and striking: "Thou preparest a table for me in presence of mine enemies; thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over."

The following application of a Scriptural expression was quite new to us. The oriental slave, we are told, must not look his master in the face; he stands before him with his eyes directed to the ground, or fixed on the *hand* of his owner, watching the sign which is to regulate his movements. To this profound reverence and solicitous attention of the bondman in the presence of his master, the Psalmist evidently alludes when he describes his feelings and conduct when engaged in the solemn exercises of devotion. "Unto Thee, lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens.

Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God until he have mercy upon us."

Can the expression used by Isaiah in reference to the Messiah, '*he shall sprinkle many nations,*' be explained by the following usage? When the company was ready to separate, says a certain traveller, a servant entered and sprinkled them profusely with rose water, as a valedictory mark of his master's regard. In some places this was done at the beginning of the entertainment, and was considered as a cordial welcome. Mr. Bruce informs us, that when he rose to take his leave of an eastern family, he 'was presently wet to the skin by deluges of orange flower water.' The first time, says Niebuer, speaking of his reception in the house of a Greek merchant at Rosetta, 'we were received with all the eastern ceremonies; there was one of our company who was excessively surprised, when a domestic placed himself before him, and threw water at him, as well on his face as on his clothes.' It is supposed, that the Prophet alludes to this custom, when he predicted, that the author of Christianity would sprinkle, or receive, many nations with kindness and munificence, and entertain them with a feast of fat things, after the manner of Oriental princes.

We are reminded by the expression, *feast of fat things*, of the corresponding phrase used by the same inspired writer, of *wines on the lees*. The natives of the East keep their wine in earthen jars, from which they have no method of drawing it off pure; and, for this reason, it is commonly in a thick and turbid state by the lees with which it is mixed. To remedy this inconvenience, they filtrate or strain it through a cloth; and to this practice Isaiah is supposed to allude, when he says, 'And in this mountain shall the herd of hosts make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' The same allusion occurs in our Lord's declaration to the Pharisees; "Ye strain at (out) a gnat, and swallow a camel." Maimonides in his treatise of forbidden meats, affords a remarkable illustration of our Saviour's proverbial expression: "He who strains wine, or vinegar, or strong drink, and eats the gnats or flies, or worms which he hath strained off, is whipped." In those hot countries, gnats were apt to fall into wine, if it were not carefully covered; and passing the liquor through a strainer, that no gnat or part of one might remain, grew into a proverb for exactness about little matters.

It is obvious at the same time, that our translation should be *strain out*, and not *strain at* ; the latter expression conveying a very different and less suitable meaning.

The Abbe Muriti informs us, that it is a common practice in Cyprus, to change the vessels in which their wine is kept. This is done to improve it ; and he says, nothing tends more to bring it to perfection than to draw it off into another vessel, provided this is not done until a year after it is put into the cask. Chardin observes, they often pour wine from vessel to vessel in eastern countries ; for when they begin one jar, they are obliged immediately to empty it into smaller vessels or into bottles, else it would grow sour. The Prophet Jeremiah alludes to this custom in the case of Moab, who had become exceedingly corrupt during a long course of prosperity. “ Moab has been at ease from his youth, and he hath settled on his lees, and has not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither has he gone into captivity ; therefore his scent remained in him, and his taste is not changed.”

The numerous allusions in Scripture to the *horn*, as an emblem of power, are sufficiently explained by the fact, that such an emblem of might and authority, is still very generally employed throughout the East. A horn adorns the head of all princely personages in Oriental mythology. Large horns, too, representing the glory of the deity, are planted on the heads of their idols, or placed in their hands ; to which circumstance, the Prophet seems to refer in these words : “ he had horns coming out of his hand ; and there was the hiding of his power.” The Indian soldier wears a horn of steel on the front of his helmet, directly over the forehead. In Abyssinia, the head-dress of the principal governors, according to Mr. Bruce, consists of a large broad fillet bound upon their forehead, and tied behind. In the middle of this rises a horn, or conical piece of silver, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle-extinguishers. This is called *Kirn*, a slight corruption of the Hebrew word *Kasen*, a horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. The crooked manner in which they hold the neck when this ornament is on their forehead, for fear it should fall forward, seems to agree with what the Psalmist calls speaking with a stiff neck : “ Lift not up your horn on high ; Speak not with a stiff neck ;” for it perfectly shows the meaning of speaking in this attitude, when the horn is held exactly like the horn of a unicorn. An allusion is even made to this idea in another passage, “ But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of a unicorn.” To raise the horn was to clothe one with authority, or to do him honour ; to lower it, to cut it off,

or to take it away, was to deprive one of power, or to treat him with disrespect.

Salutations at meeting are not less common in the East than in the countries of Europe; but this mark of reverence or kindness, is usually confined to those of the same nation or religious party. When the Arabs salute one another, it is generally in these terms: *Salam Aleikum*, "peace be with you;" laying, as they utter the words, the right hand on the heart. The answer is, *Aleikum Essalam*, "with you be peace;" to which aged people are inclined to add, "and the mercy and blessing of God." The Mahommedans of Egypt and Syria never address a Christian in those terms: they content themselves with saying, "Good day to you," or "Friend, how do you do?" Neibuker's statement is confirmed by Mr. Bruce, who says, that some Arabs to whom he gave the salam, or salutation of peace, either made no reply, or expressed their astonishment at his impudence in using such freedom. Thus it appears that the Orientals have two kinds of salutation; one for strangers, and another for their own countrymen, or persons of their own religious profession. The Jews in the days of our Lord, seem generally to have observed the same custom. They would not address the usual compliment of *peace be with you*, to either heathens or publicans: the publicans of the Jewish nation would use it to their own countrymen who were publicans, but not to heathens; though the more rigid Jews refused to do it, either to publicans or heathens. Our Lord required his disciples to lay aside the moroseness of Jews, and to cherish a benevolent disposition towards all ranks and classes of men. "If ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?"

The extracts which we have given will indicate with sufficient clearness, the nature of Mr. Paxton's work. It may, indeed, be described as a supplement to Harmer and Burder, and as being drawn up somewhat more systematically than the compilations of those popular authors. The Geography and Natural History, contain an interesting summary of Bochart's large volumes, and even all that is valuable in the *Specilegium* of Michaelis, the abridger of Bochart. On the whole, therefore, these Illustrations of Sacred Scriptures, will be found very useful to the young student of theology, and this, not less for what they actually contain than for what they suggest, in the way of reference to more original sources of information. The style, we may observe, is capable of considerable improvement. It has occasionally too much of the preaching rant about it, and is, of course, loose and inaccurate in its

structure. Almost all the quotations, too, from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin writers are deformed by typographical errors; many of which are so gross and palpable, as to excite a doubt whether the printer be really answerable for the whole. Professor Paxton should correct the press with his own hand, if he wish to retain the reputation of accurate scholarship.

ART. VI. *Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée pendant l'Année 1812. Par M. le Général Comte de Ségur.*
Quatrième Edition. 2 Vols. Paris. 1825.

TEN years have now elapsed since the final close of that extraordinary train of events whose most important crisis is detailed in the pages before us, and these "piping times of peace" have given birth to a new generation, who will perhaps eagerly ask how the thoughts and feelings, the habits and pursuits of their fathers, were influenced by the wonders which they witnessed. In their eyes, probably, those features of the "*Siècle de Napoléon*," which have not yet receded sufficiently from our own view to assume their proper bearings, will be mellowed down into the tone and keeping of a grand historical picture; which, though nearly complete, is still susceptible of strong and characteristic touches from a hand so able as that of Count Philip de Ségur. That he must have enjoyed every opportunity of information on the subjects which he describes, may be inferred from his military rank, and the known favour which his family enjoyed near the person of Napoleon, in whose eyes talent and efficiency bore an additional value when accompanied by patrician birth: and the strongest internal evidence that these opportunities have been well employed, is that he has been in no hurry to communicate their result to the world, and in no part boasts of them. The great demand for the work, and the sensation which it has excited in France, are of course further testimonies to the authenticity of anecdotes which correspond with all that we have hitherto considered as the best authorities.

As an introduction to the history of the campaign itself, M. Ségur enters at large into the political situation of Europe in general, as rendering the invasion of Russia an indispensable step in Napoleon's plans. What those plans were, we never before have heard so honestly avowed from the mouth of a confessed admirer.

“ D’ailleurs la France s’était aliéné les peuples par ses conquêtes, et les rois par sa révolution et sa dynastie nouvelle. Elle ne pouvait plus avoir d’amis ni de rivaux, mais seulement des sujets; car les uns eussent été faux, et les autres implacables: il fallait donc que tous lui fussent soumis, ou elle à tous.” Vol. I. p. 8.

The discontents of those at whose expense this fifth monarchy was to be founded, and the motives which held them more or less in check, are luminously detailed, and supply additional information on many points on which we have already heard a good deal.

The firmness of character and purpose of Alexander, appears never to have been appreciated till too late by Napoleon, whose disposition, natural and acquired, tended to foster that mode of judging of mankind, which our own noble poet remarks upon with somewhat of a fellow-feeling:

“ Ambition steeled thee on too far to shew
That just habitual scorn which could contemn
Men and their thoughts; ’twere wise to feel, not so
To wear it ever on thy lip and brow,
And spurn the instruments thou wert to use
Till they were turn’d unto thine overthrow.”

For the contemptuous dislike with which M. Ségur asserts him always to have regarded the King of Prussia, there might at one time have been a better foundation. The conduct of Frederick William in latter life entitles him to credit for a consistent course of pacific policy, dictated by patriotic motives, and from which his own feelings as a man and a sovereign did not prevail on him to depart, without the sanction of the public voice; but it must be owned that the struggle between fear, self-interest, and propriety, as evinced in the occupation of Hanover,

“ Letting ‘ I dare not’ wait upon ‘ I would.’”

like the poor cat i’ th’ adage, was likely enough to encourage the insolence with which Napoleon treated him. The connivance, too, which the latter was forced by circumstances to extend to the political effrontery of that consummate Janus, M. Haugwitz, in 1805, must have operated on his haughty spirit as a bitter source of resentment, which seems to have burst forth when the victory of Jena made him absolute master of Prussia. Every method was studiously employed to break and humble the spirit of a nation to whose animosity he was jealously alive, but whose steady persevering German character, and its capabilities, his defective moral education did not allow him to appreciate as M. Ségur appears to do.

“ En effet, les étincelles d'une haine jalouse et impatiente échappaient à la jeunesse prussienne, qu'exaltait une éducation patriotique, libérale et mystique. C'était au milieu d'elle que s'était élevée une puissance formidable contre celle de Napoléon : elle se composait de tout ce que sa victoire avait dédaigné ou offensé ; elle avait toutes les forces des faibles et des opprimés, le droit naturel, le mystère, le fanatisme, la vengeance ! La terre lui manquant, elle s'appuyait du ciel, et ses forces morales échappaient à la puissance matérielle de Napoléon. Animée de cet esprit de secte ardent, dévoué, infatigable, elle épiait tous les mouvements de son ennemi, tous ses côtés faibles, se glissait dans tous les intervalles de sa puissance ; et, se tenant prête à saisir toutes les occasions, elle savait attendre avec ce caractère patient et flegmatique des Allemands, cause de leur défaite, et contre lequel s'usait notre victoire.

“ Cette vaste conspiration était celle des *amis de la vertu*. Son chef, c'est-à-dire celui qui vint à propos pour donner une expression précise, une direction et de l'ensemble à toutes ces volontés, fut *Stein*. Peut-être Napoléon eût-il pu le gagner ; il préféra le punir. Son plan venait d'être découvert par l'un de ces hasards auxquels la police doit la plupart de ces miracles : mais quand les conjurations sont dans les intérêts, dans les passions, et jusque dans les consciences, on ne peut en saisir les fils ; chacun s'entend sans se communiquer, ou plutôt tout est communication ; c'est une sympathie générale et simultanée.” Vol. I. p. 17.

The dangerous indications of this spirit, which the instructions of Schill and the Duke of Brunswick furnished, were answered by additional measures of severity on the part of Napoleon, who had gone too far to recede, and whose situation with regard to Prussia in 1811, reminds us of Virgil's lines :—

Haud aliter quam qui adverso vix flumine lembum
Remigiis subigit ; si brachia forte remisit,
Atque illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni.

When therefore Alexander, as well from a regard to his own safety, as a feeling for the cause of monarchy in general, demanded the evacuation of Prussia, Napoleon felt that even had his pride allowed of this step, it would be a confession of weakness dangerous in the present situation of his affairs in Spain ; and instead of conciliating, would throw an exasperated nation en masse into the hands of his enemies. This, therefore, appears to have been the main point at issue ; the extension of the continental system into Russia, was, perhaps, only a nominal condition due to his pride, but which he could not expect to be strictly enforced. The present narrative commences with that period when both parties were preparing for that war which they perceived unavoidable, and when the system of bare-faced distrust and oppression ob-

served towards Frederick William had attained such a height, as to justify fully that secret understanding with Alexander, which M. Ségur merely asserts as an "on dit."

Austria, from family connexion and hopes of aggrandizement, would naturally embark in the approaching struggle with more good will; jealous also, according to M. Ségur's conjecture of both parties, and hoping to derive strength from their weakness. The minor German states, (with the exception perhaps of Saxony, which Napoleon had taken some pains to serve and conciliate, and whose gratitude seems to have been consistent,) were of course not voluntary agents.

To the reasons before described as acting on the mind of Buonaparte, M. Ségur, with the skill of a prudent and adroit apologist, adds the following; that the Emperor had long been aware of the declining state of his own health, and anticipated the probability of leaving his son a minor, to contend with Alexander in the vigour of life and ambition; and that therefore he wished to ensure the future peace of Europe, by crippling this formable antagonist during his own lifetime. We are assured also by the author, (and strongly inclined to believe his assertion,) that whatever the rashness of Napoleon's subsequent practice might have been, he undertook the war most cautiously in point of theory, embracing every means of statistical information on the subject of Russia, which an active system of espionage, and the study of two years, afforded; and that he did not resolve on the final declaration of hostilities, without long and anxious deliberations, in which most of his principal officers took a share. The contest between his obstinacy, and his wish to divide with others a responsibility which he felt too heavy to bear alone, is one of the best pieces of writing in the work, which details luminously and concisely the substance of the conferences in question. Every argument of prudence, justice and expediency, as regarded both the internal and external state of affairs, appears to have been fruitlessly employed by Caulaincourt, Daru, Bertrand, and others of his immediate favourites, (among whom we believe the author's father to have taken a principal part), against a plan which they considered as perfect madness. Poniatowski, who had every thing to hope from the declared intentions of Napoleon with respect to Poland, and in whom, as M. Ségur justly observes, "the love of his country was a great and noble passion," disinterestedly and warmly joined in opposition to his patron's wishes:

"Il peignit la Lithuanie déserte, peu praticable; sa noblesse déjà presque à demi russe, le caractère des habitants froid et peu pressé: mais l'empereur impatient, l'interrompit; il voulait des

renseignements pour entreprendre, et non pour s'abstenir." Vol. I. p. 70.

Napoleon, whose pride could not relinquish a favourite point, and whose moral courage appears to have been unequal to the idea of standing alone, opposed his advisers in a manner which is characteristically described in the following passage :

" Ainsi Napoléon répondait à tout ; son habile main savait saisir et manier à propos tous les esprits ; et, en effet, dès qu'il voulait séduire, il y avait dans son entretien une espèce d'enchantement dont il était impossible de se défendre : on se sentait moins fort que lui, et comme contraint de se soumettre à son influence. C'était, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, une espèce de puissance magnétique ; car son génie ardent et mobile est tout entier dans chacun de ses desirs, le moindre comme le plus important ; il veut, et toutes ses forces, toutes ses facultés se réunissent pour accomplir ; elles accourent, se précipitent, et, dociles, elles prennent à l'instant même les formes qui lui plaisent.

" Aussi la plupart de ceux qu'il avait en vue d'engager se trouvaient-ils entraînés comme hors d'eux-mêmes. On se sentait flatté de voir ce maître de l'Europe, sembler n'avoir plus d'autre ambition, d'autre volonté que celle de vous convaincre ; de voir ces traits, pour tant d'autres si terribles, n'exprimer pour vous qu'une douce et touchante bienveillance ; d'entendre cet homme mystérieux, et dont chaque parole était historique, céder comme pour vous seul à l'irrésistible attrait du plus naïf et du plus confiant épanchement : et cette voix, en vous parlant, si caressante, n'était-ce pas celle dont le moindre son retentissait dans toute l'Europe, déclarait des guerres, décidait des batailles, fixait le sort des empires, élevait ou détruisait les réputations ! Quel amour-propre pouvait résister au charme d'une si grande séduction ! on en était saisi de toutes parts ; son éloquence était d'autant plus persuasive, que lui-même semblait persuadé." Vol. I. p. 82.

With Cardinal Fesch, and others whom he less respected, he employed more summary methods of argument, but still without being able, it seems, to satisfy himself fully. The condition of France, drained of men, and threatened with scarcity, the loss of Ciudad Rodrigo, the success of Kutusoff against the Turks, and the misunderstanding with the Pope, were reasons which contributed to keep him still in a tormenting state of indecision, which was at last terminated by Alexander's ultimatum. Still, however, in the approaching contest, he seems to have reckoned till the last moment, upon the assistance of Sweden and Turkey, and to have issued his orders to Bernadotte, with the air of a suzerain to his vassal, which the latter, although he does not make any great figure in the hands of M. Ségur, might fairly have been allowed to

resent, flattered as he was by the proposals of the opposite parties, and retaining the recollection of his former rivalry with Buonaparte. As to Mahmoud, whom Napoleon had long treated cavalierly, as the dethroner of his friend and ally Selim, the ill success of his arms inclined him to accept of the terms offered by the treaty of Bucharest.

The third book describes the triumphal march of Napoleon through Germany, the levee of crowned heads which he ostentatiously held at Dresden, the secret heart-burnings of the sovereigns who saw themselves deserted by their own courtiers, and elbowed by the parvenus and myrmidons of the French court; and the entry of the army into the western part of Poland, where, in spite of the pillage which it was difficult to repress in an army of all nations, and too numerous to be amenable to one common eye, Napoleon was warmly received. The details of positions in the 4th book we pass over, remarking, however, the account of the passage of the Niemen as worked up with striking historical effect. Scarcely, however, had the frontiers of Russia been entered by the vanguard of the grand army, struggling with each other for precedence in a march from which only one man in twenty was to return, when, to use the words of M. Ségur, as applied to the final result, "the expedition broke down under its own weight." The arrangements which had been prepared and methodized by the unremitting exertions of a year and upwards, began already to miscarry from the immense scale on which they were conducted, and from difficulties which had not as yet been foreseen; a violent and continued storm of thunder, lightning and rain, which, as well as Napoleon's fall from his horse, was considered as ominous, added to the general discouragement; ten thousand horses fell victims to the inclement weather and the green corn which was their only forage; and famine and disorder prevailed in every corps save in that of Davoust. The excellent method adopted by this general appears to have even excited the jealousy of Napoleon, who found his wishes anticipated, and nothing left for his own direction, as regarded the first corps. "Its regiments," says M. Ségur; "contained workmen of every sort, so that every kind of provision or clothing was made up or repaired on the march. They were colonies at once migratory and civilized."

At Wilna, Buonaparte felt himself called upon by the Polish and Lithuanian deputies to make some definitive statement of his intentions towards their country; but his language was cold and temporising, and evidently regulated

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by the understanding which it was necessary to maintain with Austria; the civil department was entrusted to a French commissary; and in several instances the few nobility of the country who joined the imperial standard were plundered by the army, and left in utter nakedness and destitution on their way to head-quarters. General orders and menaces were employed in vain on a miscellaneous force moving on by forced marches, and suffering privations which had already driven many young soldiers to suicide; and although the Polish part of Napoleon's army (of whose self-devotion a noble instance is given in vol. I. p. 153.) remained as steady and attached as the *élite* of his own soldiers, distrust prevailed among the mass of the nation which had looked to him as their liberator. Under these discouraging circumstances, the emperor pushed on in a state of feverish anxiety, which was at once the cause and the effect of his declining health, looking to a victory as the only thing which could extricate him from his embarrassments. Barclay de Tolly, however, whose plan of operations appears to have been long formed and digested, would not be forced into premature action either by the manœuvres of the French, or the ardour of his own troops; and disregarding the popular clamour raised against him by the native Russians, compelled the unwieldy force to which he was opposed to wear itself out in the sands and forests of Lithuania; fighting just sufficiently to cover the removal of any thing which could benefit the French, and, as at Rudnia, resuming the offensive whenever they paused. The forward movement in question appears to have provoked Napoleon to break his intention of wintering at Witepsk, and devoting the rest of the year to the affairs of Poland. Irritated by this demonstration, as well as by the recent news of the peace of Bucharest, and by the proclamations of Alexander, and finding that one-third of his forty-two myriads had already disappeared, while the rest were wasting the finest season of the year in famine, inaction and discontent, the emperor again bid defiance to his advisers, and pushed on for Smolensk, gaining more than a day's march on the left flank of the Russians by a combination of movements, which, however unwise their final purpose may have been, seem admirable in themselves. The insulated corps of Newerowskoi were taken by surprise on the southern bank of the Dnieper; and while M. Ségur allows that the Russian general "made the retreat of a lion, and that his men stood like a living fortress, in which nothing but cannon could make a breach," he accompanies the observation by a remark (saving his presence) most divertingly French.

“ Le courage éclairé du soldat français étant d'ailleurs d'une nature plus relevée que celui des soldats russes, esclaves dociles, qui exposent une vie moins heureuse, et des corps en qui les frimas ont émoussé la sensibilité.”—P. 264.

Barclay and his army, however, reached Smolensk just in time to sell the French a dear-bought and only nominal victory; “ a victory,” observes the author, “ almost without fruit; a bloody triumph, of which the smoke that surrounded us, and appeared our only conquest, was but too faithful an emblem.” Nor was the result of the battle of Valoutina more favourable, in which Gudin, an officer of distinguished merit, fell, and his division suffered severely. The following passage, detailing the review of the troops on the field of battle, shews forcibly the nature of the means employed by Napoleon to flatter and attach his soldiers, and divert their attention from the sacrifices which they were making; while at the same time it describes the nature of those sacrifices with the frightful accuracy of an eye-witness.

“ Les soldats de Ney et ceux de la division Gudin, veuve de son général, y étaient rangés sur les cadavres de leurs compagnons et sur ceux des Russes, au milieu d'arbres à demi brisés, sur une terre battue par les pieds des combattants, sillonnée de boulets, jonchée de débris d'armes, de vêtements déchirés, d'ustensiles militaires, de chariots renversés et de membres épars; car ce sont là les trophées de la guerre! voilà la beauté d'un champ de victoire!

“ Les bataillons de Gudin ne paraissaient plus être que des pelotons; ils se montraient d'autant plus fiers qu'ils étaient plus réduits: près d'eux, on respirait encore l'odeur des cartouches brûlées et celle de la poudre, dont cette terre, dont leurs vêtements étaient imprégnés, et leurs visages encore tout noircis. L'empereur ne pouvait passer devant leur front sans avoir à éviter, à franchir ou à fouler des baïonnettes tordues par la violence du choc, et des cadavres.

“ Mais toutes ces horreurs ils les couvrit de gloire. Sa reconnaissance transforma ce champ de mort en un champ de triomphe, où pendant quelques heures régnèrent seuls l'honneur et l'ambition satisfaits.

“ Il sentait qu'il était temps de soutenir ses soldats de ses paroles et de ses récompenses. Jamais aussi ses regards ne furent plus plus affectueux; quant à son langage, ‘ ce combat était le plus beau fait d'armes de notre histoire militaire; les soldats qui l'entendaient, des hommes avec qui l'on pouvait conquérir le monde; ceux tués, des guerriers morts d'une mort immortelle.’ Il parlait ainsi, sachant bien que c'est surtout au milieu de cette destruction que l'on songe à l'immortalité.

“ Il fut magnifique dans ses récompenses: les 12^e, 21^e, 127^e de ligne, et le 7^e léger, reçurent quatre-vingt-sept décorations et des grades; c'étaient les régiments de Gudin. Jusque là, le 127^e avait

marché sans aigle, car alors il fallait conquérir son drapeau sur un champ de bataille, pour prouver qu'ensuite on saurait l'y conserver.

“ L'empereur lui en remit une de ses mains ; il satisfit aussi le corps de Ney. Ses bienfaits furent grands en eux-mêmes, et par leur forme. Il ajouta au don par la manière de donner. On le vit s'entourer successivement de chaque régiment comme d'une famille. Là, il interpellait à haute voix les officiers, les sous-officiers, les soldats, demandant les plus braves entre tous ces braves, ou les plus heureux, et les récompensant aussitôt. Les officiers désignaient, les soldats confirmèrent, l'empereur approuva : ainsi, comme il l'a dit lui-même, les choix furent faits sur-le-champ, en cercle, devant lui, et confirmés avec acclamation par les troupes.

“ Ces manières paternelles, qui faisaient du simple soldat le compagnon de guerre du maître de l'Europe ; ces formes, que reproduisaient les usages toujours regrettés de la république, les transportèrent. C'était une monarchie, mais c'était celui de la révolution, et ils aimaient un souverain parvenu qui faisait parvenir : en lui tout excitait, rien ne reprochait.

“ Jamais champ de victoire n'offrit un spectacle plus capable d'exalter ; le don de cette aigle, si bien méritée, la pompe de ces promotions, les cris de joie, la gloire de ces guerriers, récompensée sur le lieu même où elle venait d'être acquise ; leur valeur proclamée par une voix dont chaque accent retentissait dans l'Europe attentive ; par ce grand capitaine, dont les bulletins allaient porter leurs noms dans l'univers entier, et surtout parmi leurs concitoyens et dans le sein de leurs familles, à la fois rassurées et enorgueillies, que de biens à la fois ! ils en furent enivrés : lui-même parut d'abord se laisser échauffer à leurs transports.

“ Mais lorsque, hors de la vue de ses soldats, l'attitude de Ney et de Murat, et les paroles de Poniatowski, aussi franc et judicieux au conseil qu'intrépide au combat, l'eurent calmé ; quand toute la chaleur lourde de ce jour eut pesé sur lui, et que les rapports apprirent qu'on faisait huit lieues sans joindre l'ennemi, il se désenchantait. Dans son retour à Smolensk, le cahotage de sa voiture sur les débris du combat, les embarras causés sur la route par la longue file de blessés qui se traînaient ou qu'on rapportait, et dans Smolensk par ces tombereaux de membres amputés, qu'on allait jeter au loin : enfin tout ce qui est horrible et odieux hors des champs de bataille, acheva de le désarmer. Smolensk n'était plus qu'un vaste hôpital, et le grand gémissement qui en sortait, l'emporta sur le cri de gloire qui venait de s'élever des champs de Valoutina.”—P. 311.

The same reasons which had influenced Buonaparte on other occasions, hurried his departure from a place “ where, at the end of eight hundred leagues, his men only found brackish water, famine, and a bivouac on ashes.” His arguments used to Sebastiani, p. 297, betray the state of desperation to which he was reduced ; while to all but his confidential friends, it was necessary to conceal his real motives.

In the mean time the disorder of the army had communicated itself to some of its leaders. Junot had totally failed in a movement which should have ensured the success of the affair of Valoutina; and Davoust, unaccustomed to obey any one but the emperor, resisted the authority of Murat, whose recklessness of human life and comfort was the reverse of his own caution. An open and furious rupture ensued, which destroyed any thing like co-operation between them, and added to the anxieties of Napoleon. The army of Barclay meanwhile retreated in an admirable order, which formed a strong contrast to the condition of the French vanguard, and calls forth the following eulogiums from the author:—

“ ‘ Car il fallait convenir que cette retraite des Russes se faisait avec un ordre admirable. Le terrain seul la leur dictait, et non Murat. Leurs positions étaient si bien choisies, prises si à propos, défendues chacune tellement en raison de leur force et du temps que leur général voulait gagner, qu'en vérité, leurs mouvements semblaient tenir à une plan arrêté depuis long-temps, tracé soigneusement, et exécuté avec une scrupuleuse exactitude.

“ ‘ Jamais ils n'abandonnaient un poste qu'un instant avant de pouvoir y être battus.

“ ‘ Le soir, ils s'établissaient de bonne heure dans une bonne position, ne laissant sous les armes que les troupes absolument nécessaires pour la défendre, tandis que le reste se reposait et mangeait.’ ”
—P. 347.

“ Et cependant il s'était attiré l'animadversion générale ! mais c'était à nos yeux son plus grand éloge. On l'approuvait d'avoir dédaigné l'opinion publique quand elle s'égaraient, de s'être contenté d'épier tous nos mouvements pour en profiter, et ainsi d'avoir su que, le plus souvent, on sauve les nations malgré elles.

“ Barclay se montra plus grand encore dans le reste de la campagne. Ce général en chef, ministre de la guerre, à qui l'on venait d'ôter le commandement pour le donner à Kutusof, voulut servir sous ses ordres ; on le vit obéir, comme il avait commandé, avec le même zèle.”—P. 363.

Posterity will probably do justice to a greatness of mind still more rare than the talent which had conceived and digested the plan of operations in question, and will place this truly noble and single-hearted warrior by the side of Fabius and Themistocles. As to his leading idea, it was simple and original, like the egg of Columbus ; and Kutusoff, much to his credit, continued to act upon it, till he completed the work which his second in command had so successfully begun.

With the detail of the battle of Borodino, in the leading features of which M. Ségur does not differ materially from

Labaume and other writers, we are already familiar, and gladly pass over its horrors. We ought not, however, to forget the testimony which M. Ségur bears to the extraordinary firmness of the Russian combatants, and their wounded after the action. See p. p. 403, 425, Vol. I.

Whether the debilitated state of Napoleon's health rendered him nearly inefficient at Borodino, or whether the refusal to bring up his guard, arose from a fatal presentiment of the crisis when they would most be wanted, is a question which we must leave M. Ségur to battle with the "*vieilles moustaches*," who consider him, we think unjustly, not to have done justice to their former master. The weight of anxiety for the future which preyed upon the mind of the emperor, is, however, strongly indicated by his manner on first beholding Moscow. "*Son premier cri avait été, La voilà donc enfin cette ville fameuse!*" le second, "*Il était temps!*"

The eighth book recounts the well known adventures of Moscow; the destruction of the city, the narrow escape of Napoleon from the burning Kremlin; the mortification and anxiety which he endured during the attempt at negociation with Alexander, during the absence of Lauriston, to whom he had said, *Je veux la paix; il me faut la paix, je la veux absolument; sauvez seulement l'honneur!*—the singular armistice which extended only to the front of the armies, and during which Murat's cavalry was destroyed in detail, while he himself was duped by the flattery of the cossacks, and finally the evacuation of the ruined city. The check of Malo-Jaroslavety, in which the loss of 4,000 men and seven generals only served to discover, that the Russians were in an impregnable position, was the commencement of a second series of sufferings, already too well known to expatiate upon, and whose extent may be judged of by the destitute condition of Davoust himself, which strikingly reminds us of the request of poor King Gilimer to Belisarius. Smolensko and Wilna only formed a momentary respite to perils and privations from which only 20,000 stragglers, and a few hundred men under arms escaped, the remains of nearly half a million.

The sombre detail of these horrors is varied by several characteristic and interesting anecdotes, in which justice is done to the remarkable firmness of Ney and Eugene, and the resolution of the army in general. Nor ought the old beau to be forgot, (see p. 376, vol. 2,) who pursued the ruling passion with as much calmness and intrepidity as the coolest veteran; nor the fidelity of Napoleon's guard, who brought away their master's treasure about their persons, without

diminution. Our favourite hero, however, is the brave and humane artillery-man mentioned in p. 371, vol. 2, whose name deserves a place in the annals of his country. We trust he still survives, to enjoy those feelings which are worth a hundred civic crowns. Such traits as these are valuable, not only as they do honour to human nature in general, but as they encourage also that mutual respect and good will among nations, which is the surest bond of peace.

We will extract one more passage, descriptive of the return over the field of Borodino, which is introduced with simple and marked effect:—

“Après la Kologha, on marchait absorbé, quand plusieurs de nous, levant les yeux, jetèrent un cri de saisissement. Soudain chacun regarda autour de soi; on vit une terre toute piétinée, nue, dévastée, tous les arbres coupés à quelques pieds du sol, et plus loin des mamelons écrêtés; le plus élevé paraissait le plus difforme. Il semblait que ce fût un volcan éteint et détruit. Tout autour, la terre était couverte de débris de casques et de cuirasses, de tambours brisés, de tronçons d’armes, de lambeaux d’uniformes, et d’étendards tachés de sang.

“Sur ce sol désolé gisaient trente milliers de cadavres à demi dévorés. Quelques squelettes, restés sur l’éboulement de l’une de ces collines, dominaient tout. Il semblait que la mort eût établi là son empire: c’était cette terrible redoute, conquête et tombeau de Caulaincourt. Alors le cri, ‘C’est le champ de la grande bataille,’ forma un long et triste murmure. L’empereur passa vite. Personne ne s’arrêta. Le froid, la faim et l’ennemi pressaient; seulement on détournait la tête en marchant, pour jeter un triste et dernier regard sur ce vaste tombeau de tant de compagnons d’armes, sacrifiés inutilement, et qu’il fallait abandonner.” Vol. II. p. 159.

“Did these bones cost no more the breeding, than to play at loggats with them?” might be asked. But the game of ambition will probably be played on till the world’s end, in spite of all the common places of poets and philosophers, and never without some one of those self-deceiving pretexts which those who seek may find. Hence it is highly valuable, that the lions themselves should become the painters; that a person like M. Ségur, conversant with courts and camps, and partial to military glory, but reflective, feeling, and candid, (except where he attributes Russian bravery to fanaticism and thickness of skin,) should become the narrator of such projects. From such a pen future despôts may best be reminded, that their favourite game, where human bones are the counters, entails on themselves the forfeits of perpetual anxiety, remorse and humiliation, that Providence has set bounds to human power and calculation, as well as to physical force, and that their tower of Babel may be, to use the author’s words, “so surcharged, as to crumble under its own weight.”

ART. VII.—*To-Day in Ireland.* In three Vols. Price 24s. London. Knight, 1825.

WE have been a little puzzled by this book. At first we thought it a political squib, disseminating the worst principles in the most artful manner. And there was little in Vol. I. to undeceive us. Vol. II. is composed in a different strain, and ridicules Mr. Martin of Galway, with more effect than good nature. The third volume is almost a panegyric upon the established church of Ireland; and if the writer favours us with a second series, we shall expect him to turn out an orthodox defender of church and state. On the whole, we almost suspect that ‘*To-day*’ is the work of more hands than one. There is as much difference in the ability with which the volumes are written, as in the principles which they are intended to inculcate. ‘*The Carders*,’ the most important and most effective portion of the book, is not to be commended. It describes the Protestant and Roman Catholic priesthood as equally noxious and disgusting, and labours to effect the grand desideratum of the Irish opposition, the overthrow of the established church, without the substitution of any other in its place. Parts of the story of which this is the intended *moral*, are told with great skill. The worst specimens of the priestly order are selected with ingenuity, and exaggerated to the verge of caricature. And if the description of Captain Carder is inferior to that of Captain Rock, which has been furnished by Mr. Moore, and by Mr. Moore’s Detector, there is still a sufficient air of reality about the narrative to make it entertaining.

The Orange curate is introduced to the reader in the following terms:—

“What was wanting, however, of the stern and the sinister in the countenance of Major Hemptenshaugh, was fully discoverable in that of the companion that rode by his side, mounted upon a garran as sorry as that of the Major was stout and well-conditioned. The rider was lean as his steed, and was only prevented by his insignificant stature from answering the description of Don Quixote. His dress of rusty black, and long boots ungarnished by a top, bespoke the man, what scarce could have been guessed, a cleric, whilst the pockets of his scanty spencer, weighed down as they half displayed a pair of moderate-sized pistols, seemed incongruous appendages to a minister of peace.

“Such, nevertheless, professed himself the Reverend Abraham Crostwhaite, the curate of a neighbouring parish, named Cappagh, ill-peopled, it should seem, with orthodox Christians; for Mr. Crostwhaite having for the three first Sundays gone through the service,

addressing his dearly-beloved brother, the clerk alone, shut up the church till better times, and cashiered the poor clerk as an useless expense to the parish. Why the clergyman should not have followed his utterer of responses, few could tell: but, as the present rector could not conveniently reside in his parish, being, to tell the truth, comfortably immured within the walls of the King's Bench, Westminster, a most involuntary absentee, he was obliged to pay a curate for the purpose of satisfying the bishop's scruples, and occupying the ruined glebe. But the active spirit of Abraham Crostwhaite disdained a sinecure: if he could not be useful in one way, he was resolved to be so in another; so after getting drunk once or twice, and showing other equally Orange principles before a great man of the country, the reverend gentleman was forthwith indulged with a commission of the peace for the county. If occupation was his object in thus superinducing a civil dignity over his clerical, he certainly attained it to his heart's content. No less than a dozen self-constituted informers contrived to introduce themselves to him, each with accounts of oaths, plots, and meditated massacres, that made Mr. Crostwhaite's hair stand on end; and the eloquence of the lying rogues so wrought upon the magistrate, that his terrors duped him into a belief of all he heard, by the half too much, as our proverb-learned readers know. So far he was no hypocrite; and he firmly believed that the noble families of the F.'s and the E.'s had actually staked their fate and fortunes in exciting country raganuffins to burn haggards and torture wretches. Fired with whiskey punch and a few pages of Musgrave, many an eve would Mr. Crostwhaite sally forth upon his garran, armed at all points, summon, by virtue of his commission, the unwilling soldiery to accompany him, and make his Majesty's forces patrol bogs and bivouac in a roofless barn, without committing any further exploit on the march than challenging, perhaps, a stray pig, or vainly sacking a cow-house for concealed arms." Vol. I. p. 30.

This character is well kept up; and the Orange lord who patronises the loyal curate, is painted in similar colours. At times we have a sample of more moderate, and therefore probably, more correct sentiments. Mr. Plunket, the best meaning man of the party, gives a plausible account of the rise of that spirit of disaffection which has been the cause of so much mischief.

" 'I'll tell you in one sentence the cause and state of these country troubles. Our peasantry, with their lazy, loitering habits, find that so much an acre can only be made of land, and if a more active man can afford, and consequently does offer a higher rent, they card or murder him; while their priesthood sanctify this vengeance of their sloth by giving a religious pretext, and making them believe it is the cause of Heaven.'

" 'But, Sir,' said the Curate, 'can you believe other than that religion is the very root of all this rebellion?'

“ ‘No, by no means; I think sloth, national sloth, envious and intolerant of improvement, to have been its original cause: religion is but the stalking-horse. Why here, in this very country, do they reverence their priests? do they not mock them; nay, beat them? and will you tell me it is religion that drives them on? Or is it any hatred of the English government, or king, of whose name or existence, much less of whose rights or wrongs, they are utterly ignorant? I remember when these troubles began; they arose simultaneously with, and in opposition to, the spirit of activity and improvement which the great exportation prices produced. This has been the original object of enmity and discontent: it was not we, heretics and gentry, whom they carded or they shot at first, till we provoked them—it was solely the new tenants, that had taken lands at high rents, proportionate to high prices of produce; and these were long the only obnoxious persons; till bigotry, as it always does, immingled itself with awakened passion, and proctors and heretics became then the hated. Religion undeniably has infused a great part of its spirit in the mass, so has perhaps republicanism. But these are wrong scents; and the senator that would emancipate the Catholic Irish, in order to quiet them, would find that he would have the same work of castigation and oppression to continue, in order to keep down the prejudices—the armed sloth, in fact, of the people.’

“ ‘I must own,’ said the Peer, ‘to entertain a very different opinion on these points. I do not think the old families of Ireland have ever ceased from their intrigues: the Jesuits too, established amongst us openly, are no idle beholders of Catholic oppression.’

“ ‘Poh! poh!’ said Mr. Plunket, ‘what are the Jesuits? It is not so much religion as the national character, that agitates our people. It is time that Popery should cease to be a bugbear. It is the sound of alarm that frights us from the exercise of calm judgment, and turns our rulers away from entering into the true causes of Irish disaffection. They may emancipate the Catholics for amusement, and by the way of liberality, and no political consequence whatever will follow from the act. Religion fans the flame of every rebellion, but it must be a very oppressed sect indeed that will of itself illumine the spark.’

“ ‘Well, Plunket,’ said the Peer, ‘I wish what you say were true, and the gentlemen of Ireland were convinced of it.’

“ ‘I wish to Heaven they were, my lord; they would then keep their feet out of Orange lodges, their hands out of blood, and have time to devise (if that indeed is possible) some agricultural laws that would improve the habits of the people, and incline them to imitate the active industry of the English peasant.’

“ ‘An *en attendant*,’ said the Peer, ‘we may rise up some bright morning with our throats cut, as the mayor of Cork prophesied.’”
Vol. I. p. 134.

We cannot follow the thread of the story; nor is it worth the pursuit. The hero is a very insignificant person of the Waverley school, who does very foolish things that he may

get into very awkward scrapes; becomes a sworn Carder without intending it, and narrowly escapes hanging. There is no invention, and little skill in the incidents; but the scenes are frequently well managed, and there is a dash of Irish humour throughout the whole. We prefer, however, taking our extracts from the political portion of the work; and to make amends for the Orange curate, the reader must be treated with the picture of a Jesuit.

“ It had been ordered that none but near relations, or those with a particular order from the magistrates, should be admitted to the prisoners; still the ministers of religion could not be denied access to their flock. Arthur was startled by the appearance of one of these in his prison, wearing not the honest, rosy visage of Father Flynn, but a hard, corded countenance, which he then for the first time beheld. No sooner had the turnkey closed the door on the devotions, as he thought, of priest and prisoner, than the former approaching Arthur, gave him the usual sign of the sworn; and straight plunging his hand into his pocket reproduced it full of guineas—‘Take,’ said the ecclesiastic, ‘what you stand in need of.’

“ ‘Good father, I need none of these,’ said Arthur; ‘to whom am I indebted for so kind an offer?’

“ ‘To those who never forget their friends—to the grand council of the Irish nation. But you are gentle, and take gold from no man,—’tis well,—we’ll spend it in your service. Take these ten, however, for O’Rourke;—he needs them, and I dare not see him.’

“ ‘And how am I to see him?’ said Arthur.

“ ‘You shall see him this night,’ said the ecclesiastic; ‘there are the guineas.’

“ ‘But I like not to take them,’ replied the youth, ‘nor do I want to see that murderer,—that unfortunate O’Rourke. I have been implicated, even to the jeopardy of life, from trifles, and I will hazard no more. Take back your money.’

“ ‘Are ye a Roman, and talk thus? Blessed seed of the martyrs! look down on us this day, and see to what the church has fallen,—a son refuses to peril his little finger in her behalf;—a heretic would do more.’

“ ‘Heretic! or no heretic, father! you lose your breath in preaching. I will budge no further in the cause.’

“ ‘You may not have much further, young man,’ said the priest, turning with a smile to the point where the gaol-front lay, ‘to budge.’

“ ‘I thank ye, father, for your ghostly consolation. You seem to have no wish to budge whither you point. There is danger, it seems, in giving this money to O’Rourke—’tis you who must incur it.’

“ ‘To show you I skulk not from peril, I tell you my commission. There is a slip of paper I have brought you;—note down thereon the names of every witness that you dread, and appear they never shall in this world to confront you.’

“ ‘Thank Heaven! I am not wilfully guilty of belonging to the party that can commission such a proposal.’

“ ‘Indeed!—Suppose then, young man, the money and influence that are now ready to put a dozen witnesses out of your way,—suppose them expended in bringing twelve fresh ones to consummate your fate, and put out of *our* way a false and traitorous friend.’

“ ‘Villain! your durst not do it!—who dare, who could, and one of your cloth——’

“ ‘My cloth, my general, esteem such doings holy,’ said the nettled ecclesiastic; ‘when deeds that in the broad way of life men shudder at, are but the more glorified by the remorse and horror they inspire, if done for the good of the Holy Church, and the honour of our Saviour and his blessed Mother;’ and the ruffian crossed himself devoutly.

“ ‘I have been bred up, Sir, for I will not call you father, in the Roman Catholic religion. Much laxity and ignorance have I observed in it, the necessary attendants on its state in this kingdom; but never have those nefarious principles, that I have read maliciously attributed to it in bigoted volumes, struck my ear till now,’

“ ‘Learn them now, then, and embrace them, or they seal your lips for ever.’

“ ‘Poor country! poor religion!’ exclaimed Arthur; ‘cursed blindness of our rulers, who, amidst all their coercion, can never apply the prohibiting edict and the extirpating knife where both are truly wanting: they for ever accuse the poor Catholic of crime and demoralization, and they blush not to send us an establishment, a living code, and fit teachers of both. You, Sir,’ said the youth, approaching his interlocutor, ‘are a member of the new college established amongst us—in fact, you are a Jesuit.’

“ ‘I am,’ said the ecclesiastic, bending with affected humiliation before the Heavens, whither he turned, yet bursting almost with the pride of belonging to so illustrious a fraternity, ‘an humble follower of the order of Jesus. Books, it seems, have instructed you in our principles; I trust books have also inspired you with a salutary dread of our power.’” Vol. II. p. 69.

Arthur persists, the Jesuit keeps his word, witnesses, suborned by the grand council, establish the prisoner’s guilt; and he escapes, and is acquitted by the unexpected appearance of the real culprit, who sacrifices himself to save his master. The whole affair is revolting and absurd. The most prejudiced opponent of the Jesuits, and the most determined enemy to Ireland, will refuse to believe that such things as these can be, until their reality has been placed beyond dispute. And the folly of the story is heightened, by its being in direct opposition to the commencement of the narrative. If such persons as the imaginary Jesuit really exist, the Orange curate and his patrons are in the right; and the author having devoted one volume to the exposure of their groundless

fears, ought not to come forward in the next volume and substantiate their statements. We have also to complain of "the general description of Irish character contained in the "Carders." It is represented among the lower orders as composed of numerous and shocking vices, with a very small mixture of good. A species of canine fidelity is the only decidedly good trait that we recognize; brutality of every kind appears to be the reigning feature. We do not believe that this is a correct likeness; and wish it had not been presented to us in its rugged and repulsive state.

Connemara, we have already observed, is a caricature of Mr. Martin of Galway, consisting of some broad farce, and a reasonable proportion of common-place novel. The lesson to be learned from the tale, is the savage condition of the Irish Highlands. And we think Mr. Martin is entitled to a protecting statute against the tormenting cruelty of his butchers.

'Old and New Lights' differs materially from the rest of the work. The mischief produced by Bible Society proselytism is well described. The 'New Light' preacher, the Reverend Mr. O'Sing, is one of that species of animals which we trust the sister island will not be permitted to export, and more justice is done to the clergy and the priests, than in either of the preceding volumes. We extract a few samples:—

"Our readers are, perhaps, not aware that an important personage in a country town of Ireland is the Protestant minister, even although the greater part of the population be Catholic; for the priest, without any knowledge or influence beyond his narrow sphere, is quite incapable of offering worldly advice to the distressed poor in any intricate case—of procuring them redress, where the plea must go before a distant personage or court—of signing certificates, and procuring recommendations, for numbers of little benefits and emoluments, which charitable institutions offer to the poor. The priest is unable, from his mean station, and want of knowledge and connexion with the better orders, to act thus a kind of tribune or patron to the poor of his parish. No county magistrate would be patient, or benevolent, thus to devote himself to the petty complaints and interests of those beneath him. The Protestant clergyman does all this; it is the great bond between him, and, not his flock in most cases, but his Catholic parishioners; and this solves the paradox of a nevertheless true assertion, lately made—that the Protestant clergyman was, in many instances, regarded by all persuasions as the father of the parish."

"As the rector of Ardenmore was absent six months of every year, and, during that time, resident in another benefice that he held, this department of parochial duty fell, with the regular duties, to

St. George's share. A pensioner wanted his certificate signed, a poor wife wanted to eke out her pittance by being entrusted with a foundling; some wanted his reverence's good word with the landlord; others, to get letters forwarded to a son in some regiment abroad:—then, all charitable loans and gifts went through the minister's hands; and not one poor family resided in the parish, that had not need, in the course of a twelvemonth, of demanding and receiving some favour or information at the hands of the minister." Vol. III. p. 140.

"Well, Tim," said St. George, "you know that in all this I cannot help you; I have no influence with Mr. Lowrie; and I do not want to hear any ill of him."

"Is it myself spake ill of any one?" replied Tim; "not I, in troth. But I'm a comin to it, if your reverence 'll hear me. Hard-driven we war kept these cruel times; but still we bore on, ontill now that Miss Jimmy Lowrie has set us all astray with the priest."

"What! with Father M'Dowd?—What do you mean?"

"Your reverence knows the meetin that was here to obligate us all to larn to spell out of yere Scriptor. Long life to yerself! that took no part or hand in it; and that's what we all love ye for."

"You mistake, my good friend. The meeting was not for any such purpose. It was merely for the purchase and distribution of cheap copies of the Scriptures."

"Ay, your reverence, that's it; and it's all the same, sure. As they tould us then, it has proved since. For soon after Miss Jimmy set up her school, to tache the children, just as if larning to spell ud make 'em a bit the better."

"And very charitable and kind I think the conduct of Miss Lowrie to have been, in giving her time and attention to teach the poor children around her. A knowledge of reading and writing, Tim Byrne, would have helped your children, perhaps, to earn their bread by and by."

"Then, begging your reverence's pardon," said Tim, "I'd rather see the whole boilin o' them in their graves, than have 'em made clarks or torneys. It isn't myself that ud like to be contradicting or argufying with your reverence's honour, on what it must know best, sure; and why not:—but look at the townsfolk themsels and their childer, that ha been taught to read and to spell—and you see, they're black Presbyterons every one. And by my soul! if ye spelt us all into that, it's but a bad bargain ye'd be drivin."

St. George felt that there was some truth in this part of the poor man's argument, however he had hit upon it; and the curate made no contradiction or comment.

"But as I was goin to 'quant your reverence, when Miss axed for the childer, sure Judy couldn't but send 'em. And sure as she did, it warn't to spell at all at all, that Miss Jimmie taught 'em, but tip-top larnin to—to puzzle the priest; and if you war but to see Father M'Dowd, how mad he was at the hathen knowledge that had been put into the craturs. For all that, I got round the priest, and talked

him quiet oncet or twicet, for he is a good sort of a body, and likes a drop, and isn't malevolent the laste taste in the world. Ontill last Saturday night it was come five weeks, who should be with us but Father M'Dowd, when the childer cam home. And what should little Judy have in her fist but a bran-new Bible, given her, she said, by Miss, oll as one as if it was a story-book. Och, by my soul! ye might as well ha' been tying Dundalk Bay in a big storm down wid a rope of suggawns, as thought of quieting him. Pullialoo! your reverence knows what the clargy are when they are vexed;—troth, they're as bad as the women, every bit; and that's saying enough for 'em. And the long and the short of it was, that Father M'Dowd wouldn't hear of me sending the childer any more at all at all."

"Well?"

"And sure that angered Miss, said Miss angered master; and it's all fallen upon poor Tim's head. Judy and Martha were first forbidden the big house; Martha went up the day after the bible-row to the big house, and all the young ladies flew at and abused her; and the poor girl would ha cried, if she could, but the tears didn't come to the broken-hearted cratur. And then the cow was pounded every hour in the day, and the childer frightened and threatened; and at lasht, down comes the agent, and axes Tim for what he hasn't. And he driv off our heifer, your reverence, and we're to be turned out to the ditch, and all our bits o' things, the remains of our ould days o' comfort, are to be canted immediately; and ——"

Poor Tim Byrne could say no more, but ground his teeth together tight to keep the big drops from bursting forth from his eyes, and shaming the furrowed cheeks of manhood by trickling down them. St. George himself could not reply to the unfortunate man, who continued,—

"There's more like me in the country persecuted, and all for some trifle o' the kind! And I know what they'll do, is to unite and ruin the country, by burnin and slaying, and massacreeing every new tenant that dares to step into their shoes. But I'm a panceable man, and the women dependent on me, and what to do in the wide world this blessed day I don't know."

"What sum do you want to make up your rent, Tim?" asked the benevolent curate.

"Sorrow a use in your reverence axing. Nor will mysel tell you, for fear you'd think it was for that I came:—I wouldn't take the room-full of golden guineas to live on the land of Laylands. Let the negers take what they can get; I'll wash my hands of them, and begin the world again, if I could only get a place to put my head in. Maybe your reverence ud spake a word to the rector that's coming now to this part of the country, or to Mr. Pennington, or any of the gentlefolk; there might be a place with one or other o' them, that ud do Tim Byrne. And I'm an honest man, your reverence, tho' I have gone to rack; and was in a right good way o'living afore the pace. Bad luck to the red coats! that couldn't let Bony alone where he was. It's the downfall o'him, that was the downfall of the country." Vol. III. p. 173.

ART. VIII. *Hints to some Churchwardens, with a few Illustrations, relative to the Repair and Improvement of Parish Churches.* 8vo. pp. 30. With twelve Plates. Rodwell and Martin. Price 10s. 6d. 1825.

“THE Churchwardens or Quest-men,” says the LXXXVth Canon, “shall take care to provide that the Churches be well and sufficiently repaired;” and, in conformity with this direction, the little manual now before us, is intended to direct Churchwardens in the interpretation of the words “well” and “sufficiently.” This, however, is by no means attempted, with the invidious design of casting reflections on the high merit of that great and grave annual magistracy, or of imputing to those lay columns of our Ecclesiastical polity, any ignorance or ill taste in their conceptions of Architecture. On the contrary, by offering instances of what *has* been done, as examples and illustrations of what *may* be done hereafter, two objects equally laudable are secured; the one the attainment of an honourable memorial of the distinguished essays of times past; the other, the establishment of a desirable standard for those of times to come. We regret only that the compiler did not take the additional trouble of citing his authorities in the margin. Small pains would have been needed for this invaluable appendage; for there is scarcely a design which he has attributed to his village Vitruvii and parochial Palladios, of some modification or variety, of which we could not ourselves present instances.

Without Plates we can scarcely hope to render full justice to this most important and useful work; but, in the lack of them, we would recommend our readers, if they live in the country, to cast their eyes upon some dozen parish churches in their neighbourhood; and it is ten to one that they will find in them ample elucidations of most of the *rifacimenti* here given; for there is little fear but that, in the lapse of the last three centuries, some rustic Nash, or Smirke, or Soane (the Ripleys of a former age) has arisen, to dress the *Religio loci* after his own imagination, to immortalize his name upon the centre pannel of the organ loft, and to commend himself to everlasting remembrance by the erection

Of slated battlements conspicuous far,
Chimney or vestry-room or glittering spire.

The first two problems here resolved, are:—

How to affix a Porch to an old Church.

“If the church is of stone, let the Porch be of brick, the roof slated, and the entrance to it of the improved Gothic called modern,

being an arch formed by an acute angle. The porch should be placed so as to stop up what might be called a useless window: and as it sometimes happens that there is an ancient Saxon entrance, let it be carefully bricked up, and perhaps plastered, so as to conceal as much as possible of the zig-zag ornament used in buildings of this kind. Such improvements cannot fail to ensure celebrity to churchwardens for future ages." P. 8.

"How to add a Vestry to an old Church."

"As sometimes the placing a Vestry in a convenient situation might not be immediately obvious, the plan annexed is strongly recommended, it having been adopted with distinguished effect. The building here proposed is to be of bright brick, with a slated roof and sash windows, with a small door on one side: and it moreover is to be adorned with a most tasty and ornamental brick chimney, which terminates at the chancel end. The position of the building should be against two of the old Gothic windows; which, having the advantage of hiding them nearly altogether, when contrasted with the dull and uniform surface of an old stone church, has a lively and most imposing effect." P. 10.

The 12th is:—

"How to carry the Pipe of a Stove on the outside of a Chancel, with the best effect."

"Pierce the upper part of the east window, and carry an elbow of the pipe through it, joining the chimney on with a gentle angle to the lower part of the slope of the chancel roof, and then forming an ingenious acute angle, with another elbow carry the chimney to the crest of the roof over the window, and taking down the cross (which was fixed there), with another elbow raise the pipe or chimney about six feet high, and terminate it with what is called a T.—By this means a churchwarden may ensure convenience, and found his own reputation, as there is much *effect, beauty and boldness* in the plan, which has also the additional advantage of forming a cloud over the very spot where the altar stands, by the help of the T, so that it might not be under all the circumstances inappropriate to call it the sublime idea." P. 30.

Of the two first of these (the porch and the vestry) our London readers may see examples (*mutatis mutandis*) in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, which Church moreover, not many weeks since, having previously undergone a very expensive and complete *refurbishment*, exhibited a pipe chimney running most picturesquely along the exterior, not of the chancel, but of the western end,

Quatre-feuille windows are easily repaired by the excision of the partitions, the rounding of the frames, and the insertion of a handsome brick border. To a gothic tower and spire a bright well-pointed brick body should be appended; the windows should have circular tops and light iron partitions

T T

instead of mullions, with yellow painted shutters, both for security and ornament. The roof should be slated; a stone balustrade with vases at intervals, should supply the place of battlements; the porch should be brick and the door be painted sky-blue. Chancel windows in ancient Churches should, without loss of time, be transformed into Venetian, or at least, should be bricked up between the mullions. For the interior, altar pieces should be profusely intertwined with festoons of grapes and pomegranates, separating the two tables of the Law, which must be blazoned in sky-blue. The font, which replaces one of Saxon date, should consist of a bowl set on three claw legs with castors. The pulpit shall speak for itself.

“ How to substitute a new, grand, and commodious Pulpit in place of an ancient, mean, and inconvenient one.

“ Raze the old Pulpit and build one on small wooden Corinthian pillars, with a handsome balustrade or flight of steps like a staircase supported also by wooden pillars of the Corinthian order; let the dimensions of the Pulpit be at least double that of the old one, and covered with red or crimson velvet, and a deep gold fringe, with a good-sized cushion, with large gold tassels, gilt branches on each side, over which imposing structure, let a large sounding-board be suspended by a sky-blue chain, with a gilt vase at the top, and small gilt lamps on the sides, with a flame painted, issuing from them; such Pulpits as these must please all parties; and as the energy and eloquence of the preacher must be the chief attraction from the ancient Pulpit, in the modern one, such labour is not required, as a moderate congregation will be satisfied with a few short sentences pronounced on each side of the gilt branches, and sometimes from the front of the cushion, when the sense of vision is so amply cared for in the construction of so splendid and appropriate a place from which to teach the duties of Christianity.”
Vide B. Pp. 23, 24.

“ How to place a Pulpit in a suitable commodious situation.

“ Let the Pulpit be placed under the centre of the arch which divides the chancel from the body of the church, and its construction of a nature to contrast it as much as possible with the chancel, if it should happen to be of Gothic architecture, for which purpose, let the base represent a doorway through which you may see the back of the stair or ascent to the Pulpit; the body of the Pulpit should be hung with crimson and gold lace, with gilt chandeliers as in the former plan, but it should have a back to it, with two small pilasters on each side, and a commodious door to enter in at, with a large sounding-board, and a vase at the top, all which should appear to be suspended from the ceiling, by a rich sky-blue chain, and a rich filagree iron-work. This construction, besides its contrast, has the peculiar advantage of hiding the east window and altar from the entrance of the church and centre aisle, besides its

beauty and commanding situation, the back of the Pulpit being thus studiously and decorously placed towards the east, and its front towards the west." P. 26.

The Royal Arms should occupy the arch which divides the nave from the chancel, so as to hide the groined roof and the arching. Under this, should be placed a stove, carrying pipes, north and south, through the windows; which pipes, also, must afterwards be disposed of "in any manner the most eligible."

We recommend this volume for immediate admission upon the list of Books to be furnished to parochial lending libraries. Its precepts are conveyed in a plain and familiar style adapted to every comprehension; and there is no Churchwarden in the Kingdom, who will not readily be able to understand them (provided he can read), in less than half the time allotted to his ministry.

ART. IX. *Substance of a Speech, delivered in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, May 17, 1825, by William, Lord Bishop of Llandaff, on a Bill for the Removal of certain Disqualifications of the Roman Catholics.* London. Rivington. 8vo. 32 p. 1825.

WE rejoice at the publication of this Speech for two reasons; in the first place, because the newspaper reports contained little or no account of it; and in the second, because it is entitled to more than a newspaper existence. So simple and powerful a defence of the existing law deserves to be known, and to be remembered. The Bishop of Llandaff opposed the Catholic claims with arguments of a permanent character. Leaving it to others to meet and answer the peculiar reasoning of the present session, he rests his vote upon a solid base, and refuses to remove the disqualifications under which certain of our fellow subjects now labour, until they cease to be subjects of the Pope. This is the root of the matter, and it is completely laid open in the work before us.

"Assuming this, therefore, as the basis of the whole inquiry, we come to the main question, on what grounds are Roman Catholics excluded from certain privileges and favors granted to other members of the community?"

"To this question, my Lords, I answer, that they are *not* excluded merely on account of their *theological* tenets; they are *not* excluded for holding the doctrines of transubstantiation, of the

invocation of saints, the worship of images, or any other points in their creed or ritual, which we deem to be errors and corruptions of Christianity. These are not, properly speaking, the disqualifications under which they labour, nor the true ground of those disabilities which the Legislature has thought fit to impose upon them. The real and only ground of their exclusion is this:—that they are (what they do not choose to call themselves) *PAPISTS*." P. 3.

"What then is the distinguishing feature of the real Papist? It is, my Lords, the acknowledgement of the *Pope's supremacy*,—the acknowledgement, that, in certain respects, the Pope has an authority over the whole Christian world; and, consequently, that in whatever country, or under whatever government the members of the Church of Rome are placed, they owe to him, as their supreme head, a special allegiance, and are bound, by an obligation paramount to all others, to render him homage and obedience. P. 4.

Having observed, that the supreme *temporal* power of the Pope, even if it be obsolete, has never yet been renounced, the Bishop remarks, that the *spiritual supremacy* is a sufficient objection to the measure which he combats.

"My Lords, of all fallacies none appears to me more palpable, more egregious, than that which regards spiritual authority as altogether unconnected with temporal. Theoretically, indeed, they are distinct; but practically, in most cases, it is hardly possible to disunite them. Like the soul and body, (I am using Bellarmine's illustration, my Lords, not my own;)—like the soul and body, though each have special qualities and special interests of its own, yet they act one upon the other by mutual co-operation, and affect each other by mutual influence. It may be easy to say, this is a spiritual right, and that a temporal right; this is an exercise of civil power, and that of ecclesiastical:—but when you come to apply these to individual cases, they will be found so blended together, as to render their separation always difficult, sometimes impracticable. And this is in reality the main foundation of that alliance between Church and State, which exists in almost every well-constituted government, and which sustains the fabric of the British Constitution.

"I contend, then, my Lords, that if the spiritual authority be exercised, to its full extent, by a power distinct from that of the State, as assuming to itself a *Supremacy* in that respect, it must, so far, become a direct infringement upon the temporal authority of the Sovereign. But if it be said, that, even in this respect, the Supremacy arrogated by the Pope over individuals of other States than his own, is become so mitigated, or so diminished, as no longer to give just cause of alarm or offence; then it will be necessary, in order to judge rightly of this, that we examine somewhat more particularly in what this spiritual Supremacy actually consists." P. 6.

It is then succinctly shewn, that the Pope claims and exercises that portion of the spiritual supremacy, which the

law of England has vested in the King; and this *power of jurisdiction*, although nominally spiritual, extends, by the confession of the Romanists themselves to civil affairs.

“ I have already adverted to Bellarmine's opinion on this subject, and which he states to have been the commonly received opinion in his day: and your Lordships will recollect, that Bellarmine was not in the best odour with the See of Rome, his notions of the Papal prerogatives not being sufficiently high to reach the views there entertained of the Pope's Supremacy. His doctrine, my Lords, (and he gives it as a *moderated* opinion between two extremes), is this:—‘ That the Pope, as Pope, has not directly and immediately ‘ any temporal, but only a spiritual power; nevertheless, *that by reason of the spiritual, he has, at least, indirectly, a certain power, and that supreme, in temporals*;’—‘ That the power of the Pope is ‘ indeed properly, in itself, and directly, *spiritual*; but that by it he can ‘ dispose of the temporal things of all Christians, *when that is required for the end of the spiritual power*, to which the ends of all temporal ‘ powers are subordinate; for though he has no merely temporal ‘ power, yet he has, *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, the highest power ‘ over temporals.’ Again:—‘ The spiritual power does not mix ‘ itself in temporal concerns, but suffers all things to proceed, as ‘ before the union, so long as they do not oppose the spiritual end, ‘ or be not necessary to obtain it. But if any thing of this sort ‘ occurs, *the spiritual can, and ought to coerce the temporal*, by any ‘ way or means which shall seem necessary for its purpose.’—This exposition needs no comment.

“ But, my Lords, how stands this matter in the present day? Will the Roman Catholic subjects of these realms be content to acknowledge the King's Supremacy ‘ *in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil*?’ Will they allow that the Pope has no spiritual *jurisdiction* within these realms? Will the Pope himself relinquish his claim to *appoint* the clergy, and to *rule* them? Will he forego his superintendence over them in their respective diocesan or pastoral characters, or surrender such points as may interfere with the jurisprudence of this country? My Lords, I hardly need say, that hitherto no symptom of a disposition to do this has appeared, either in the Pope himself, or in those who are bound in allegiance to him. Again, therefore, I must insist, that theirs can only be a *divided* allegiance; and that, therefore, they are disqualified for such an extension of privileges and favours, as may be fairly expected by their fellow subjects who labour not under similar disqualifications.” P. 14.

This convincing statement is fortified by an appeal to the authorities, not merely of Tories or High Churchmen, but of the great advocates for toleration, whom modern liberals love to quote. Locke and Hoadly, and Wake and Sikes, are shewn to be decided supporters of the Bishop of Llandaff's arguments; and Dr. Milner, “ the oracle of the present day

among the English members of the Romish Church," appears to hate them accordingly. The Doctor, with all his indignation, knows a friend from a foe, and is too prudent to contend, that the Roman Catholics have any thing to hope from an appeal to Hoadly or to Locke.

The supposed improvement in the modern disciples of Rome, is treated with great skill:—

"It is continually assumed by those who advocate the Roman Catholic claims, that their peculiar tenets are no longer maintained to the same extent, or in the same acceptation as heretofore; but have undergone certain modifications and interpretations, which render them comparatively harmless. Nay, great efforts have been recently made, both by Romish writers and their friends, to show that their doctrines approximate much more towards those of the Church of England than is generally supposed to be the case, and have at length approached so nearly to our own, as to present but a shade of difference between them.

"My Lords, there is nothing new in these attempts. The very same efforts were made long since by Bossuet, and were successfully encountered and overthrown by Archbishop Wake. It has often been the policy of the Church of Rome to resort to this expedient, both for the purpose of its own vindication, and to facilitate the work of *proselytism* among Protestants. A fresh instance of this policy has also been brought before us, in the examination of certain Roman Catholic prelates before the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament, on the state of Ireland. A very favourable opportunity then presented itself to them for such a purpose, of which they availed themselves with no inconsiderable skill and ability. Several of the questions put to them appear to have been of that kind which are technically called 'leading questions;' such as almost suggested the answers sought for, and such as those who were to furnish the answers might be supposed most willing to give. In this way, nothing was easier than to frame a plausible representation of several Articles of the Romish faith, and to give them such a colouring as might readily satisfy those who were possessed of no other information on the subject. Half an hour's *cross-examination* might greatly have altered the aspect of such evidence, and have placed it in a very different light." P. 22.

We trust the concluding words of this paragraph will not be forgotten. The evidence of the Roman Catholic prelates is now before the public; and if they have not been cross-examined by the Committees of either House of Parliament, they must submit to the ceremony out of doors, and perhaps under less favourable auspices.

The Bishop proceeds to animadvert upon the *inviolable secrecy* imposed on the priest respecting information obtained at confession, and points out the process by which Dr. Doyle's reasoning on this subject may be applied to the allegiance

sworn to the sovereign in temporals, by men who conscientiously believe in the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. If this process really takes place, it is certain that the Romanist can only render a conditional and imperfect obedience to the government under which he lives. When we remember how much might be said on the effects of penance, absolution, indulgences, nomination of bishops, and the entire independence of the Church of Rome on any temporal authority, the Bishop of Llandaff is well entitled to his inference, that the Roman Catholics are really *Papists*, and he may reject their present petition without compromising charity, or renouncing that respect for many individuals among them, which he so honourably avows. We close our brief notice of this excellent speech with extracting its concluding paragraph. Our readers have been put into possession of the substance of the argument, but they ought not to rest satisfied without perusing the whole. Whenever the Bishop of Llandaff's reasoning is solidly and satisfactorily confuted, the Catholic Bill will pass, and, the favourable aspect of present circumstances, encourages us to add, not till then. Declamation on either side may ebb and flow, and there will be a series of alternations in the sentiments of those who act under its influence, as eloquence preponderates among the friends or opponents of the measure; but we trust, that the mass of the people will be governed in the long run by argument, and, if this can be accomplished, there is no fear for the result:—

“ One more observation, my Lords, I cannot forbear to offer. The declared object of the proposed measure is to conciliate the Roman Catholics. But has it been sufficiently considered, what may be the result with respect to the great mass of the *Protestant* community? The effect, even in removing dissatisfaction from the *lower orders*, at least, of the Roman Catholics, appears to me exceedingly doubtful, if not hopeless. But supposing it to have that effect, what are likely to be the feelings of our Protestant fellow-subjects? What can be expected but a revival of those protracted and acrimonious controversies which, from the Restoration to the Revolution, so vehemently agitated the public mind? A struggle might probably ensue; and not only would it, under such circumstances, be the natural *inclination* of the clergy of our Establishment, but it would become their bounden *duty*, to press forward in vindication of their own spiritual rights and liberties, and those of the laity committed to their charge. I have no fear, my Lords, of the issue of such a struggle. When I look around me, and see the daily increasing phalanx of able and learned defenders of our Church, I cannot doubt of a favourable result: and having now passed the meridian of life myself, it gives me increased satisfaction to contemplate such a prospect. Nevertheless, my Lords, I cannot but deprecate any

course of proceeding that may render such a conflict necessary. I am too conversant with polemics, (perhaps have been too much of a polemic myself,) not to know that these contests unavoidably engender strife, and enmity, and bitterness, of which no one can foresee the termination.

“ My Lords, for these reasons, among many others, I cannot but view the present bill as most objectionable in its principles, and ill calculated to produce any such effects as would justify your Lordships in suffering it to pass into a law. I must therefore meet it with my decided negative.” P. 31.

ART. X.—*Thoughts and Recollections. By One of the last Century.* Murray. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d. 1825.

A FASHIONABLE bookseller, we doubt not, is often reduced to very queer dilemmas. Mr. * * *, whose volume has had a run (as it is called), nobody knows why, brings with him, to Albemarle-street or elsewhere, Mr. —, who thinks it very likely, that *his* volume also may have a run, for the same reasons. The unhappy Sosius, who has not yet recovered from the surprize occasioned by the unlooked-for success of his first speculation, now finds himself hampered by a second; and between the hope of catching more titled gudgeons, and the fear of losing the golden fish which he has already basketed—*spemque metumque inter*—he bows, numbles, stammers and hesitates, till Ambition gets the better of Avarice, and in the end he binds himself to publish.

Such we imagine must be the history of the pages before us. There can be no reason why they should have been given to the press, save that the gentleman who wrote them so willed, and that the bookseller to whom he offered them, had not courage to say nay. They contain little that is new, and some things which are mistaken; and neither in matter nor in style is there sufficient fire about them to have endangered the author's secretaire if they had been pent within it, till some judicious executor should consign them to the same destiny, which, for the most part, awaits all family letters and *vers de société*.

Whether the section entitled *Catholicism* is to be numbered a “Thought” or a “Recollection,” we are not informed: we suspect, however, that it must belong to the first of these classes, for it is scarcely possible that any previous writer could have made the following statement. The author is speaking of the Romish doctrine of Confession and Absolution:

“ We conceive it to be an absolution from the torments of hell,

thus freeing men from the fear of future punishment; whereas it only respects those of purgatory: so that an absolved Catholic is in no better plight than an absolved Protestant. Whereas an absolved Protestant (who is absolved out and out, even from hell itself) is in a much better condition than an absolved Catholic.”
—P. 8.

If by this it is meant, that a Roman Catholic receives no absolution which frees him from more than the pain of purgatory, the assertion is altogether incorrect. Christ’s merits are always mentioned as one ground for indulgences; and Christ’s merits are never pleaded even by the Church of Rome, as a source of deliverance from temporary punishments only. Indulgences procure the most complete and entire remission of sin, and it can never be argued that a complete and entire remission can bring with it any relief short of freedom from hell itself.

It is admitted, however, that there is mischief in Confession, since that it is one great source of pollution to the young; and a story is told of some innocent Italian girls, who, in order that they might learn the meaning of a particular word which puzzled them, and which they knew to be the name of a deadly sin, drew lots which should confess herself as guilty of it to the priest:

“ Another girl, having been rated by the priest for not making a full exposition of her faults, procured a little work which enumerated all possible offences. Confessing thus by book, she accused herself of some things which highly shocked her ghostly father, who only arrived at an explanation of the matter, by her avowing *simony* among her other extraordinary offences.”—P. 11.

Again we are told, that the experiment of the education of the poor has failed; that it not only has disappointed the sanguine expectations formed of it, but that it has been productive of mischief; “ for I think,” continues this sagacious reasoner, that “ we may be warranted in attributing the increase of juvenile delinquences to the source from which it certainly dates.” We say nothing of *dating an increase from a source*, and we will assume, that we have found out the writer’s meaning, which probably is, that since the establishment of the National Schools, there have been more juvenile delinquents than before it. To this we will answer (if it be really so) that population also has largely increased since their establishment; and that until it can be proved (and the fact, as far as it has been inquired into, is distinctly otherwise), that the youthful offenders are principally found among those who have been educated in the National Schools, it is quite as illogical to say, that the National Schools have occasioned an increase

of crime (which all reasoning *a priori* would deny), as to assert that the enormities committed in the Roman Empire, under the reigns of the Twelve Cæsars, must be attributed to Christianity, because our Saviour was born in the time of Augustus.

The following confession is at least, honest; and it is one which few, although equally conscious of the feeling, would ever have sufficient candour to publish. "I once believed in ghosts, and am still afraid of them." We were pleased with this sincerity on more grounds than one, for we justly anticipated that it would be followed up by a tale of wonder, and so it is:—

"As to the second class of ghost-stories; *i. e.* those which derive authority from the event being verified, which was apparently indicated by the apparition. I observed, in studying the doctrine of chances, that there was often quite as extraordinary an agreement between things where no miraculous interposition could be inferred; between combinations of numbers at play and fortunate numbers, and prizes indicated by them in the monthly foreign lotteries, &c. as between the presignification of an event by some vision and its simultaneous or future verification. I moreover found, upon a close observation of these stories, what might very well have been anticipated: namely, that though an exact register is kept of such coincidences, no note is ever taken of their failures. Yet many have accidentally come to my knowledge; and I will cite one of them, upon the old principle, that

'Where examples are well chosen,
One is as valid as a dozen.'

"A Mr. C——, a Catholic gentleman who had served long in the regiment of Dillon, in the French army, a man much distinguished for his personal courage, and of a singularly strong judgment, went, during one of his visits to England, of which he was a native, to see a friend of his own religious persuasion. In this gentleman's family was a priest for whom he entertained an old friendship, and whom he found most dangerously ill. He had an interview with him, and then returned to the house of a relation, in which he was staying. On going up-stairs to his bed-room in this, he saw the likeness of the priest, pale and cadaverous as he had left him, sitting in an elbow-chair, by his bed-side. He approached the figure, which neither stirred nor spoke, and, being determined, like Almanzor, or some other of Dryden's tragic heroes,

'to try what was the *substance* of a ghost,'

he planted himself in its lap. To his surprize, he went through the lap of the apparition; and found himself seated in the chair; while the figure, shifting its position, stood before him; and on Mr. C—— finishing his toilet (which he did with the utmost composure) preceded him in his advance towards the bed and apparently past into it, between the curtains. Mr. C—— put out his candle, fol-

lowed him and slept undisturbed by so singular a bedfellow. In the morning the first thing he did was to order his horse and ride to the house where he had visited his sick friend, who had had a favourable crisis in the mean time, and was pronounced convalescent. Had this man died, who doubts but that the coincidence between his appearance and death would have established the authenticity of the apparition?"—P. 121.

We have frequently heard of, we might add, that we have occasionally seen impressions "on the mind's eye," nearly as vivid as the one here described; and we have little doubt that every *authentic* tale of an apparition, (and by *authentic* we mean such as according to the general tenor of evidence cannot be contradicted), may be resolved by a similar process.

The following criticism is correctly founded, and is, we are confident, only the precursor of many more of the same kind; for the mass of Lord Byron's poetry will never bear the test of examination:—

"A more curious instance of the perversion of a poetical expression, originally good, but inappropriate in its application, is to be found in *Lara*, one of the best of Lord Byron's poems. Having in his memory Pope's

'lives along the line'—

he talks about *Lara's* stream

' Reflecting bright and fairy-like from high
The thousand lights that *live along* the sky.'

degrading the poet's exquisite picture of the vitality of the spider extending to her remotest toils, into a question of scot-and-lot habitancy, as the Anti-Jacobin has it, most vulgarly expressed; and this applied to stars! The extravagance of this was brought home to me by an accident. A distinguished foreigner, not unskilled in English, and very deeply imbued with our more classical literature, desired me to read one of Lord Byron's poems with him, and I selected *Lara*, not as the best, though it is beautiful, but as the correctest, in matter of diction. My friend was, however, soon aground, and totally unable to unriddle the meaning of

' The thousand lights which live along the sky.'

He desired me to construe it; which I did with the best equivalents I could find; but the critic, who had listened with all his ears, stared with all his eyes, at my interpretation.

"Whoever considers Lord Byron's works carefully will find many such blots. This may do, as I have said, in his own age, with those who understood him, or think that they understood him; but will another age, that may perhaps look for good English, and probably will have substituted some new cant for that which is popular at present, in such cases as I have specified, appreciate his figures or tolerate his idiom?"

"Now, that Lord Byron *has* owed much of his success to his poetry being peculiarly adapted to the taste and temper of the present race, which was standing on tiptoes to admire, is put out of doubt by Madame Belloc's statement, that his reputation in France dates from the appearance of the Vampire; a thing that is a ridiculous exaggeration of his worst style of poetical productions, and nauseous to every one that has taste or judgment."—P. 183.

And here we must close. We are far from wishing to express ourselves with severity upon a volume which can never wander far from its birth place; and if we have used any terms which may sound with unpleasant harshness in the writer's ear, we intreat him to consider them less as directed against himself in particular, than intended as a general warning to elderly gentlemen at large, that they should not promulgate, with the solemnity of an *afflatus* from the tripod, the postprandial ruminations which they concoct on the soft and accommodating cushion of a well-stuffed easy chair.

ART. XI.—1. *The Accusations of History against the Church of Rome Examined, in Remarks on many of the principal Observations in the Work of Mr. Charles Butler, entitled the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church." By the Rev. George Townsend, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge.* London. Murray, pp. 312. 6s. 1825.

2. *Two Letters addressed to the Author of the "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," upon certain Passages in his Book, and shewing from his own Exposition of the Roman Catholic Creed, the Inadmissibility of Roman Catholics into the Legislature and Government of Protestant England. By a Lay Member of the University of Oxford.* London. Hatchard & Son. 8vo. 168 pp. 1825.

MR. BUTLER'S "Book of the Roman Catholic Church" has already been noticed more than once in our journal. If he feels flattered by repeated marks of attention, his thanks must be given to those able writers who have answered him; and if the answers are more complete than he could wish, we are sure he is too ingenious to be at a loss for a reply. His letter to the Bishop of Chester has demonstrated the extent of his controversial resources; and we anticipate as satisfactory a defence against the remarks of Mr. Townsend, Dr. Philpott and Mr. White. Each of these gentlemen has made a formidable breach in the new bulwark of the Roman Catholic church; and unless some temporary defence is

thrown up by the defenders, Mr. Southey's *Vindiciæ* will take possession of the fortress, without opposition.

But this can never be permitted. Mr. Butler is too brave a man to surrender without a struggle. He is publicly pledged to the defence of his church and his book; and if his church wishes his book in the fire, the book has already accomplished what the church contents herself with desiring. It has inflicted a deadly wound upon the friend it professed to support, and strengthened the Protestant cause in an hour of imminent peril. An ingenious attack upon the Reformation from the pen of a Roman Catholic layman, has excited general attention; that attention has produced inquiry; the results of inquiry are gradually making their appearance. The religion of the Pope turns out worse than it was supposed to be; the Protestant champions are numerous and unanswerable; public feeling declares in their favour; and we are indebted for all this to Mr. Butler.

We regret our inability to notice the whole of the writers in this important controversy. There is a spirited pamphlet by Mr. Croly, which is well worth reading. Another by an "Oxford Layman," contains much valuable matter; and the three larger works we have already mentioned are worthy of the cause in which they are produced, and of the distinguished names they bear. We shall confine our remarks for the present to that which was earliest in the field; and even of that we must take a much shorter view than its merits or our inclination suggest.

The object of Mr. Townsend's volume is succinctly stated in the following passage:—

"No apology can be necessary for any attempt to *elicit the truth of the facts*, upon which alone the decisions of the Romanist and the Protestant must be founded. The re-action from Infidelity to Belief has begun. The Christian religion, in all its modes, receives again the homage of the civilized world. The former system of opinions, which our fathers rejected, after centuries of controversy, has been successfully revived; and on the Continent of Europe, Christianity is again identified with Romanism. The English Romanist rejoices at the prospect. He believes that his Church is the one only true Church upon earth; and that it is unchanged, and remains unchangeably the same. He believes, that the opposition to this Church began, and was continued—by heresy, rejecting her true doctrines—by covetousness, aiming at her wealth—and by tyranny, jealous of her influence; until ignorance and prejudice excluded from the service of the state, a noble, wealthy, loyal, and deserving people. They now require from an enlightened Legislature, that the errors of our ancestors be cancelled; and the Romanists be again admitted to the privileges and honours, to which they are entitled, by their talent, rank, and possessions.

“ The Protestant, on the contrary, gives credit to the accusations of history against the Church of Rome. He believes that, though a true, it is a corrupt Church; and that it obtained a gradual ascendancy over other Churches, by weakness on their part, and usurpation on its own. He believes that to the tyranny of its conduct, and to the corruptions of its institutions, may be attributed the success of those attacks which were made upon it at the Reformation. Much of the opposition of that period may, certainly, be attributed to inferior motives; and these deserve every censure. But the Protestant believes, that hostility to the Church of Rome was, and is, essential to the good of mankind; because he considers that Church to be adverse to the three most invaluable blessings which can be secured to its people by any wise government,—Morality, Religion, and Good Order.

“ To Morality—because it teaches that the prayers of the living may be beneficial to the dead; and that sins may be pardoned on the payment of money.

“ To Religion—because it bestows a part of that homage which is due to the one Mediator, the Son of God, to inferior beings, to saints and angels; and enforces various absurdities and errors, which it would be now tedious to enumerate.

“ To good Order—because it teaches that the head of their Church is entitled to their spiritual allegiance; and the duties arising from a sense of this spiritual allegiance have clashed, and may therefore again clash, with those which arise from their civil allegiance to the temporal Sovereign. And this is more especially urged; because the principal religious dissensions which have agitated this country, uniformly originated in those conscientious scruples; which have always induced the Romanists to prefer, to the laws of the realm, the mandate of a foreign Pontiff.” P. 2.

The author proceeds to a regular and frequently a detailed examination of Mr. Butler's Letters to Southey. The first half of the volume embraces the events which preceded the Reformation, and points out the errors into which Mr. Butler has fallen with respect to the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, by his reliance upon Lingard and Milner. Having discussed this subject already at considerable length, we shall content ourselves with referring the reader to Mr. Townsend, for a clear and brief exposition of the real state of the case.

Mr. Butler's attack upon Cranmer has likewise been considered in our review of Mr. Todd, and here therefore we again pass with rapidity over the ground, contenting ourselves with observing, that the smooth and flowing narrative is adorned, from time to time, with passages which remind us that Mr. Townsend is a poet as well as an historian and a divine.

The reign of Elizabeth must be taken into more particular consideration. The Roman Catholics regard it as more favourable to their cause than any other portion of history,

but not in the most creditable manner ; for its value consists in the crimes and cruelties (real and imaginary) of which Protestants then were guilty. The great argument of Lingard, and therefore of course, of Mr. Butler, is,—Protestants were as bad as Roman Catholics. The executions which took place under Elizabeth, the quarrels between Churchmen and Puritans, the abuse which the latter have delighted to heap upon the Queen, and the mixture of good and bad motives by which she and her ministers appear to have been influenced, afford, when taken together, a most favourable opportunity for proving the point in dispute. Mr. Townsend has sifted the evidence with great skill, and if he places the character of Elizabeth somewhat too low, if he omits to make sufficient allowance for the difficulties which she encountered from Puritanism, and consequently regards her as more favourable to the Roman Catholic communion, than she appears to us to have been ; if on these, and some other debateable points, we do not altogether agree with him, it is still difficult to conceive that the general accuracy of his reasoning will be denied by any candid inquirer. The summary of his argument is contained in the following passage ; and if Mr. Butler means to defend the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, we request his particular attention to this part of the accusations of history :—

“ Let us now put these circumstances together. It will appear that the severe act of the 27th of Elizabeth was absolutely necessary to the safety of the Queen, and the repose of the kingdom. It was passed at the time of the Queen's greatest political danger. She had been accused of punishing the Jesuits for their religion, and had anxiously defended herself against the charge. She now forbade the torture of the rack ; but banished the priests, on the discovery of a plot framed by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Guise, to invade England. The religious Romanists were still taught that the Queen was a deposed heretic ; and the reality of the danger was demonstrated by the preparations of Philip. The Prince of Orange had been assassinated, and attempts were made by the Duke of Guise, the head of the Romanist party in France, to obtain the throne of that kingdom ; under the pretence that the lawful heir was a Huguenot, and could not inherit. If this had been effected, all Europe would have been united, from the Tiber to the Scheldt, under an ambitious and powerful Pope, against the religion and monarchy of England. Under these circumstances, a gentleman of Wales was found guilty of an attempt to assassinate the Queen ; and urged in his defence, that he was induced to do so, from the arguments of a Cardinal, an Englishman by birth ; who had proved to his satisfaction, that it was lawful and honourable to kill a sovereign deposed by the Pope. A general association was formed to protect the Queen's person, and the severe statutes were then enacted, which you describe as religious

persecution. It is true, that the Romanists, by the exile of their priests, would be left without the ministers of religion; but the kingdom would lose its disturbers, and the Queen her traitors. Which alternative was the government to prefer? The conduct of the priests had reduced the Queen to this cruel dilemma. The sentence of exile was preferable to proscription, or a general massacre: to one of which dreadful alternatives the conduct of the Romanist party seemed to be in danger of reducing the government.

"You have rightly mentioned, in your History of the Irish Catholics, that the Queen granted a delay of forty days, to enable the Romanists to leave the kingdom with convenience. You have, however, by some strange want of memory, omitted to relate this fact, in this letter in your present work, in which you enumerate the Queen's acts towards her Romanist subjects. The reader, who is unacquainted with the common histories, would imagine from your present account, that the priests were sent away without due notice or warning. The truth is, that the Queen especially shewed her unwillingness to prosecute, by the manner in which they were dismissed. To provide for her own safety, she banished them. The act of their banishment was done with so much lenity and moderation, says Bishop Taylor, that it seemed as if the Queen purposed to return good for evil, while she provided for her safety. She gave them forty days of preparation for their journey; and imposed no penalty for their longer stay, if any were sick, or the weather bad, or the wind foul—provided that they gave security for their due obedience to the laws, and attempted nothing against her person or government.

"Thus have I endeavoured to prove, that the establishment of our reformed Church was not affected by any cruel persecution of the Romanists. The sanguinary atrocities which at that time disgraced the partisans of Rome, were not retaliated. It seemed as if the Providence of God peculiarly protected the Protestants of England from the disgrace which would have attached to them; not in their own, but in after ages, if they had condescended to needless cruelty and bloodshed. Some drops of blood have spotted the white robe of the church of England; but its garments are not dyed with the blood of its slain. No savage indiscriminate massacres; no fierce decrees against large classes of our brethren, disgrace its history. It was built upon the solid foundation of truth. It is supported by usefulness. It is adorned by moderation and learning. It will flourish as long as the Scripture is rightly interpreted, and common sense is united with religion." P. 222.

Another part of this chapter must be particularly noticed. It relates to Mr. Butler's account of Father Campian, an account composed with the greatest appearance of moderation and candour. But how does it bear cross-examining; Mr. Townsend shall explain:—

"We now come to your account of the Jesuit, Father Campian, who was cruelly executed under the law against the Seminary Priests. I impute your omission of the former part of the history of this sufferer

to a pardonable lapse of memory. From the revolting detail of the cruelties which were inflicted on this criminal, you would infer, as before, that both parties were alike sanguinary; and it is therefore disingenuous to impute that fault exclusively to the Romanists, which was common to them and their opponents.

"I now quote from one of your former works some particulars of Father Campian previous to his apprehension.

"'After having taken deacon's orders in the Church of England, he became a convert to the Catholic religion, and entered into the Society of Jesus. He was ordained priest, and taught for some time in the University of Prague. In all these situations he was much respected and beloved for his eminent learning and piety, and for his mild and pleasing manners. He returned to England, in order to exercise his missionary functions.' Having said this, you proceed to give in your book of the Roman Catholic Church, the very same account, which you have transcribed from the History of the English Catholics. From this account we might infer that Campian came into the country as an innocent merchant and traveller, and was arrested and condemned solely because he was a priest, and believed in transubstantiation and purgatory. How great will be the astonishment of the reader, who has depended upon your *apparent* fairness and impartiality in your book of the Roman Catholic Church, when he hears, that Father Campian not only came into England at the very time when the doctrine of the power of the Pope to dethrone princes, and to absolve their subjects from their allegiance, was everywhere taught, both by himself and by the Jesuits—when foreign princes were leagued with the Pope against the Protestant cause in general,—and when the nation was in danger of a civil war; but he came as the emissary of the Pope, to execute the bull of deposition under the sanction of a papal dispensation, which permitted him to obey the Queen under existing circumstances, the bull being still binding upon their sovereign, and her heretical subjects. In your Book of the Roman Catholic Church you omit this. In your History of the Catholics of England you mention it. What other inference can be deduced from the conduct of Father Campian than this, that he believed the Pope to be right, and the subject to be bound to obey the temporal sovereign, till such time only as the Pope had power to enforce the decree, when she was to be deposed as the Pope commanded. This was a religious opinion. Are we to suppose that a zealous conscientious Romanist would have hesitated to instruct others in the same doctrine? He came into England to render service to religion. Rebellion to the Queen was a part of that religion. He had the dispensation of the Pope for temporary loyalty. If he should have chanced to have spoken with a heretic whom he believed to be still under the Pope's power, is it not probable he would have taught that heretic, that his duty was obedience to the Pope, and not to the Queen? If Campian had been accused of inconsistency, his reply would have been, "I have a dispensation for my pretended loyalty; you have none. You are bound therefore to endeavour to depose the Queen. I am permitted

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to act loyally, till a proper opportunity presents itself to act otherwise, or till the Pope's dispensation is retracted." What state could be safe when its subjects might be loyal or disloyal at the command of a priest, who was supposed to be able to destroy both body and soul in hell?

"It is not a matter either of curiosity or of exultation to me, or to any Protestant, to observe the deplorable attempts which you have so uselessly made to reconcile this petition of Father Campian, and the dispensation for his temporary obedience, with the asserted perfect loyalty of the Romanists of this period. I quote your own words, and reply to them but briefly." P. 225.

Such are the arts to which an apologist for the Roman Catholics deems it expedient to have recourse: and coupling such manœuvres as these, in which Mr. Butler's book abounds, with the attack upon the Protestant clergy, so becomingly exposed by the Bishop of Chester, we cannot hesitate to declare, and we do so with all the civility which St. Francis himself could desire, that Mr. Butler is convicted of being a dishonest historian as well as a false accuser. We say not this in anger but in sorrow. We do not wish to apply an injurious word to Mr. Butler or his book; but unless we consent to conceal and compromise the truth—the result of the controversy must be stated thus, however smooth the language in which such statement is conveyed.

We now proceed to another part of Mr. Townsend's volume. The history and fate of the Jesuit Garnet. In so doing, we disown any intention of imputing his errors or crimes to modern Roman Catholics, and we notice the subject on two accounts: In the first place, that light may be thrown upon a very important historical fact; which Mr. Townsend has investigated with diligence and success: In the second, that Mr. Butler may be distinctly asked, why he employs himself in defending or palliating such conduct as that before us. The question is, Did the Church of Rome authorize equivocation?

"You would palliate though you will not justify the equivocation of Garnet; because you consider it an extreme case.

"Garnet had positively asserted, on his priesthood, that he had no correspondence with Greenwell, the Jesuit, since they had met at Caughton, in Warwickshire. It appears from the papers, that the Lords, when they asked this question, had the letters which Garnet had written since that meeting in their possession. Not knowing this, he persisted in his denial: the document to which I refer you, thus concludes—

"He saith, all that which is here above written, he protesteth to be spoken without equivocation."

"The passage is signed by himself, and countersigned by Nottingham, Suffolk, E. Worcester, H. Northampton, Salisbury.

"I next refer you to the document in Mr. Lemon's folio arrangement of the papers relating to the Gunpowder Plot, No. 218. From which it appears, that subsequently to this denial of his correspondence with Greenwell, his own letters had been shewn him. He was then asked, proceeds the paper, if it were well done of him upon his priesthood to deny before the Lords, and to set his hand to it, that he did not send message nor write to Tesmond alias Greenwell, the Jesuit, since he met him at Caughton, knowing it was false. He replied, He had done what he might lawfully do, and they were not justified in asking him, and to urge him upon his priesthood, when they had his letters; for he would not have denied his letters if he had seen them; but supposing the Lords had not his letters, he did deny them, as he would in all cases, 'as he might lawfully do.'

"When this declaration excited surprise, he was requested to write down his deliberate opinion on the subject, which he did in the following terms:—

" 'This I acknowledge to be according to my opinion, and the opinion of all the schoolmen; and our reason is, for that in cases of lawfull equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lye, the same speech may be, without perjury, confirmed by oath, or by any other usuall way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require.

" 'HENRY GARNET.'

"This, however was not the only instance of the fatal effects of the doctrine of equivocation which was taught at this time by Garnet himself, as Superior of the Jesuits, and of course by the pupils whom he instructed. Francis Tresham had confessed that he had corresponded with Garnet, who had also made the same confession. Tresham died in the Tower; and dictated to his servant Vavasor, when at the very point of death, a recantation of that confession, which his superior had acknowledged to be true. Garnet was asked what could be meant by this conduct on the part of Tresham. To which he coolly replied, 'I suppose he meant to equivocate.'

"Some time before the death of Elizabeth, a book was published, entitled, 'Treatise on Equivocation.' This book was patronised by Garnet, who, without altering the contents of the work, erased the title, and wrote another; this was, "A Treatise against Lying and Fraudulent Dissimulation;" whereas it was, in fact, a defence of both. Blackwell, who had been elected arch-priest or principal, to decide the differences which might at any time arise among the Romanists, adds his approbation to the book in the following terms:

" 'Tractatus iste, valde doctus, et vere pius, et Catholicus est. Certe S. S. Scripturarum, Patrum, Doctorum, Scholasticorum, Canonistarum, et optimarum rationum præsidis plenissime firmat æquitatem equivocationis. Ideoque dignissimus est qui typis propagetur ad consolationem afflictorum Catholicorum, et omnium piorum instructionem."

"The book which was thus intended to prove the lawfulness of equivocation, was found in Tresham's desk, after his death. I refer

you to State Paper, No. 208, and to Sir Edward Coke's just remarks on this subject ; — ' This,' he observes, ' is the fruit of equivocation, (the book whereof was found in Tresham's desk,) to affirm manifest falsehoods, upon his salvation, in ipso articulo mortis. It is true no man may judge in this case ; but it is the most fearful example that I ever knew, to be made so evident as this is.' The paper is addressed to Lord Salisbury, and is dated, March 24, 1605-6." P. 269.

We repeat our strong disinclination to urge such facts as these, against men who are now alive. But the world will continue to urge them, as long as they are palliated or excused ; and the only method of wiping out the stain is to admit its foulness. Mr. Butler and his party may naturally be anxious to prove that there is no material difference between the crimes of his church and of our's. He may be supported in this undertaking by sceptical statesmen, latitudinarian philosophers, and ignorant Parliamentary Committees. But the assertion is not true ; and no ingenuity, equivocation or impudence, can establish it. The Reformation was not the curse, which our Roman Catholic brethren represent it to have been. Its good effects were diminished by the frailty of the agents who were employed in it. It has not entirely healed the wounds which were inflicted upon Christianity by the Popes. But it will bear a rigorous examination. And when the Reformed Church is compared, as Mr. Butler compares it with the Church of Rome, the result is too obvious to be concealed by the most consummate controversial skill. Mr. Townsend's concluding remarks upon Garnet, not less remarkable for their eloquence than for their truth, will be applied, if the present dispute continues, and is carried on in its present method, to the whole of the Romish communion ; and the evil will not lie at our door. We warn the members of the Antient Faith against the overwhelming flood of reproach which their champions are drawing down upon the Church of Rome ; and if such champions are not disowned, the communion they profess to represent will be involved in universal contempt.

" Such as he had thus proved himself to be during the continuance of his imprisonment, such he remained to the last. I pity you, indeed I pity you, when I read your laboured and useless apology for the conduct of this man. You dare not censure the Church under whose sanction he acted ; it is your own infallible communion. You dare not censure the Jesuit himself ; he is venerated as the confessor and martyr for Rome. No expression of indignation, no phrase of contempt for his doctrine of equivocation, escapes you, when you attempt in vain to justify his conduct, and to apologize for his principles or motives. ' He might justly be found guilty,' you

tell us, 'by a court of law, while a court of honour would think gently of his case.' A court of honour!!! Did it never occur to you, that he should be tried by a still higher tribunal than these? Take your friend to the bar of Christianity. Demand that he be judged by the infallible Scriptures. There plead his cause. Open the accusation; urge his defence; say that your Christian brother and instructor, the Jesuit Garnet, was cruelly imprisoned and condemned to die, because he was intrusted with the design to murder the Prince and Senate of a whole people, and he refused to reveal the secret,—for he was the servant of God. Relate his equivocation; tell how he confessed his guilt, and then desired his friends to deny it. Enforce his dying confession,—that he would have regretted the success of a conspiracy, which he might have prevented but would not; for he was a minister of the Church of Him, who, when he was reviled, reviled not again!—Hear the decision of the law, 'By their fruits he shall know them.' Listen to the sentence of Christianity on your equivocations and your Gunpowder Plots;—'Who hath required this at your hands?' Your apologies, your palliations for Garnet, are made in vain. He died with a lie in his mouth. He died asserting a falsehood. He died the traitor to his King, the foe to his country, the hater of its laws, the friend of its enemies. He died peacefully and piously, supporting the legends of his Church with his last breath; and gaining strength from the superstition which venerated the wood of the cross, instead of the Holy One who bled upon it. He died not the death of a hypocrite; for his falsehood was justified by his faith, and he might have believed it to be sanctioned by his Church. By wickedness he would have served God; by equivocation he would have supported religion. He died a martyr, a liar, and a traitor.

"Are we not justified in regarding with suspicion, an unalterable, and unaltered religion like this? When did a Protestant thus die? When our loyalty was inconsistent with our duty to God, we peacefully and openly resisted our Sovereign, as the laws of our land and the chartered rights of our institutions permitted. When Hough won his 'unsullied mitre,' by appealing from the King's commissioners to his Majesty in his Majesty's courts of justice, no falsehood, no treason disgraced the firm yet courteous advocate of the privileges of his College and his Church. The time has been, and the time may again arrive, when the sanction of the state shall be withdrawn from our episcopacy. Other Kings than James may endeavour to dispense with our laws. Other successful and unprincipled statesmen than Cromwell, may be borne on to power with a popular clamour, against the hierarchy of the Established Church. The experience of the past will then be the precedent for the future. Falsehood shall not disgrace us. No gathering vapours shall dim the splendour of the mitre. Our clergy may suffer as martyrs, but never as traitors and liars." P. 276.

We conclude by returning our best thanks to Mr. Townsend for his valuable and entertaining publication. He has

produced enough evidence to overthrow Mr. Butler, without running into lengthened details; and we have seldom seen a controversial work more creditable to the writer, or more agreeable to the reader.

We might add much more upon the general subject of Mr. Butler's well-answered volume, but we prefer extracting some remarks from the pamphlet of the Oxford Layman, which will not only serve to introduce that sensible publication to our readers, but will convey an accurate idea of the effect of the present Roman Catholic controversy upon candid and intelligent inquirers. Addressing himself to Mr. Butler, the Layman says,—

“ I could have wished, Sir, that you had at this juncture advocated the cause of Catholic emancipation more fully in your book, and treated it as a mere question of civil polity, founded upon principles of toleration and civil liberty, instead of frittering away the controversy in topics of historical critique, or recriminating declamation. However ingeniously and successfully the defenders of your church may get rid of *particular* charges, and rescue *particular* characters from unmerited reproach,—still there does unhappily and undeniably exist a mass of historical evidence against your priesthood of former times *as a body*, too clear and overwhelming to be got rid of by the most ingenious sophistry or the most violent denial. What is past, cannot be altered or recalled. The historians of your own church have themselves not only recorded, but shared and gloried in the once ferocious intolerance of its spirit; and it is to them and to your own annals that we appeal for evidence against yourselves. Why labour to clear away dust, when by so doing you expose to more accurate view the deformities of your image? Why use the chissel only, to bring into more powerful relief the sacrificial orgies of your church, and the sternly vindictive lineaments of its intolerant priesthood?—You yourself, Sir, deny rather than disprove the general mass of facts adduced by Dr. Southey; indeed, you rather choose the ground of recrimination: nor can you be ignorant that even a far greater and more overwhelming mass of facts may be furnished from the histories of most other European nations; and whilst you admit our right to be informed of such facts, and to draw experience and conclusions from them;—it seems worse than useless to controvert the accuracy or justice of some of the details. To prove exceptions, only establishes more surely the general rule. I, Sir, for one, should have rejoiced to have been convinced by your pen, that human nature had not so deplorably disgraced itself as at any time to have constructed upon the pure and peaceful doctrines of the primitive Christians, a creed and system of church government so intolerant and persecuting as your's once was here, and still is in other kingdoms. I say, Sir, *still is in other kingdoms*, not indeed with the coarse and brutal ferocity of more barbarous times, but with the no less sure and often more cruel persecution, of excommunication and social degradation.” P. 7.

" Whatever merits you assume to your church, other than those which are inherent in its 'faith, practice and discipline,' are of no real importance to the question of Catholic emancipation, or even to the union of the two churches. Grant that, during many centuries, your church (as an ecclesiastical establishment) preceded our Reformed Church; and that during such time, especially in the early times of barbarism, it did much good—Grant (as you state the fact) that the Popes and their emissaries, (by your church now deemed and invoked as *saints*), propagated the Christian faith amongst our heathen ancestors, and converted their 'fierce and wild paganism' to a faith 'more mild, benevolent, and pure,'—Grant too, that your church, 'during the *dark ages*,' (dark in the midst of your light), became in a great measure the depository and *hiding-place* of the remnant of 'literature and of civilization:—What does this prove against the doctrinal and practical preference claimed by our church at the present day? We admit that your church, both before it became corrupted in its faith, practice, and institutions, and even since, has done great service to mankind; but we assert and believe, that its corruptions have become such as to render a reformed church necessary, and capable of much greater good. We believe that our's is the *primitive* church, in so far as it has returned to the primitive faith and practice; and that without denying the good you (even amidst your *later* errors) may have done, we have only shaken off those errors for the greater good of ourselves and mankind. It seems therefore a waste of words at this time of day, as regards the 'Catholic question' especially, to dispute about the *quantity* of good the early Christian priests and teachers of your church have done, unless they are calculated to do equal good, or (as it ought to be) much greater good now." P. 11.

" With regard to the accusation of 'intolerance' which the 'Book of the Church' charges, especially against the Roman Catholics of past times, I am at a loss to understand, Sir, how you can justly tax the writer with 'imputing to your general body that which only belongs to individuals;' inasmuch as the proofs furnished by the authentic histories, as well of your church as of our own, establish this accusation beyond controversy. The charge in its essence, applies to your priesthood, as a body;—nor is it in the power of sophistry to relieve past generations of your priesthood, or to exonerate your church discipline, past and present, from this charge, by rather a disingenuous attempt to heap the whole odium of it upon a few leading bigots of your church, as the scape-goats of their sect. The charge attaches to your whole priesthood, from your Popes to your lowest churchmen;—and surely, if Dr. Southey has made good, or *could in your own knowledge* make good such charge against the general body of your priesthood throughout Christendom, as well as in England, it is neither fair nor ingenuous to affect to deny it. Whilst you assert that 'he has imputed to your whole body what only is imputable to individuals,' you leave it to be inferred, that you deny the charge of intolerance and persecution, as it affects the great body of your churchmen, of whom

those individuals were leaders. Yet, Sir, you have not distinctly and emphatically denied the plain fact, that, 'for a long series of centuries,' your church not merely was, but was *resolved to remain and continue* the only church in Christendom; and exerted itself by the fiercest persecution, to repress every 'heterodox opinion,' every attempt at 'schism,' every departure from your prescribed creed, dogmas, and discipline, and *that*, by a system of violence and cruelty, as well as cabal, artifice; and fraud, increasing in proportion to the increase of those schisms, your own conduct and corruptions occasioned. These accusations, Sir, I rejoice to say, are in their worst degree, applicable only to past times. Your church, in its earliest period, was our own; in its apostolical purity, it was mild, merciful, and tolerant: but when it degenerated in doctrine and in practice, when it admitted into its bosom ambition, pride, avarice, indolence, and sensuality: *intolerance*, with its malevolent passions, invaded and perverted alike, your creed, your practice, and church government. Thenceforth, if there be any faith or truth in history, your Popes and priesthood became the champions, the abettors, the leaders, the chief actors, in the persecutions of centuries. The scenes of horror, torture, and blood which followed, are recorded by your own historians past recall;—and whilst the wise and good of all creeds will deplore and condemn, sincerity must confess, that 'these things were so.' Neither is it to be desired that histories of such persecutions should be suppressed, as regards either your church, or our own, inasmuch as such details may serve as correctives, and shame the human mind out of its tendency to superstition and intolerance. '*Hæc aliaque ex veteri memoria repetita, quotiens res locusque exempla poscent, haud absurde memorabimus.*'

"You, Sir, were too candid wholly to deny these persecutions; but you have *recriminated*. Recrimination is a kind of confession. By sensible minds, and good hearts, it is disapproved. It is nothing in a fair argument, and only makes 'bad worse.' Dr. Southey was writing the history of a church, the origin, progress, and establishment, of which was the result of the corruptions and persecutions, of your own church; of these therefore the details were unavoidable; and considering what the well known *mass* of facts were which Dr. Southey might have collected, not merely from the annals of England, but of every European state,—facts detailed, not by the 'good old martyrologist' Fox, but by the bigoted boastings of many of your most zealous historians, and often too by the more humane and enlightened members of your own church, and which have, therefore, been (since you will have it so) 'candidly' published to the world, *by yourselves against yourselves*, I cannot but declare my opinion to be, that your church owes much more to the forbearance of Dr. Southey, than of your own church annalists. Had you, Sir, frankly admitted the intolerance and persecutions of your church in *past times*, and joined with all good men in lamenting them; and declined sullyng your pages with recriminations such as you have advanced; I think you would have acted with better taste and judgment. You detail with elaborate length persecutions, which,

you say, the Roman Catholics endured, during the reign of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. You have one whole chapter upon the execution of priests; and of the 'Rev. Hugh Green,' in particular; and you intended these as a 'set-off' (to use a legal phrase) against us heretics. You would have them taken and considered as the acts and deeds of our *reformed church* and priesthood, and not as mere acts of the legislature, or the effect of a harsh policy. But if we admit every one of these facts (though some may be at least doubted) what 'reward have ye?' Do they disprove the recorded annals of your own church persecutions, not in England only, but throughout Christendom? *Cui bono?* then if they do not? They add to the already overcharged catalogue of cruelty and crime, against human nature; and may shame us out of such things in future, *but they serve not the end for which you advanced them.*" P. 25.

"You ask, Dr. Southey, (p. 258,) "Did not justice and candour require of you to admit the *equal guilt* in this respect [persecution] of Protestants. Have not the *Protestants* persecuted the Roman Catholics, and even their fellow Protestants in every country in which they have obtained the ascendancy? as in Germany, Switzerland, Geneva, France, Holland, Sweden, Scotland, and England?" (Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the strong holds of the Roman Catholics and of the Inquisition, you omit to mention.) With deference, Sir, I consider that justice and candour cannot require the admission of the '*equal guilt*' of Protestants in the practice of persecution. I am astonished at the assertion from a man of candour. In what does this equality consist? If a man by precept and example instruct another in the principles of crime, is he who misleads or the misled, the greater criminal? If a man by insult, violence, torture, and every species of provocation, urge another to resent and retaliate, to whom is this redoubled portion of crime to be chiefly charged? It has usually been thought, that he who takes the lead, he who strikes the first blow, he who authorizes by precept, encourages by example, or urges by provocation, is chiefly chargeable with the consequences. Such, Sir, it is impossible to deny was the conduct of your church. So long as your church governed and wielded the whole power of the secular arm (as it did for ages) in these countries, so long your church preached and practised the most intolerant doctrines, the most unsparing and bloody persecutions. Anathemas, excommunications, inquisitions, imprisonments, banishments, tortures and executions, were all in their turn, and often altogether not only sanctioned, approved, applauded, but commanded, enjoined, urged, and declared to be a religious duty by your popes, cardinals, and councils. These things had their day; sectarians, or as you call them 'heretics,' nevertheless increased, and at length found their strength adequate to resistance: they resisted; your church redoubled its efforts; civil wars, and wars between nations ensued; Christendom became a scene of carnage and blood. All the evil passions of man were goaded to their highest pitch; the reformers

found no safety but with arms in their hands; towns, provinces, and nations, were divided against each other; the reformers contended not for freedom of conscience only, but for their lives, their properties, and their liberties. Your church allowed of no compromise; its hostility against the reformers was *usque ad necem*, they were deemed 'the tares to be rooted out and gathered together to be burnt.' What then! Is it for *your church* to charge *Protestants* with 'equal guilt' in the practice of persecution? You, who for generations (before one retaliating drop of blood was shed by a reformer) opposed opinion and conscience, with the sword, the rack, and the firebrand. In your own words, Sir, I will ask you, knowing (as you cannot but know, from your own histories) that these things were so, 'as a Christian and a gentleman, to say on which side the balance of persecution lies, the Catholic or the Protestant?' P. 31.

We rejoice at the opportunity of closing our review with these judicious and well expressed observations: they contain an unanswerable objection to the spirit of Mr. Butler's book; and they serve at the same time to point out the errors into which he has fallen.

ART. XII. *A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. James, Westminster, on Sunday, June 12, 1825, being the Sunday following the Funeral of the very Reverend Gerrard Andrewes, D.D. late Dean of Canterbury, and Rector of that Parish. By Edward Smedley, jun. A.M. Alternate Morning Preacher at the Church of St. James, Westminster. Published by request. London. Mawman, 1825.*

THE late Dean of Canterbury occupied so important a place among the clergy of the metropolis, that his departure will naturally be followed by every demonstration of respect and regret. Few men enjoyed or deserved a higher reputation; and by none were professional honours, and extensive popularity more meekly borne. It gives us sincere though melancholy pleasure to join in the feeling which prevails among all to whom he was known personally or by report; and Mr. Smedley's character of his deceased friend, will suffice to explain the worth of Dr. Andrewes, and the loss which the church has sustained by his death, to persons, if such there be, who never heard of his merit or his services:—

"Before I conclude, I would wish, therefore, to offer you a few

words which may affect our practice ; and to show you, in a more lively form than that of dry and abstract precept, what is the preparation for death of a good and faithful servant of the Lord. In doing this, I will endeavour to frame a rapid sketch of the leading features of such a character ; and, since however large the field may be in which *every* Christian is appointed to labour, none most assuredly is so large as that which is entrusted to the culture of a Minister of the Gospel ; (for he has unusual responsibility attached to his office, and his duty is to save not only himself but those also who hear him) : it is under this form that I will lay before you my portrait.

“ First, then, such a man as this, remembering that his light is set upon a hill, will educate himself in the school of Christ, to be an example to those who see him, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. He will fashion his private life and manners so as to bear a more curious inspection than those of other men, in the exercise of that round of social and domestic duties, in which no man ought to be wanting. He will be distinguished as a tender husband, as an affectionate and watchful parent, as a kind master, as a zealous and constant friend, as a just and upright citizen. Secretly he will busy himself in the whole labour of love, by visiting the sick and needy, by consoling the broken-hearted, by healing strifes, by bearing the message of peace, by instructing those who are in darkness, by awakening those who are dead to God, and by turning the sinner from the error of his way. Whenever demands are made upon his bounty, his utmost means will be his only limit of giving ; yet he will give with such nice precaution and so careful an avoidance of ostentation, that, until his secret is betrayed by the great good which he has worked, God and his own right hand will be the only witnesses of his benevolence. Again, in the practice of this virtue, he will be guided by a sobriety of judgment, which readily distinguishes between such plans as can be rendered effective, and such as can only furnish themes for declamation ; between the enduring and well-compacted edifice, which is founded upon a rock, for ages, and the baseless, though specious pile heaped together from discordant materials, and falling to pieces after a momentary display. So also, by the sincere and profound attachment which he cherishes to that pure form of Religion of which he is an ordained Minister, he will be preserved from lending himself, in any way as a dupe to the insidious Schismatic, or as a fellow visionary with the insane Enthusiast. Openly, he will take heed that his good be not evil spoken of ; he will provide things honest in the sight of all men ; and by avoiding much which, although indifferent in itself, might possibly be made to wear the appearance of ill by the malicious or the scorner, he will, for the most part, escape giving offence to those who are ever ready to take offence, and who are vigilant to catch at occasions for scandal. Punctual and diligent in the transaction of such temporal concerns as fall to his charge, he will remember, that part of the work which God has given us to do in this life, is to *live* in it ; that Religion mainly consists in action ; and that, after all, he is the best servant who does most service. On the same principles,

although profoundly imbued with reference for God, and regarding the vital truths of the Gospel with that awe which every man must feel who has studied to understand and to appreciate them, he will by no means think that severity and seclusion are necessary companions to piety, nor that a gloomy countenance is the surest proof of sincere devotion. On the contrary, he will not be less prepared to rejoice with those who rejoice, than to weep with those who weep; and he will make Religion attractive to many, who otherwise would have regarded her as crabbed, austere and melancholy, by showing, in his own person, that Holiness and Cheerfulness are not forbidden to walk hand in hand.

“ Follow him now to his public duties, and observe him when he divides the word of God, and speaks under the authority of his commission from his Saviour. Earnest, simple, and impressive, sincere, persuasive, and eloquent, he will not covet popularity by exhibiting gaudy flourishes and misplaced ornaments, but reputation will follow him, uncourted, through his sound, sober, and practical teaching. Out of his stores, both new and old, he will bring forth copious treasures to illustrate or explain the Truth as it is in Jesus. In urging the beauty and the necessity of a strict performance of moral duties, he will forcibly direct the thoughts of his flock to the source from which these duties should spring, in order that they may be sanctified; and, as ambassador for Christ, he will beseech men, in His stead, to be reconciled to God. Hence a humble reliance on the merits of the Redeemer, and a fervent application for the spiritual aid of the Comforter, will be the doctrines to which he never will omit to point, as affording the only sure methods of salvation. In uncovering the deformity of sin, he will always be willing, if possible, to seek the extenuation of the sinner; and, wherever it is necessary to awaken a due sense of guilt, without compromising the purity or the justice of the Almighty, without merging the terrors of the Lord in his mercy, his endeavour will be more to excite a desire for repentance than a fear of judgment. Profiting by his accurate experience and intimate knowledge of human nature, he will address himself chiefly to the heart; and hard indeed must be that heart which he shall fail to move! For in discourses, apparently the most general, there shall not be a conscience among his hearers which does not discover some warning, some suggestion, or some reproof addressed to itself in particular. So nicely adjusted also will be the language in which he conveys his instruction, that the lettered man shall admit that he has never before so clearly understood the Scripture which he has heard explained, and the unlettered shall go to his home with the profitable conviction that he has not been listening to a formal preachment, but rather to the affectionate advice of a father who has been talking to his children.

“ In his intercourse with other men, the same sauvity of manners, the same unpretending meekness which has marked him while in possession of no more than an honourable competency, will accompany him, if he should be exalted even to affluence and rank. So far from striving after worldly honours, he will perhaps put aside

dignities, not only within his attainment, but urged upon him by those who justly believe that they cannot be better filled; and this refusal will spring not from pride, which seeks to create a false opinion that he disdains eminent station, but from humility, which deems itself unequal to support it, and from a contentedness of spirit, over which ambition has no power. Thus having used life, he will have no farther preparation to make for that great change, to meet the coming of which every hour has been employed. On the past he will look back with gratitude to God for the opportunities of doing good which have been permitted him, and to the future he will look forward with humble hope, that, through the blood of his Redeemer, his record may not be without acceptance. This tranquil remembrance, and these joyous anticipations, will smooth the pillow of sickness and infirmity; so that he will teach all who approach him in what manner a Christian is able to die; till, when *all things are ready*, and his final summons is issued, perhaps because it pleases God to show to those from whom he is taken away, some earnest of the blessedness to which we are permitted to believe the good man is translated, he will gently fall asleep, as if Death had no sting.

“If you have ever known such a man as I have here, most feebly and inadequately, attempted to pourtray, it is impossible but that you must have loved and revered him. If you have lost such a man, bitterly in your hearts must you lament his departure. If you have duly valued him, the excellence of his example, no less than the holy precepts which you have so often caught from his lips, will be your study, your consolation, and your guide. Such a one I have known from my earliest childhood. Such a one I have lost, mature in years, and ripe indeed for his reward, but, alas! too early for all who loved him. Such a man, I trust in God, I have not undervalued. To attain the brightness of that pattern which his life exhibited, were almost a hopeless wish; but if I can frame a prayer more fervent than any which has hitherto passed my lips, it is that I may die his death, and that my last end may be like his.” P. 12.

We will not spoil the effect of this eloquent passage by any common place observations of our own. We admire it, because it evidently comes from the heart; and is truly characteristic of the person it professes to celebrate. It is not an exhibition of the preacher's talent, but a simple impressive description of what his hearers knew to be the truth. As such it was delivered, and as such it was received. And while the remembrance of the late Dr. Andrewes is so fondly cherished by his parishioners and friends, and while the public at large seem so sensible to his merits, there is ample encouragement to the clergy to persevere in the labours of their ministry, and some ground for confidence in the ultimate success of their exertions.

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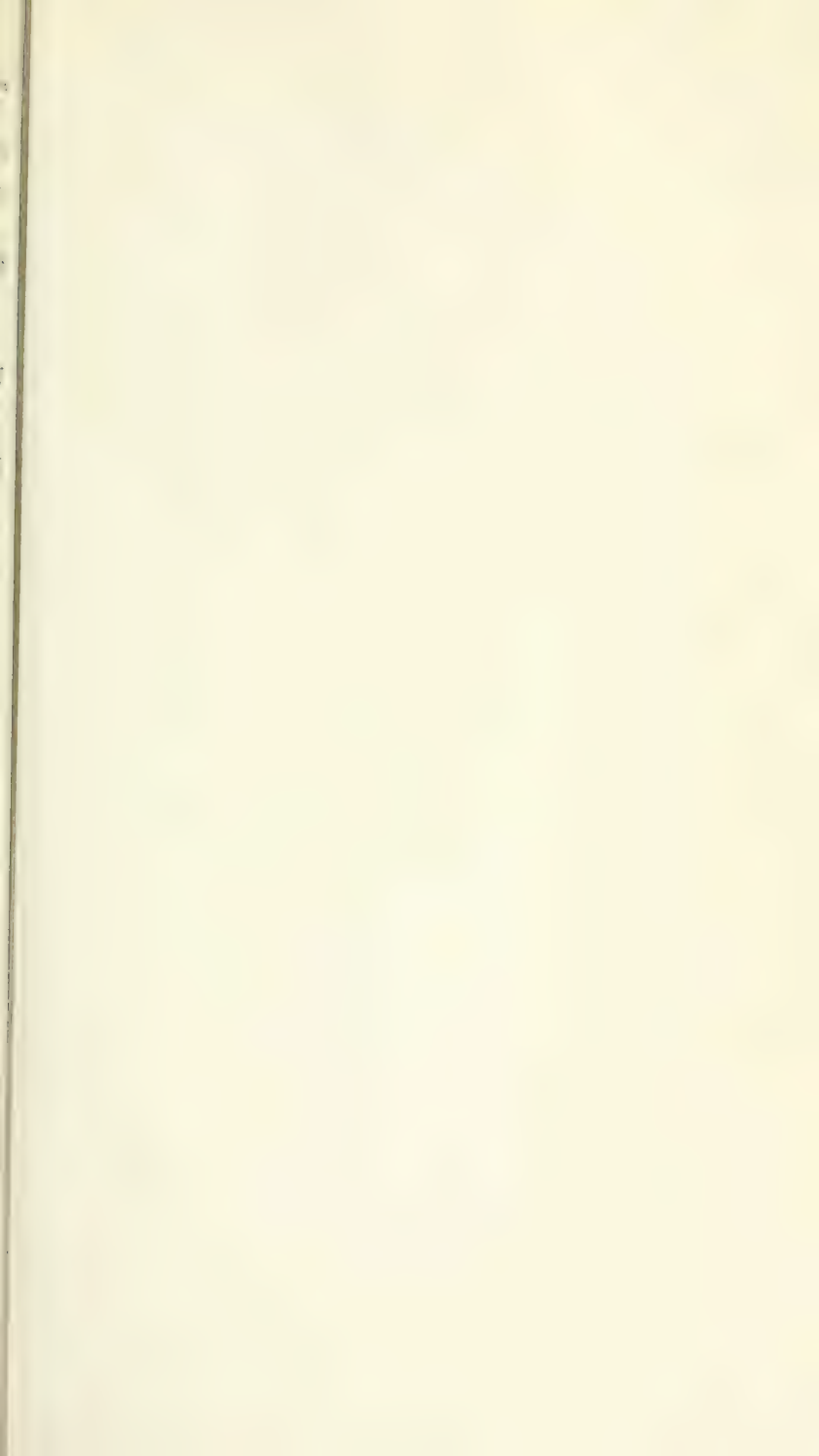
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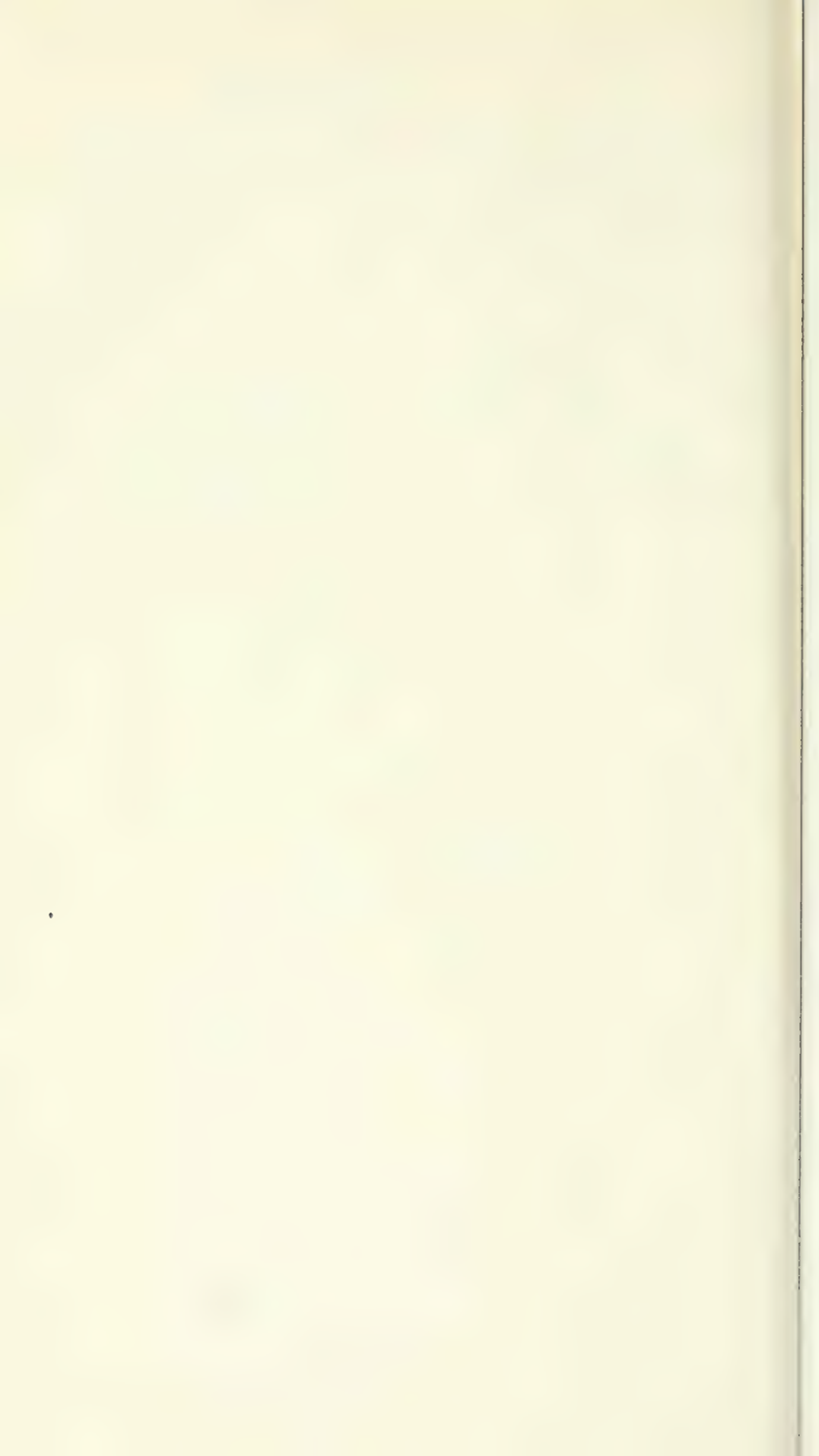
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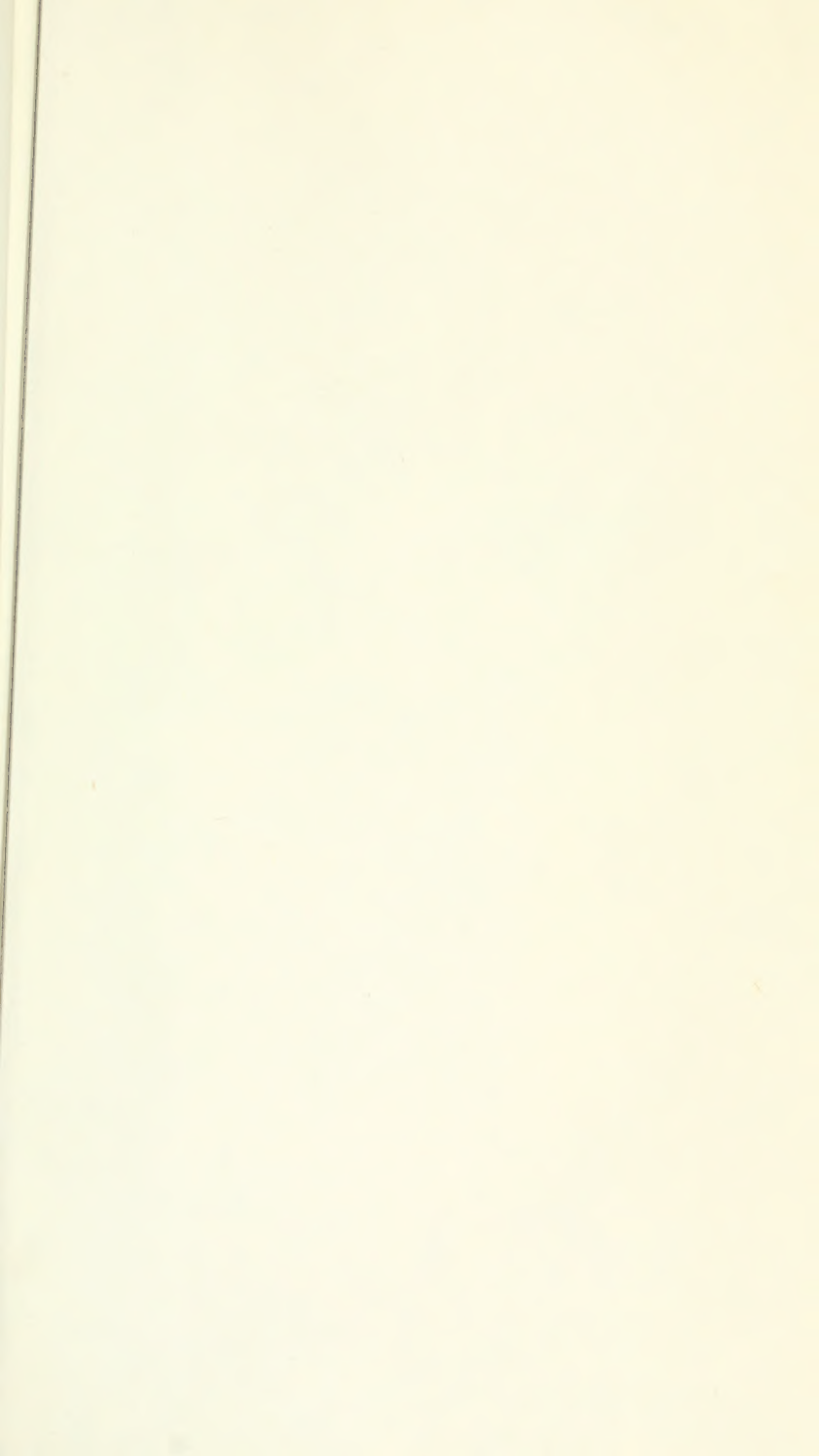
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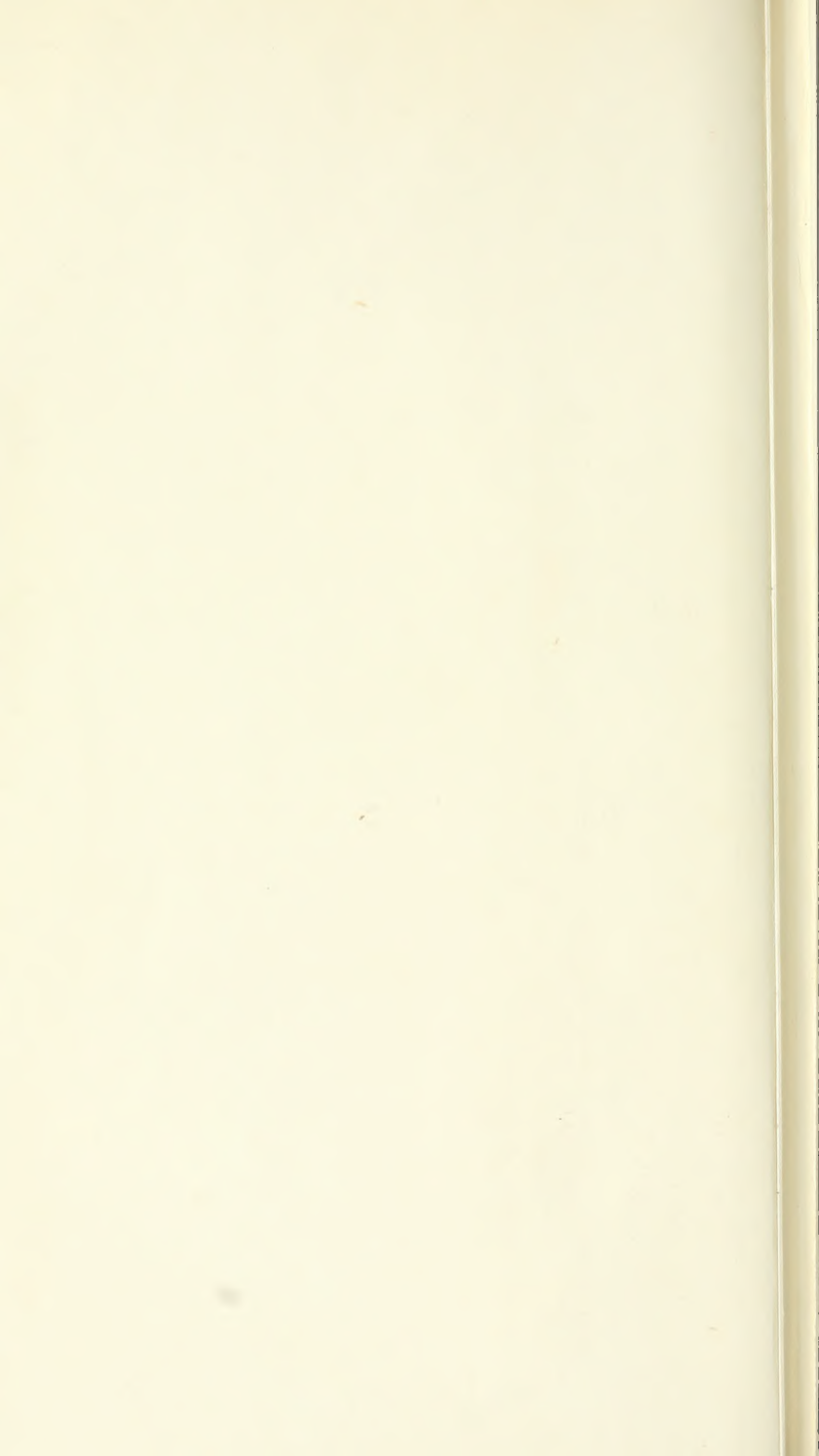
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